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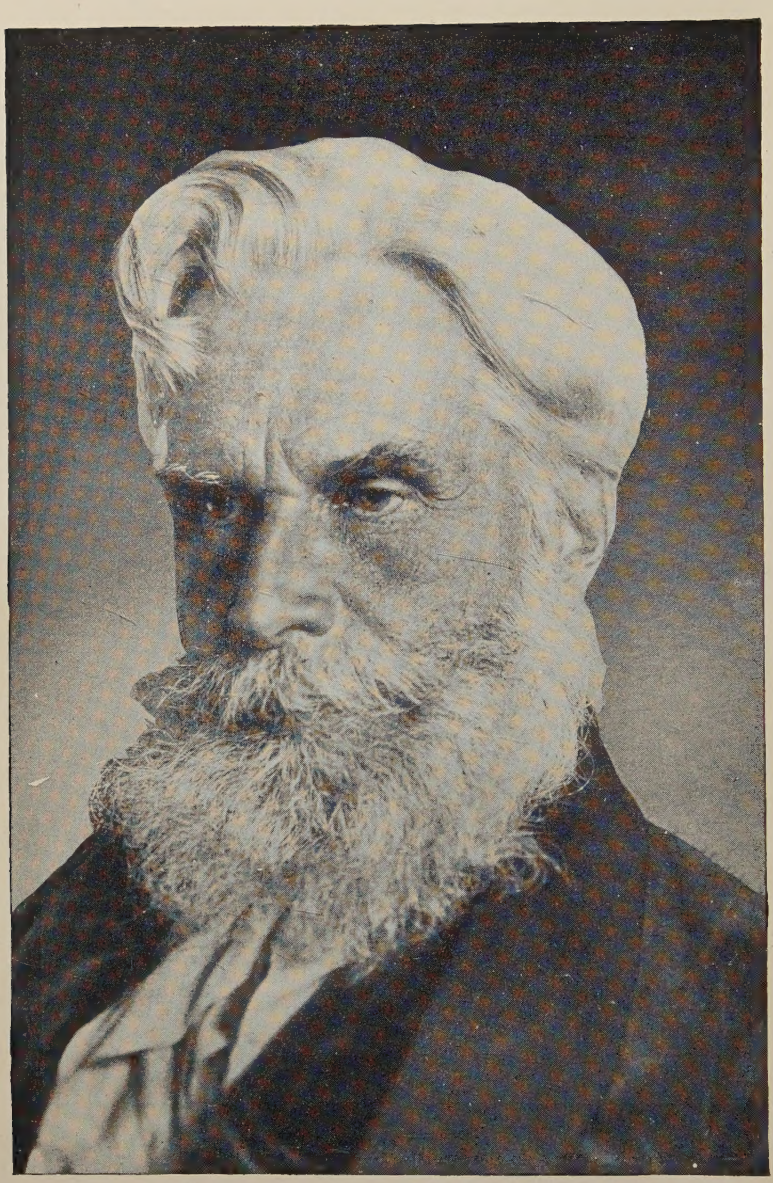


Havelock Ellis.

SEX IN CIVILIZATION

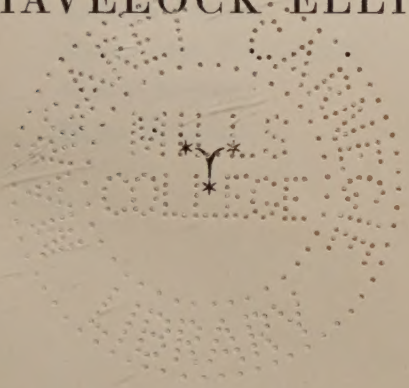
EDITED BY

V. F. CALVERTON AND

S. D. SCHMALHAUSEN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

HAVELOCK ELLIS



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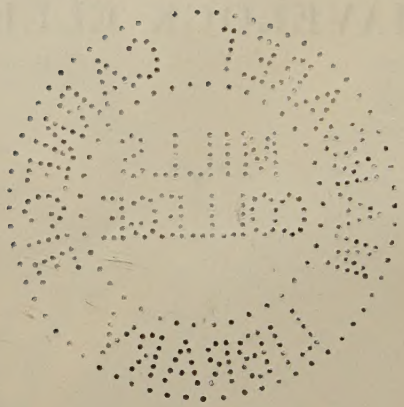

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THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED TO THESE WOMEN WHO HAVE LED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SEX EMANCIPATION AND A FINER CIVILIZATION.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT
GEORGE SAND
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PREFACE

While the concept of civilization in the minds of most people is synonymous with advance and progress, there are many critics who deny this connection, and not a few, even in our own day, who contend that progress will be achieved only with the destruction of civilization. Edward Carpenter, not many years ago, in an essay which he aptly entitled *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure* argued that civilization is a "thousand-year-long lapse of human evolution," and added, by way of curious analogy, that in many of its aspects "it is a kind of disease which the various races of man have to pass through—as children pass through measles or whooping cough." Stanton Coit, in a volume of his own, had raised the same question in the substance of his analysis as well as in his title: *Is Civilization a Disease?* Of course, Rousseau with his myth of the beautiful savage, and his adoration of everything primitive, had but extended, in a picturesque and romantic manner, the idea of nature which Locke had propounded in refutation of the Hobbesian concept of the natural order in which everything warred against everything else. The later Romantics had continued the same tradition. Chateaubriand in his *Atala* had denied the superiority of civilized man by his exaltation of the primitive type. All this, however, belongs to an earlier period when the revolt against civilization was in reality a revolt against a certain form of civilization in which aristocratic oppression had reduced society to a state of economic chaos and moral disintegration.

To-day, on the other hand, the revolt against civilization has assumed a different character. This was inevitable. Civilization has changed its aspects so enormously since the Industrial Revolution that any revolt against it must either be a revolt against its entire essence or a revolt against certain manifestations of its controls, which once changed will render it a different entity. In the first category, to be sure, fall many of our modern mystics, the Keyser-

lings who turn to the East for the quietude of deep inspiration, or the Massises who revert to a medieval Catholicism for that spirit of unity which the present age fails to provide. In the second category appear the extreme radicals, represented in Europe by Trotsky, Bukharin, Barbusse, Palme-Dutt and others, and in America by Nearing and E. Kantor. These men maintain that civilization has been founded upon institutions that circle about the concept of private property, and that with the annihilation of that concept, in a new social world, civilization will cease, and a new culture begin.

At no other time, or certainly never in so brief a period, has so much concern been shown over the nature and future of civilization as in the years that have followed the World War. In the revolt of the Romantics, a century and more ago, there had been a lack of scientific insight and analysis. To-day science is everywhere adduced to justify approach and conclusion. Certainly it is not a lack or ignorance of science that vitiates modern attempts at diagnoses of civilization. If anything it is the limitations of science itself that often weaken them.

While all this concern over civilization has intensified into a philosophy of the general, the relationship of sex and civilization has seldom advanced beyond a consideration of the specific. The work of the psychoanalysts, of course, interpolates itself as an exception. The writings of Freud, Adler, Jung, Stekel, Jones, Maeder, Ferenczi and many others have certainly purported to be more than studies in the specificities of knowledge and reaction. Freud in particular has endeavored to include the universe in his concept of sex; Jung has striven to embrace the most bewildering and enigmatic contradictions of the entire scope of the human mind in his theory of the *endopsychic*, and the tendency to types; Adler has advanced an idea, in his theory of the inferiority complex and the neurotic constitution, that surely strives to leave little unexplained in the mental world. Within the range of this psychoanalytic technique whole countries have been dissected, anthropology reëxamined, philosophy re-interpreted, art newly envisioned, and the motivations of human conduct through the ages explained in terms of a new logic. Despite the magnificent sweep of this entire approach, and the brave adventurousness embodied in its challenge, it has seldom, in a deep sense, risen beyond the pathology of the individual.

This is not said with any disrespect for the work of the psychoanalytic schools. It is an observation that simply attempts to note an essential inadequacy in the psychoanalytic method when applied

to social life. As a result, psychoanalysis, deriving its basis and background from a study of individual types, has failed to effect a clarifying influence when it essays to deal with group behavior in the form of social change. This failure was inevitable. A psychology confined to the individual cannot achieve a sound social outlook or vision. It must of necessity exaggerate the individual in its study of the group. While its advances as an individual diagnostic and even therapeutic have been marked, its advances toward a social method have been notably ineffective. The consequence has been that in most of its studies of sex in civilization it has really failed to uncover more than the individual within the group. Sex in civilization as a form of social evolution still remained to be studied.

This volume purposes to do several things in fulfillment of that need. To begin with, it aims to emphasize the enormous importance of modern psychology in understanding individual personality and individual reaction. The discovery of real motives; the significance of rationalization in an exposition or interpretation of phenomena and of people; the unearthing of determining factors in the shaping of habit-patterns and emotional response—these things it has tried to clarify and stress in reference to the individual. But it goes further than that. It aims also to link up the individual with society. To do this with success, it is necessary to devise a psycho-sociological technique. This technique, in its final form, we might say, belongs to the domain of a new science. Nevertheless, in a significant way, we believe, we have endeavored to develop it in an effort to encompass the materials that constitute the problems of SEX IN CIVILIZATION.

The most significant aspect of our civilization, psychologically fluoroscoped, is pretense. Pretense is the key to modern civilization.

Men pretend to believe in God and sacrifice their lives to Mammon; they love liberty and persecute the champions of freedom, honor Christ and are obedient to Mussolini. They bow down to virtue as holy, and stain the earth with prostitution and syphilis. They defend marriage as the ultimate honorable basis of civilization, of life itself, and practice on the sly—the Freudian censor being bribed to keep mum—freedoms and licenses that range from guilty-innocent nibbling and flirting and tampering to libidinous experimenting, polymorphous perversions and *free love*. They praise truth and allow the cheats to occupy the seats of the mighty, making a religion of education and a mockery of enlightenment. They pretend to love the highbrow and in their secret hearts most enjoy the lowbrow.

They speak of the mind as evolution's most wonderful achievement and do everything in human power to defy the illumination of consciousness. They shout for brotherhood, and shoot, imprison or out-caste those who will not join their drunken debauch in celebration of patriotism, nationalism and war.

Men's ideals are fictions: they do not sincerely believe in them. Narcissism and egotism prevent, while communal fellowship and humanization are thwarted by the swollen success of the will-to-power and the seductions of profit and prestige. Modern man is carrying too large a load of make-believe. He is caught in the trap of his own contradictions, and his pretenses are a strait-jacket that irk his instinctive human nature. In no instance is his cleavage-psychology (neurotic in every fiber) so palpably in evidence as in his ambivalent attitudes toward sex, as this illuminating symposium eloquently demonstrates.

Pretense, it is important to repeat, is the key to modern civilization, which means that our civilization is psychoneurotic; sick with the irremediable conflict between ideality and actuality, or in Freudian terminology, between the super-ego and the primordial, instinctive ego. The savage-infantile-narcissistic-egotistic components in human nature win many a triumph over the civilized-mature-extra egotistic-humanistic components in human nature and life. Nature and culture are destroying one another marvelously.

Three major tragic episodes in the life of modern man have undermined his peace of mind: the blows dealt to his self-adoring narcissism, his deep-seated vanity, by the Copernican, Darwinian and Freudian disillusioning revelations. These successive *traumatic* episodes in the life of modern man illuminate marvelously that disease in the innermost heart of man which some may know as heartbreak. Man being divided against himself, disillusionment has torn his human nature into conflicting elements that war ceaselessly upon one another's sovereignty. The instincts can not abide the rule of reason; impulses can not accept the counsel of reflection. Reason is not at home among the natural impulses.

The body and the mind hate each other in queer ways that run the gamut from tenderness to violence. Ambivalence poisons our human nature. We are scientific and superstitious; critical and credulous; conservative and radical; libertarian and autocratic; savage and charitable; intolerant and amiable; educated and shallow; prosperous and empty;—these antithetical moods exist within

the human nature of modern man and are the rich source of his internal malaise and his external maladaptation.

The preëminent fact is the breakdown of ancient norms that guaranteed stability, and the consequent chaos that has come upon us, for new norms have not yet been created out of the luminous chaos that is our contemporary morality. The mood of revolt has infected all our behaviors, even the most intimate. The sweeping reaction against repression and theologic hocus-pocus has become a cyclonic force that will not pause in the presence of any obstruction to its will, madly substituting the excesses of expression for the excesses of repression. Extreme inhibition has given place to extreme exhibition. This circular insanity in behavior hints at the feeble stability of the human mind that seeks ever and anon to break loose from restraint and in so doing invites so hectic a display of impulse as to compel, in the sequel, a sobering return to discipline and control. How shall we help human nature to live more sanely, honoring expression while realizing the relevancy of personal discipline? The logic of the golden mean is not congenial to the modern mind.

The younger generation is behaving like a crazy man who for one lucid moment has suddenly realized that the physicians in charge are all demented, too. The elders who have for so long been the sacred guardians of civilization have bungled their task so abominably as to have lost irrevocably their influence for sobriety and sanity with the youth of the world. The failure of the church to treat sex and natural impulse with dignity and candor is the largest single fact in that disintegration of personal codes which confronts us in these hectic times: the inevitable swing of the pendulum from concealment to exhibitionism, from repression to expression, from reticence to publicity, from modesty to vulgarity. This revolutionary transition is inevitable and essentially wholesome, for all its crudity and grotesquerie.

Instability rides the mind of modernity. Ibsen, the profoundest of dramatists, understood the sick paradox of the age when he wrote: "Suppress individuality and you have no life; assert it and you have war and chaos."

The wisdom of Havelock Ellis embodies the attitude of all those who love life (*The Dance of Life*) and have faith in its potentialities for beauty and profundity: "Young people of both sexes are now in a position to view a larger proportion of the facts involved than were open to the generations preceding them, and they are acquiring the courage to act in accordance with the facts. That means that

many mistakes are being made, for the deepest facts of the sex life can only be learnt by experience, and experience can only come slowly. But it is perhaps better to make the mistakes of facing life than to make the mistakes of running away from life. For those mistakes may enrich and enlighten, while these are apt to prove futile. The paths of the sex life are beset by difficulties; but so is the whole of life. If we are to live in any true sense at all, we are compelled to live dangerously."

This is, perhaps, the first time that such a study as SEX IN CIVILIZATION has ever been ventured. A century ago the very nature of sex attitudes would have thwarted such a project. In fact, it would never have been conceived. Of course, the sexual situation in those days had not yet developed into its later, and increasingly crucial forms. The first intellectual revolt against this old attitude is to be found in the work of Freud and his followers, who, it might be said, figuratively enough, rediscovered sex. Just as the revolt against civilization has taken on numerous forms, each more complex than the other with advancing change, the revolt against the old sex attitudes has followed the same evolution. Revolt has become characteristic of our age. The intellectuals are in revolt against an entire civilization. The revolt against the old sex attitudes, with their silences and stupidities, is a vital part of this entire revolt against a decaying culture. The beginnings that were made by the early Freudians have to-day been furthered by a revolt that is far more comprehensive and inclusive.

In this volume we have tried to give expression to every angle of this revolt and revaluation. In no instance have we attempted to exclude either an individual or a school because of set design or dogma. On the other hand, we have purposely encouraged conflicting opinions, for in a field still so mischievously relative, it is only this attitude which can succeed in being progressive and revolutionary. In doing this we have striven to show that SEX IN CIVILIZATION is a problem in social change as well as individual conflict, and that any effort to deny either factor is intellectually confusing and ultimately suicidal.

V. F. CALVERTON
SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN

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INTRODUCTION

BY HAVELOCK ELLIS

THE way to introduce a manifold discussion of sex in civilization, it seems to me, is to consider sex outside civilization. And when we remember that civilization has perhaps only been discoverable, now and then, during the past ten thousand years, while man, from the first a sexual animal and the descendant of sexual animals, has been living for perhaps a million years, so that his civilized stage may have been only one hundredth part of his whole course so far, it may well seem the only way. Not only is our civilization young in the world but probably also in the universe, and Sir James Jeans, a great authority on cosmogony, has lately estimated that, taking 10,000 years as the age of our civilization, and assuming civilization to be a natural and inevitable phenomenon, civilizations can only appear in the galactic system at an average rate of one per 500 million years, and that we should probably have to visit 50,000 galaxies before finding a civilization as young as our own. What we vaguely call "civilization," moreover, is perhaps only a passing phase of experience, confined to a few regions of the globe and to a few people in those regions, and seeming specially important to us merely because we live in it, just as every previous phase of man's course has probably seemed specially important to the men and women who lived in it.

To understand what sex means, even if we confine ourselves to the human species, and even if we merely have in thought the significance of sex for civilization and ourselves, we must thus inevitably take a wide view. When we are concerned with an impulse so central and so essential we may be sure that its laws and their meaning were sought and discovered and repeatedly tested long ages before any civilization arose. We may even see reason to believe that these laws and their meaning were more clearly realized in more primitive stages of society than they are now, because in civilization our attention is so distorted by a multitude of things that are non-

essential that the essentials are liable to be concealed and hard to disentangle. Indeed, it may become difficult for some to discover what are the essentials; so that it is possible to find in civilization, though never outside it, people who unconsciously, and even consciously, "want to ignore sex."

It will be seen that I have put the duration of civilization vaguely. I really do not know when civilization began. Even if I knew more of human pre-history than to-day I know, I still could not tell when civilization began because I do not know what "civilization" means. When Dr. Johnson in the eighteenth century prepared his famous *Dictionary* he refused to admit that word at all. It is always admitted now, but we are no nearer the discovery of its meaning. Matthew Arnold defined it as "the humanization of man in society," but societies are not only as old as man but older; there are even complex animal societies, such as Espinas long since studied in a work *Des Sociétés Animales*, which is still esteemed. The *Oxford English Dictionary* puts forward as a more usual meaning of the word "a developed and advanced state of human society," but that definition remains feeble and vague. The Badarians who lived on the eastern bank of the Nile six thousand years ago, earlier than the First Egyptian Dynasty, judging from the refinements of life they left behind, must have enjoyed a fairly developed and advanced state of society, with a long period of civilization behind it. We may say the same of the people of Ur, whose refined life has only to-day been laid bare. Lately Clive Bell, in a book entitled *Civilization*, which is full of challenging and suggestive statements, has sought to give a more precise point to the definition by describing civilization as "a Sense of Values and Reason Enthroned," or, as he elsewhere puts it, "Reason sweetened by a Sense of Values and a Sense of Values hardened and pointed by Reason." But he is compelled to admit that there are very few people to-day "civilized" by the possession of these qualities, in England, for instance, perhaps a few thousands, tending to diminish in numbers, and quite unable to permeate the mass in which they live. He brings forward, as the chief representative of a truly civilized period, Athens in the days of Pericles, and his first illustration of Greek civilization is the apocryphal story of the sculptor who, when accused of torturing a boy, produced the statue of his contorted model and was finally acquitted. But the savage community, which, when its priests have offered up a human victim on the altar, approves the beautiful sacrifice, has done precisely the same thing and with less hesitation.

Hardness indeed seems the mark of savagery rather than of civilization, and the savage's hardness is usually of a finer quality, for he shows it by what he endures as well as by what he inflicts; and even if we may not find a story of this kind in the annals of savagery there are some who might hold its absence to be to the savages' credit. It is possible indeed to go further, and to question whether "Reason and the Sense of Values" are not even more marked in savagery than in civilization. The savage argues as reasonably as possible from his data, and it is only because his data are imperfect compared to ours that his reason seems to us unreasonable. The sense of values among savages is probably on the whole better than ours; they are compelled to concentrate on the things which for them really matter, the things that make for fine living as they understand it, and to despise the rest; but in civilization we have only to glance at the newspapers, which the mass of our population devour greedily, to see how any trivial event, scarcely of significance for any one, if only it can be described as "amazing," takes the first place, while the great events, if recorded at all, slip into small type in the background. At every step Mr. Clive Bell stimulates us to reverse his propositions, and when he refers to the Great War as an example of "savagery" we have to remind him that that war could only have been possible in "civilization."

Perhaps it will be safest not to assume that "civilization" has any precise meaning at all, but to suppose, provisionally, that, as here used, it simply refers to the stage of society in which live the readers of the present volume. We shall then know where we are.

Even within civilization as thus understood, sex as an object of study is a recent growth, however vigorously it has of late developed. Outside civilization it is still in its feeble infancy. That is unfortunate, for every year the opportunities for investigating the uncivilized are growing fewer. But it is not hard to understand. First of all, of course, there has been the central fact that for two thousand years it has been held that to mention sex is to arouse a blush, if not a snigger. Even the early Fathers of the Church, on the rare occasions when they felt called upon to touch on this subject, were compelled to explain that we should not be ashamed to mention what God had not been ashamed to create. Later, at the Renaissance, when natural science at length arose and began to look at life in general and the human body in particular, even the most eminent anatomists felt it necessary to apologize for describing the sexual organs, and sometimes—like even so modern and recent a

scientist as Huxley—left them out altogether. It was not until the eighteenth century—the wonderful seed-time of the ideas and impulses that are still slowly sprouting up and growing amongst us—that men and women began to avow an intelligent interest in sex and some curiosity to investigate it. That, it so happened, was also the century in which daring travelers and navigators began to reveal unspoilt peoples in newly discovered regions of the globe, notably in America and the Pacific. These pioneers, who were often French, brought back fascinating narratives of the manners and customs they had found, without omitting those that related to sex, manners and customs so unfamiliar and, it seemed, so innocent that the European observers sometimes felt they had entered a new Garden of Eden, though in their ignorance they were apt to overlook the snake. That oversight was quickly rectified by the nineteenth century missionaries—these chiefly English—who followed those fine pioneers. They saw little else but the snake. If sex even in civilization was a reason for shame, how much more so in savagery where sex took on forms which to the civilized missionaries could only seem obscene, unnatural, vicious, and unspeakable, though it must always be remembered, to the honor of some of these English missionaries, that in spite of their early education and ingrained traditions they sometimes set down sympathetic records of what they observed, which will always remain of enduring though limited value.

That brings us to another impediment in the way of studying sex among the uncivilized. Good will, rare as that is to find, is still not enough. To investigate sex among savages in a profitable manner requires the combination of three different kinds of equipment: firstly a freedom from prejudice which is still uncommon even in the face of civilized sex phenomena, secondly a knowledge of the technique and the acquisitions of modern sexology, and thirdly a practiced familiarity with the language and the life of the people to be investigated only obtainable by in some degree sharing that life. Such a combination of qualifications is necessarily so rare that until to-day we have only had fragmentary information, however reliable so far as it goes, concerning the sex life of uncivilized peoples. Thus we have the detailed observations of Roth in Queensland, many valuable observations of Seligman in Melanesia and elsewhere, and the varied investigations of Felix Bryk among the negro tribes to the north of Victoria Nyanza. But it is only to-day, through the studies of Dr. Malinowski, that we possess a systematic picture of the whole sexual life of an uncivilized people. Equipped with a thorough train-

ing in scientific technique, endowed with a sensitive receptivity, he was able to live among the people of the Trobriand Islands on the New Guinea Coast whom he studied, and to talk with them in their own language. He has thus, for the first time, been able to present, not a series of more or less instructive items of information, but a complete picture, with every detail filled in, of the whole sexual life, physical, psychic, and social, of a people not yet deeply touched by any outside civilization.

It is a profoundly instructive picture. We realize—as indeed we might have guessed beforehand—that the cultivation of sex, being primordial, can reach a high degree outside what we usually call "civilization." We discover that in this field, as we have long known to happen in other fields, the uncivilized man can be an artist. We find that the secrecy and reserve, even prudery, which we associate with sex in civilization, also attach to sex outside civilization. Not only are *taboos*, as indeed the very use of the word indicates, even more emphatic without than within civilization, but sex repressions, such as we sometimes fancy are unwholesome artificialities and better abolished, are in full working order in what we call a "state of nature." As in civilization, most of the variations and little sexual perversities which we know are here also to be found, playing an equally small and unimportant part, and therefore felt not to be worthy of much attention by the community generally. We realize, moreover, that all those far-reaching ramifications of sex into romance and poetry and religion, which we regard as peculiar to the civilization we know, have, so far as possible, their correspondence in the spiritual and social structure in which the savage lives, entering into his myth and ritual and the whole supernatural awe which veils his universe. The structure is different, not merely in its spiritual aspect but in its sociological aspect, and in some respects even the opposite of that we know, especially by its rule of matrilineal descent, but, within the structure, all the instincts and impulses which we experience, even those we count most "artificial," are in full natural play.

So that we may understand how it is that another investigator, Bryk, speaking from his knowledge of the sex life of savages far remote from the Trobriand Islanders, has lately concluded that the erotic life is substantially the same everywhere; "the negro woman in Africa," he says, "feels in her sexual life just like the white woman." He is even inclined to agree with Schweinfurth that in

Africa there are hardly any savages save those that arrive from Europe.

That indeed indicates what Malinowski among the Trobriand Islanders, though he does not himself assert it, may lead the intelligent reader to conclude: while in some respects these people might learn from us, in other respects their art of love is, in the best sense, more "civilized" than ours usually is. In our civilization it is an old tradition that in this matter the initiative belongs exclusively to the male, and that it is the woman's part to be subservient to the male, and to accept her husband's desire as her duty. The Trobrianders view the erotic life in a more humane way, which we might well have supposed more civilized; they are considerate of the feelings of the woman and they recognize that in the art of love each sex has its part to play.

So it is that, when I take a wide view of the phenomena, I see no agreement anywhere as to what we are to understand by "civilization." I see, further, no ground to suppose that in studying sex in civilization, whatever the differences at special points may be, we are doing anything very different from what we do when we study sex outside civilization. We may even find that among those special differences are some which indicate a superiority of the savage in the arts of love.

There, indeed, we come at last on a fundamental differential fact which furnishes the solid foundation for the present work. In the "arts of love," even when we so extend that term as to include all the spiritual and social activities into which the sexual impulse is woven, the savage and the civilized, with whatever differences, are on the same plane. But in the science of sex it is another matter. Not that the savage has no science, but his science, like ours but a few centuries and less ago, is mingled with what we may call his metaphysics. It is mainly subjective; it has grown instinctively and unconsciously out of his own constitution in reaction with his environment; it is one with his whole art of living.

Where we differ from the savage, and in so differing also differ indeed from ourselves of yesterday, is that to-day we seek to contemplate sex objectively and impersonally, to disentangle it from the felted textures in which it was so tightly woven that we hardly ever saw it naked, and then passed it by in silence, whether with reverence or with a leer, according to our temperament or our mood.

The distinguished contributors who have here been brought together, desire, I believe I may say, to contemplate sex nakedly and

to do so in the spirit of science. Not only are there to-day some new lines of sexology, but along others which are not new, aspects have to-day been opened out in which we may see the phenomena in a fresh light. This is true both on the physical plane and on the psychic plane.

On the physical side, through the active Mendelian investigations now in progress, and researches into the mechanism of the sexual process generally, we are gradually approaching closer to the central function of reproduction. Along another and wider physical line, a few brilliant suggestions are leading to more precise conclusions concerning the various ductless glands of the body which send out hormones or chemical messengers to control the whole growth and development of the organism, including the primary and secondary sexual characters, and thereby to determine, it may be, and certainly to influence, even the most delicate variations of sexual temperament. So that both the strength and the direction of the individual's erotic impulses are largely dependent on these endocrines, as they are called, with the practical result that variations of sex behavior, which we may be tempted to regard as perverse or bizarre or worse, must be recognized as largely the natural result of a special constitution, however sometimes modifiable by judicious changes that we may learn to effect in the balance of the internal secretions.

On the psychic side, the new advances have not been less important and significant. Of old, even men of science felt unable to touch sexual matters save with a finger tip, slightly and hesitantly, with many apologies and excuses. Only within the lifetime of most of us has sex begun to be observed as a part of nature, with the same respect as other parts, and also with the same coolness and thoroughness, and even to-day that method probably seems rather strange and uncomfortable to most people.

Apart from a new scientific attitude toward sex generally we have, more specifically, the stimulus of psychoanalytic investigation and its treatment of sex in life. This must be accepted as a potent influence altogether apart from one's own individual reaction to any or all psychoanalytic doctrines. The original genius of Freud, and the fruitful activities of the various workers whom he inspired and who have more or less gone their own ways—Jung, Adler, Rank, Stekel and the rest—may not have established a single permanent scientific fact. The ideas they have set in motion have in their own hands been undergoing perpetual changes from the moment when,

in conjunction with Breuer, Freud put forth his *Studies of Hysteria* in 1896. But it is possible (as, for instance, Professor McDougall has shown in his *Abnormal Psychology*) to criticize psychoanalytic doctrines at nearly every definite point, and yet to proclaim that Freud has effected a modification in human thought that will prove of permanent significance. Others had pioneered in the same direction, just as others had launched themselves into the air before Wright, but it is Freud who has taught the world that the sexual impulse—as it exists, that is to say, in our civilization—has even wider and deeper implications than have usually been suspected, and has shown how it may be regarded as a dynamic force which may change its forms, and often pass underground, while yet preserving all its potency.

In the new enthusiasm for education in matters of sex we find another road of advance, completely neglected except by ignorant though well-intentioned moralists, until fifty years ago in civilization (though not among savages), and therefore still undeveloped and in need of the most careful guidance. The necessity for such education is becoming so generally recognized that we may everywhere witness attempts to carry it out that are cheap and shallow, even likely to be mischievous, because in the hands of teachers who are themselves untaught. We need to begin at the top. At present the serious study of sexology is rarely to be found even in our universities and medical schools. It is mostly left to a few scientific amateurs, and in the whole civilized world there is at present but one Institute of Sexual Science,—that established in Berlin through the exertions of Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld,—and even that, it may be, not organized on a sufficiently wide basis. We cannot expect to find satisfactory methods of sexual education among the general population when we have not taken the trouble to make such education a serious discipline in our centers of learning.

Yet another psychic influence, of totally different order but of far-reaching operation, is the vivid modern realization that it is possible to control human reproduction—not by abortion, infanticide, war, famine, and other old methods now regarded as barbarous —but by the humane method of contraception. That method which, at its present rate of progress, will in a measurable period of time become universal, has a profound bearing alike on the molding of the human race in quality and in the grip it gives us over the menace of overpopulation.

It is these social movements and these currents of thoughts which

may fairly be said to mark Sex in Civilization in our time. It will be noted that they are not only all recent, but that it is only within the present century that any of them have become sufficiently developed to be seriously reckoned with. As we now view them, we see that they involve an almost revolutionary change when compared with conditions that prevailed a century, or even half a century, ago. For the people of that period the conditions which are beginning to prevail to-day might well seem to be a loosening of all accepted codes and established laws, a return to paganism, if not to savagery.

It is indeed significant that the careful study of uncivilized peoples that has to-day for the first time become possible, shows as I have already indicated, not only that the cultivation of the sex life outside civilization has been carried out elaborately from an early period, but that while there are obviously points at which we, from our own point of view, could better it, yet sometimes it exhibits a humanity and reasonableness from which we may have much to learn. It may be that, in the period we are now entering, sex inside civilization, on its finer lines of development, may receive inspiration from sex outside civilization.

That suggestion may well have a bearing on the relation of sex to law. In a period, such as that from which we are emerging, marked by a transformation of moral forms, we note a double and contradictory tendency: an increased tendency to disregard or to break laws and customs, and in reaction an increased tendency to impose legislation and regulation. That is a futile and unwholesome condition of things. If laws are not to become contemptible they must be stringent, and that they cannot be unless they are few. When laws are passed capriciously they are merely pieces of paper. Laws must be written on the heart before they are written on paper. In other words, sound laws cannot be imposed from without; they can only be a formulation of tendencies already active in the social consciousness of the community. If in the matter of sex we are approximating the uncivilized we must learn to understand that that is how sex is regulated among the uncivilized.

Yet, even when we look at the matter in the most serious spirit, this question of legislation, and the function of the State, possesses an importance we cannot well over-estimate. There can be little doubt of the contempt into which "civilization" has fallen in our time among many reflective minds. One thinks for instance of Edward Carpenter's *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure* of fifty years ago, or the notable volume on *Civilization in the United States* pro-

duced a few years ago by thirty Americans who insisted on its merely "embryonic" condition, and its "firm grasp of unessentials," of Spengler's doctrine of civilization as the senile stage of culture, and of Shaw's description to-day of civilization, in his *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism*, as "a disease." This contempt has been fortified by the imbecilities and futilities of legislation. One can but hope that the men and women of the younger generation will realize the significance of laws for civilization. They are not civilization—civilization is how we live and not how we legislate—but they may have a devastating effect on civilization. It is not the function of a law to be a "counsel of perfection," a rule which it is desirable but quite unnecessary for all to follow; and still less should a law be the assertion of one section of a community which another section vehemently denies. Such counsels and such assertions belong not to the sphere of law but to that of *talky-talky*, or at best to the sphere of morals. The majesty of law lies in its capacity to be the affirmation, not of a mere pious wish, but of the actual practice of the community as a whole. It is only so that law has any stringency or even any worth-while meaning. The ideal law code is that which contains the fewest chapters and leaves the largest sphere of freedom to the individual citizen. When we remember how much social energy which might be usefully employed has to-day to be exerted to abrogate laws of the past, which, however expressive they may possibly have been of a past society, have become an out-dated and mischievous influence in our society, we may well think twice, or even a hundred times, before we decide to impose similar burdens on our successors. Such difficulties and dangers are to be met in all civilized countries, but nowhere in a more acute form than in the United States of America, where independence and liberty might almost be said to have been the watchwords of the original settlers. An ideal of socialization on a democratic basis, in so far as it fosters and develops all the native instincts of man as a social animal, is not only precious but essential. Its establishment may even justify our temporary indifference to other claims of humanity that are equally essential. But the other claims are bound to recur, and if socialization destroys the autonomy of the individual it is of no avail. Rightly regarded, it is, on a sane balance, the safeguard of the individual, and may even help to cure the unfortunate complaint of legislative diarrhea. For, with a lively awareness of others, the responses of the individual, in sexual as in other matters, are spontaneously held true to his social relationships. That awareness will be a sanction to

punish any outrage on the feelings of others, without the need for written laws which may well be reserved for those grave anti-social acts which evoke the condemnation of the community as a whole. Thus an increased socialization, rightly understood, is a reason for diminishing, rather than for increasing, the tendency to legislate. We may well bear in mind the recent warning of André Gide—based on his observations on the Congo where "I" merely means "we"—that civilization means the conquest of individuality, and that by losing the sense of individuality, as we sometimes tend to do to-day, we risk relapsing into barbarism.

We touch here a vital point in the problems the present work is planned to discuss. There are excellent people among us—brought up with a traditional horror of sex and a blind faith in legislation—who cannot fail to regard the attitude here taken as questionable or even reprehensible. They cling to the taboos they may be said to have inherited and to the prejudices in which they were bred. But all life is movement, civilization is new every day, and even our taboos are never quite the same. Those who with tightly closed eyes refuse to let fall the customs and opinions of a past age, as though they represented eternal verities, may profitably meditate on Miss Margaret Mead's psychological study of sex life among the youth of a Pacific island in *Coming of Age in Samoa*. This highly competent and judicious investigation, the outcome of a real acquaintance with the group studied, brings before us a state of society which is neither primitive nor in our sense civilized. It represents a borderland, seldom found, where the two have met and mingled harmoniously, without the stringent hardness of savagery or the painful complexity of civilization. A society has thus been produced, within the period of a century, in which there is a wholesome simplicity aloof from primitive cruelties and civilized difficulties, where all the facts of sex and life and death are naked to view from the earliest years and regarded as the natural structure of existence, where freedom of relationships is practically unhampered before marriage, even sexual aberrations not too harshly judged, and those "conflicts" which the psychoanalysts are sometimes tempted to consider of universal validity, scarcely occur or are too slight to be significant, so that the conjugal life develops in ways that are harmonious, even if flexible. We could not pattern our lives on Samoa, but Samoa enables us to realize how rapidly a new sexual order, if on a reasonably natural foundation, may grow and become fairly stable.

The reader cannot have failed to observe that many of the con-

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siderations which come before us, at the threshold of the discussion of sex in civilization we are about to enter on, concern the very foundation of our life to-day. The fact that the whole conception of "civilization" arouses misgivings in so many minds indicates that we are feeling our way towards a new attitude of life, a rearrangement of vital activities in face of the complex problems the world now presents to us.

It has become almost a commonplace that the phase from which we are emerging is that of the mechanization of life. That process, which occupied so large a part of the energies of the nineteenth century, was associated with the equally mechanical ideal of standardization, an ideal having its right function though it has frequently been found, standing where it ought not, in the sphere of what should be the highest human functions. This development of the newly discovered material possibilities of our universe—remembering to use "matter" as no vulgar entity but as a never to be completely explored mystery—was a necessary and important phase in the history of humanity. So was the whole international organization of the commercial methods for supplying human material needs with which it has been throughout so closely connected.

That phase has sometimes been itself termed "civilization." To-day it seems to many a wrong name to apply to such a process. Some are now disposed to ask whether, when we bear in mind all that has been committed in its name, we should not rather call it barbarism. The great periods of the past to which we most confidently look back as periods of civilization were far from being notable on the mechanical side. Nowadays we find people asking whether all these mechanical inventions, however useful in the mere routine of life, really mean much, wireless and airplanes, telephones and the rest, whether we might not be well content to consign them to the devil if a chance came of hearing Socrates talk on the steps of the Acropolis or Jesus on the Mount of Olives, of knowing that Titian was amongst us painting or Mozart playing. Nor are these misgivings concerning mechanical values in life merely voiced by those who know nothing about mechanics. Only yesterday, as I write, a distinguished engineer, Sir Alfred Ewing, was lecturing on "A Century of Inventions," and he expressed the same opinion, not as a mere misgiving but with the voice of one who speaks with authority. He considered that we had now reached a lull in mechanical inventions and that while drastic social changes may be expected in the future they will not, as in the past century, be largely the mere readjustment de-

manded by mechanical invention, for the mental energy of mankind will now, it is probable, seek outlets in other and non-mechanical directions, while the inventions of which we now think so much would become standardized, be taken for granted, and pass into the mental background. It is significant, I may add, that the mechanical side of life, hitherto an adult interest, has to-day become an infantile interest, which indeed strongly appeals to children, and that is how it should be, for there are vastly more important things for adults to be interested in. Engineers, Ewing said, might regret such an issue, but, beyond question, it would prove beneficial to the human race. For we must face the fact that all the efforts to apply the forces of nature for the purpose of creating new capacities, new comforts, and new habits for man, left him in the end much what he was before, and that might be a mere barbarian—a barbarian into whose random and reckless hands had been placed the monstrous potentialities of ruin.

This new orientation of life faces us here—not without a promise of hope—because we have to recognize that the mechanization of life has in the recent past extended to the region of sex and led to moral ideals based on those of mechanical standardization. We often hear it said that since the impulse of sex may become so mighty a force we must do all we can to drain away force from it, so that it may become the harmless routine of a pleasurable sensation without any disturbing influence. It is certainly possible for this to be achieved by persons whose temperament is suitable for the achievement. And it may be added that the people whose lives are thus free from the disturbing influence of sex are not likely to be themselves a disturbing influence in the world's routine—which may be an advantage. It is certain that in the individuals who have been the great civilizing influences of the world, and in the periods which we regard as the great epochs of civilization, the impulse of sex, active or sublimated, has been very "disturbing" indeed. And if we turn to people whom we count uncivilized and in a "state of nature"—though, as already indicated, we may yet often regard such people as by no means uncultured in this primordial region of living—we also find that sex is a focus of intense activity, associated with all the highest functions the savage knows of, and—as even the language we have ourselves inherited from our savage forefathers reveals at its roots—the symbol and metaphor of other human activities. The savage has realized that in his own sexual functions he has the key to the whole generative process of nature; and the orgy of sex and

the asceticism of sex are blended in awe with all that he can divine that is high or deep in the universe as known to him. In savagery, as in civilization, man has felt himself in sex at the heart of his mystery: it may be reasonable, it may be unreasonable, but there it is. My old friend, Dr. Barker Smith, when, under the influence of nitrous oxide, he found himself face to face with the Creator of the universe, demanded of him its secret, and received the answer: "Reproduction," seems to have reached as far as any one can expect to get.

Sex, we see, is an ever-living fire that nothing will extinguish. It is like that flame which Moses saw on Mount Horeb, burning the bush which yet was not consumed. We may remember that when he approached it he heard a voice that said: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place wherein thou standest is holy ground." To-day, as the present work testifies, we do not hesitate to approach the miraculous flame of sex as nearly as we can. But the reader will hardly be in a position to do so profitably unless he first puts off his shoes.

I—SEX THROUGH THE AGES

SEX IN RELIGION

BY ROBERT BRIFFAULT

In the tradition of modern Western civilization no two spheres stand more sharply opposed than that of religion and that of sex. The manifestations of the latter are in that tradition the type of sin, the head-fount of that evil and impurity with which the religious spirit cannot be brought into touch without defilement and dissolution. Between religion and eroticism the antithesis is scarcely less than between religion and atheism. Yet a glance at the various religions of the world, outside Christianity and one or two closely allied systems, a survey of the religious rites of lower phases of culture, shows that the antithesis does not exist. Those religions and those rites are, on the contrary, shot through and through with riotous sensuality; the manifestations of the sex instinct, instead of being accounted incompatible with the religious spirit, are associated with it in the closest manner; and religion, in those phases, is almost as much concerned with sex as with ethics or theology. The religious art of New Guinea, of Polynesia, of Indonesia, of Africa, of South America is as pornographic as that of the temples of India and of Japan. In earlier phases of culture, from that of primitive hunting tribes to the great agricultural societies out of which our own civilization has sprung, almost every ritual includes licentious dances and songs, the performance, actual or symbolic, of the sexual act, and often orgies of promiscuity. Although the erotic character of religious symbolism and ritual tends in general to become restrained in the highest phases of culture, it is displayed in the fullest manner in those cultural stages that have immediately preceded them, and is conspicuous in the ancient religions of the most advanced and highly civilized peoples. The elaborate mystic theology of Egypt was replete with sexual symbolism; hierodular prostitution, ritual bestiality were among the observances of its cult. The religions of Babylonia, of Asia Minor, of the far-flung Semitic colonies, were notorious for the licentiousness of their rites: their priestesses were

sacred prostitutes and prostitution was incumbent upon every woman. "Nearly all peoples, except the Egyptians and the Greeks," says Herodotus, "have intercourse with women in the temples." But the exceptions which he mentions are not borne out even by his own testimony. The religion of Greece, though obscenity and license were attenuated in its later phases, presented the same rites and the same features as those of Babylon and Syria; brothels were attached to the temples; phallic emblems, ritual obscenity, the conventionalized celebration of the sexual union remained to the last as features of its most sacred ceremonies. Even the austere and simple religion of Rome was associated in its most venerated native rites with ithyphallic images of the gods, Fescennine ribaldry, and symbolic coitus.

The early Christian Fathers never wearied of inveighing against "the beastly devices of the heathen," and one of their favorite arguments was that all heathen religions were *impure*, that is, associated with licentiousness and sexual stimulation, and that the supreme merit of Christianity was to have, for the first time, introduced chastity and decency into religious worship. "You are utter unbelievers," said Clement of Alexandria addressing the pagan populations of the Roman empire, "in order that you may indulge your passions. You believe in your idols because you crave after their licentiousness." No charge brought against paganism was more difficult to rebut. When confronted with the pronounced sexual character of religions throughout most phases of their development, the traditional mind must needs subscribe to the view of the Christian Fathers, and set down the phenomenon to some vicious corruption which has seemingly overtaken in most instances the manifestations of the religious spirit.

Such an explanation will not, however, bear consideration. Christianity can no longer be regarded as isolated in its development from the various religions in the midst of which it arose. That development is now recognized to have been continuous, through a long line of religious evolution, with the rites and conceptions of the most uncultured peoples. The sexual character of religious ritual and symbolism, on the other hand, far from exhibiting the attributes of an incidental and adventitious corruption attendant upon luxury and civilization, is an essential and central feature of religious phenomena in their most primitive and rudimentary form.

The explanation is not supplied by any theory of adventitious corruption, but by the understanding of the evolutionary process that has given rise to religions. While the highest term of that

process is continuous with the most rudimentary, the intended function which religion fulfils has in the course of that development undergone important changes. Without attempting the notoriously invidious task of a definition, the connotation which the term religion calls forth in the modern mind is that of an interpretation of existence. Religion, in other words, is primarily thought of as a system of metaphysics. But that conception of the function of religion is not applicable to it in its earlier phases. Nothing is more foreign to the psychology of primitive humanity than a desire to answer philosophical questions and to interpret the universe of existence. Such questions do not interest savages and are not understood by them. What to us is the most obvious feature of religion has no place in its more primitive forms. The function of primitive religion is much more direct, concrete, and practical. It is not to interpret life, but to obtain those things which are accounted needful for its sustenance. This it attempts to do by the aid of supernatural means employed as adjuvants to practical measures and personal effort. The character of primitive religion does not correspond to the common connotation which the term has acquired so much as to that suggested by the term *magic*—a term that has indeed reference etymologically to the functions of priests among the ancient Aryan peoples.

The primary needs and desires of primitive humanity, and therefore the primary objects of its magico-religious rites, are to secure the increase and multiplication of the sources of food, animal and vegetable, and of the tribe. The most common form of ritual procedure employed to promote those aims is that described as *imitative magic.*

Hunters endeavor to stimulate the multiplication of game animals by dressing up as those animals, male and female, and imitating the act of procreation. Thus in the buffalo-dance of the Siouan tribes, the men dressed as buffaloes represented the covering of buffalo cows by the bull, and the phallic appendage with which the latter was provided was, at the end of the ceremony, exhibited to the people by the officiating priestess, who said "she held the power of creation and also the power of life and death over them." In other instances promiscuous intercourse took place, the men exchanging wives. There are many indications that very similar rites were common among the hunting populations of Europe, and the procedure appears to be illustrated in cave-pictures of the Magdalenian Age.

The growth of crops is universally promoted by similar ritual means. The belief is found to be general over five continents that the planting of seed, to be effective, must be accompanied by the performance of the sexual act. The ritual coitus is sometimes, as among the Pipeles of Salvador and the Musquaki Indians, carefully timed so as to coincide with the deposition of the seed in the ground. Peasants in Holland and in Germany at the present day avail themselves of the same measures, and make a point of having intercourse with their wives in the fields after the latter have been sown. The fable of Demeter and Iasion, who are described as adopting the same means to secure the fertility of the fields in Crete, shows that the notion was an old established one in the Hellenic world. Agricultural festivals, and more especially those connected with the planting of seed and the gathering of the harvest, present in every region of the world and in every age the most conspicuous examples of general sexual license. Thus among all the Bantu races of Africa the agricultural festivals "are akin in character to the feasts of Bacchus. It is impossible to witness them without being ashamed. Men and women, who in ordinary circumstances are modest in behavior and speech, abandon themselves to licentiousness. Prostitution is freely indulged in, and adultery is not viewed with any sense of heinousness on account of the surroundings." In India "the harvest festival is the signal for general license, and such license is looked upon as a matter of absolute necessity. Men set aside all conventions and women all modesty, and complete liberty is given to the girls." That license has a definite ritual purpose, and is sometimes, as among the Dayaks of North Borneo, limited to a short period of time, after which order must be restored. The agricultural populations of Algeria resent any restriction being placed upon the licentiousness of their women upon the ground that any attempt to enforce sexual morality would be prejudicial to the success of their agricultural operations. The Athenian *thesmophoria*, or sowing-feasts, preserved in attenuated form the original character of the magic of fertility. The women carried phallic emblems and uttered obscenities. The *saturnalia* were the Roman feasts of sowing, and have been succeeded by the *carnival* of southern Europe, in which phallic symbols, differing little from those in vogue among the Sioux and in Dahomey, were down to recent years a conspicuous feature. The primitive ithyphallic deities of Rome were for the most part the agricultural fetishes of the peasant population, who regarded the images of Mutunus

or of Fascinus, assimilated later to the Hellespontine god Priapus, roughly carved out of fig-tree wood, as essential to securing the fertility of the fields. At Lavinium the ithyphallic god Liber was drawn in a chariot round the land, and his enormous member was crowned with flowers by the matrons.

Agriculture was regarded as entirely a question of religion. Nothing so astonished the Pueblo Indians when the Spanish *padres* settled amongst them than to see them grow crops without employing any religious or magical means of securing success. When the direct objects which it is intended to secure by primitive ritual, and the means employed to do so, are considered, the close original association of religion and sexual activity is manifest. But the association is even more intimate and fundamental.

The increase of the human population is accounted no less important than that of the means of subsistence. The process of generation, which remains in many respects obscure to the modern biologist, is generally regarded by uncultured people as more supernatural than physiological in character. Some tribes of Australia and of New Guinea are said to be unaware of the relation between the congress of the sexes and conception. Apart from such extreme instances, the physiological act is scarcely ever regarded as constituting the sole efficient cause of generation. From the lowest to the most advanced stages of culture, the male is thought to be little more than the vehicle through which supernatural powers operate. It is the general belief of men in the lower cultures that during sexual excitement, as in the state of inspiration or divine possession, they are for the time being the medium and abode of a god. The view of the Tartars that "each human being is brought into existence by special divine interference" may be said to express the general belief in the matter. It is indeed substantially the view of St. Paul:[1] "That seed which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be . . . but God giveth it a body." The Catholic Church teaches that the soul of a human being "is created and united by God to the infant body yet unborn, which union is called passive conception." The Christian Fathers were indeed much perplexed over the question how illegitimate children can be born at all, since they are in reality created by God, and He condemns fornication. The idea that the sperm constitutes the actual substance of the Deity, who uses the human male as his medium during the condition of sexual excitement, has survived in mystic theo-

[1] *I Corinthians, xv,* 37-38.

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logical thought down to the present day, and ecclesiastics have expressed the opinion that chastity serves to conserve the divine essence within man. The Manichæans and other Gnostic sects are said to have been in the habit of administering human sperm to communicants, mingled with the elements of the Eucharistic sacrifice. The ancient Hebrews were wont to administer the most solemn oaths by placing the hand of the testator on their testicles,[2] and the very words *testify*, *testament*, etc., from *testis*, a testicle, bear witness to the diffusion of the same ideas. The act of procreation is thus regarded as the occasion when the actual divine presence is most clearly manifested, and as the divine act *par excellence*. Orthodox Muhammedans, when they have intercourse with their wives, recite a short prayer, thus acknowledging the sacred character of the act. It can therefore cause little surprise that the act of copulation was, in the Mysteries which constituted the pagan analogue of the Christian Eucharist, associated with the partaking of the sacred substances designed to effect the closer communion of the faithful with the divinity.

The views of most pious persons among ourselves thus do not differ essentially from those held by the Australian aborigines; they would account the opinion blasphemous that procreation is an exclusively physiological process, and they are at one with all savage peoples in holding that children are sent by God. Conception is commonly believed to be brought about by countless agencies other than sexual intercourse. The notion is almost universal that other conditions must be complied with before conception can follow. Thus in many parts of Australia, as also among the Eskimo and the Plains Indians, it is thought essential that a woman should be supplied with suitable animal food by a man before he can cause her to become pregnant. Among the Hottentots the women do not think they could bear children unless they had previously stood naked under a drenching thunder-shower. Many of the observances and rituals which form part of marriage ceremonies are intended to fulfill preliminary conditions which are accounted necessary before pregnancy can take place.

In all those beliefs and observances the idea is that human generation is directly dependent upon the operation of some supernatural power.

One such agency stands in a particularly close and important

[2] *Genesis, xxiv, 2-3, xlvii, 29*, where the word for penis is euphemistically translated *thigh*.

relation to the power of procreation in the conceptions of the lower, and indeed of some of the highest cultures, and that relation has had a profound influence upon the course of religious development and upon its sexual aspect in particular. Savages, whose views accord in this instance with the most advanced physiological knowledge, regard menstruation as an abortive form of pregnancy. The menstrual function is recognized by even the most backward peoples as being governed in its periodicity by the moon, and is in every language, savage and civilized, named after the moon. The moon is believed to be the direct cause of menstruation, and several peoples expressly state that this is brought about through an actual or mystic sexual connection between the lunar power and women. Thus among the Murray Islanders "the moon was supposed to be a young man who at certain periods defiled women and girls, causing a bloody discharge." Or again the Uaupe Indians speak of the first menstruation as "defloration by the moon." Since menstruation is regarded as a form of pregnancy, of which the physiological process is held to be an accessory cause only, it follows that normal pregnancy is also looked upon as being the result of lunar influence. The moon, which appears to control menstruation, is regarded as the source of all generative powers.

A verbal report of the explanation offered by the Maori on the subject puts the matter clearly. "The moon," they say, "is the permanent husband, or true husband, of all women. According to the knowledge of our ancestors and elders, the marriage of man and wife is a matter of no moment: the moon is the real husband." That notion is as explicitly held by several Australian tribes; among the Pelew Islanders the women consider that the moon is the real father of their children; the same belief is expressed by Kaffir women, and "among all negro races the moon and generation are closely connected", the Indians of Texas think that no marriage can be fruitful unless the woman has first been impregnated by the moon; the Eskimo believe that the moon impregnates women. That belief, traceable throughout the uncultured world, is no less explicit in cultures so high as that of India. The moon-god Soma has the first claim to every bride before her marriage: "Soma has her first; the bride only comes afterwards into the possession of men." "From the moon," explain the Upanishad, "the seed is derived." The ancient Persians likewise regarded the moon as the source of all seed and of all generative power. In Egypt an inscription in the Temple of the Moon-god at Thebes explains that "When night and the light

of the increasing moon is his, he causes bulls to procreate and impregnates women, and causes the egg to grow in the womb." Among the Greeks "the moon was regarded as the principle of generation." In the same manner as the Fuegians call the moon "The Lord of the Women," they called Dionysos, who was originally a moon-god, "The Lord of Vulvas."

The moon is, in fact, regarded in all mythologies, both primitive and advanced, as the primal source of generative powers, whether as regards human beings, animals, or plants. Such attributes and functions, founded upon the direct and evident relation, as it appears to the primitive mind, between the moon and menstruation, must manifestly cause an importance to be assigned to the moon exceeding that of any other natural object. And, in fact, as has been repeatedly noted, the cults of lunar deities occupy in early phases of religion a far more important place than those of any other deities. If the fact has long been overlooked, and if some scholars influenced by the old misleading theory of "nature worship" still speak with disparagement of "lunar fancies," it is owing to the assumption that religious ideas have arisen as philosophical interpretations of the universe. Were this the case, the sun would naturally occupy the first place among natural objects as the most conspicuous image of the powers ruling human destiny. Since religion did not, however, originate as a philosophical system, but as the practice of magic, those considerations are irrelevant and misleading. In point of fact the interpretations giving rise to solar cults and mythologies do not make their appearance until relatively advanced stages of culture, when agriculture on a large scale has developed and primitive notions have lost much of their significance, and the functions and attributes of sun-gods which are then theoretically and artificially evolved are found to be borrowed from earlier lunar deities. It may indeed be said without exaggeration that the great majority of supreme gods possessing cosmic and universal attributes have originally arisen as moon-gods who were primarily regarded as controlling the powers of generation.

The attribute of creator, which constitutes so essential and fundamental an element of the theological conception of Deity, occupies a very small place in the primitive ideas of the divine, for acts of creation are believed to be quite commonly performed by persons proficient in the magic arts. The operation is not thought of in terms of metaphysics, as the bringing forth of something out of nothing, but is regarded as equivalent to the power of genera-

tion. The attributes of primitive gods as controllers of generation are thus analogous to those of theological deities as creators. The theology of the ancient Egyptians gave naïve expression to the primitive logic by representing the supreme self-created deity as introducing his generative organs into his mouth, from which the seed presently issues forth as the Creative Word, or Logos. The assimilation of sperm with the Word or Logos is indeed a current commonplace in Catholic casuistical theology. The Egyptian conception is more commonly reproduced under the aspect of the serpent biting his tail. Serpents, in fact, which are regarded as the representatives of lunar deities, were, by the ancients, and are still supposed by the peasantry of Europe, to copulate by introducing their bodies into one another's mouths.

In accordance with the functions ascribed to it, the moon is regarded in all primitive cultures and in most languages, including early English, as masculine. Moon-gods are, in primitive phases of religion, more conspicuous than moon-goddesses. Thus it is that the phallus plays a far more conspicuous part in religious symbolism than, as is the case in erotic art generally, feminine representations. The supernatural sources of generation exercise their functions of fecundation in regard to women, and are therefore masculine.

The attributes of the high gods as supreme creators are naturally emphasized in archaic pictorial representations. Thus, for example, in Southern Celebes, the chief god *Kareng Lowe* is represented by a large ithyphallic statue of gold; his sanctuary, in which numerous candles and incense are burnt, is served by a college of priestesses who celebrate his festival at the full moon. A similar cult takes place at Ambon and Uliassa, and the fertility of the women is regarded as dependent upon the god. Those representations of the divine attributes, which abound in India, in the Shinto cults of Japan, and throughout Africa, were even more prevalent among the early populations of the Mediterranean lands. The gods of Greece, whose glyptic images afford the highest standard of beauty which sculptural art has attained, were in earlier days almost invariably represented, like those of Rome, as wooden posts on which no feature of the human body was depicted except the protrudent male organ. When later Hellenic taste modified the crudity of primitive art, the prescriptive character was preserved in the popular images of the moon-god Hermes, or Herms, in his function of protector of the fertility of the fields and

flocks, and in those of Dionysos, whose cult retained the more primitive characters of Greek religion. The traditional representation of the divine controllers of generation survived into the Middle Ages. In Flanders and in France ithyphallic saints were not uncommon, such as St. Giles in Brittany, St. Rene in Anjou, St. Greluchon at Bourges, St. Regnaud, St. Arnaud. The most popular throughout southern France, St. Foutin, was reputed to have been the first bishop of Lyons. When his shrine at Embrun was destroyed by the Huguenots, the phenomenal phallus of the holy personage was rescued from the ruins, stained red from abundant libations of wine, which his worshipers had been in the habit of pouring over it, drinking thereafter the potation as an infallible remedy against sterility and impotence.

The Egyptian legend which describes how, when Isis gathered together the scattered members of Osiris, his genitals could not be found and were replaced by a wooden substitute, was probably suggested to account for the prevalence in this cult of the phallus as a separate emblem, like the similar story told in Greece about Dionysos, who was reputed to have bequeathed, when dying, his phallus carved out of fig-tree wood to a friend. As the natural insignia of the primary function with which cosmic deities are most directly associated in primitive thought, the phallus figures prominently in their worship. It was commonly carried at sacred processions in Egypt, and countless wooden phalli have been found in Egyptian shrines and tombs. Under Ptolemy Philadelphus a phallus of gold, 120 ells high, was carried in a procession at Alexandria. The chapels of St. Foutin, that of SS. Cosmas and Damianus at Isernia, near Naples, which boasted the possession of a most holy relic, the "big toe" of St. Cosmas, were as abundantly adorned with silver and wax phalli of all sizes as the pagan fanes which they had supplanted. In Greece, Hermes instead of being portrayed in ithyphallic form, was sometimes as at Cyllene, represented like Siva, by a huge phallus mounted on a pedestal. Dionysos was usually so represented, particularly in the mysteries. The early Greeks, as likewise the Etruscans, frequently placed the emblem on graves as a token of the resurrection, and the grave of Alyattes, in Lydia, was surmounted by a colossal phallus. Phalli have also been found placed under the foundations of buildings in southern Italy. The Greek *phallephoria* were the analogue of the phallic processions of Egypt, and the emblems, adorned with many-colored ribbons, were carried to the accompaniment of pornographic poems

(*phallicon poiema*), which are said to have been the first germ of Greek comedy. The phallus was, like other divine emblems, commonly worn as an amulet throughout the ancient world, and, in the form of cakes, such as were carried by the women in the Athenian *thesmophoria*, was popular in the Roman empire as a sacramental article of food, a custom which has survived to the present day in some parts of France.

Such direct symbolism is, of course, common in lower stages of culture. In Ashanti and Dahomey, for instance, the phallus appeared along the main streets, on door-posts, on roofs; and in the Congo, among the Bayanzi, phalli adorned with feathers, to which sacrifices of cocks are offered with the declared intention of securing the fertility of the women, are the commonest fetish. It cannot, however, be said that the phallus, as a separate emblem, is found in the lowest cultures. In Australia, although wooden message-sticks in the form of phalli are in use, there is no indication of any special ritual use of the emblem.

The expression "phallic worship," by which the particular employment of the emblem, which chiefly attracted attention to the sexual aspects of archaic religion, has long been designated, dates from a time when the essential unity of religious development was not understood, and suggests special sexual cults. That suggestion is as misleading as the implied opposition between such cults and an assumed anti-sexual, or *moral*, character of religious manifestations in general. There is no indication of any separate cult of the male organs of generation as such. All religions are, in their origin, equally associated in the closest manner with sex, and the phallus, for reasons that have been indicated, is one of the most direct and common symbols of the association.

The wholesale interpretation of ritual objects and symbols as "phallic," to which the conception of "phallic worship" has given rise, must be regarded with caution by critical scholarship. The truly primitive mind is not much given to symbolism, having little occasion to elude the direct and concrete by means of the figurative. A savage who desires to portray a human penis will do so to the best of his ability, and will not endeavor to veil his intention by depicting a double-axe or a swastika. Such interpretations have, it is true, been in many instances applied by later religious mysticism to more primitive objects of cult. Thus the Greeks, accustomed as they were to phallic emblems, regarded, according to Lucian, the two great pillars which stood before the temple of Hierapolis as

phalli. But the assumption that the sacred pillars (*asheroth*) and poles (*massabhoth*) of Semitic temples were originally phallic symbols is negatived by all we know of their use and significance: they are far more often associated with goddesses than with gods, the chief stress is laid on their numbers and not on their form, they were directly derived from sacred stones the symbolism of whose form is entirely different, and from sacred trees which, in Western Asia, were regarded as females, and whose gums were looked upon as menstrual blood.

The phallus has, however, true surrogates in primitive thought. Thus in tropical countries special sacredness attaches to the banana, which even many Christian people scruple to cut with a knife, alleging that a section of the fruit displays an image of the Crucifixion and of the instruments of the Passion. The serpent, which owing to its faculty of rejuvenescence by molting its skin, is associated with the moon, whose monthly resurrection after the three interlunary days is everywhere regarded as the token of eternal life, is in like manner the common representation of the phallic deity of generation. Like the majority of other gods, Christ was by all Gnostic sects regarded as a serpent, and we are told in the Gospel of John that "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." The Manichæans regarded Christ as identical with the first serpent who, according to current Jewish tradition, had sexual connection with Eve in the Garden of Eden.

With the Egyptians, the peoples of Western Asia, and the Greeks, as with the majority of savages, fish are regarded as interchangeable with serpents, and the fish, which was a specially favorite form of the gods in Western Asia, was even more closely associated than the serpent with the phallic functions of the divine powers. "Fish" is indeed in those countries at the present day a popular designation for the male organs. The divine fish, which was also the symbol of the phallic god Hermes, and which appears on a Bœotian amphora as a substitute for the phallus, fecundating the goddess of fertility, was commonly worn as an amulet by Semitic peoples. It has been found richly wrought in gold and in lapis lazuli among the amulets worn by Queen Shuba, in the royal tombs of Ur recently explored by Mr. Woolley. Tammuz (*the only-begotten Son*), or Adonis (*the Lord*), the dying and resurrecting god who, since as far back as 4000 years B.C. was identified with the second person of the Sumerian and Babylonian trinities, was also known as Dagon,

that is to say, *the Fish*. Another of his epithets was "the Savior," or in Hebrew "Joshua," in Hellenised form "Jesus." He is also called in ancient Babylonian cuneiform tablets, the "Anointed," or "Christ." Among the Hebrews, Joshua, the first Savior of Israel, was called "the Son of Nun," that is, *of the Fish*. The Great Fish, or Leviathan, was in fact regarded by the Jews as the Messiah, or Christ, whose true name was said to be Ji-Nun. The Fish was accordingly, among the early Christians, the common emblem of Jesus Christ, a circumstance which was explained by an ingenious anagram. After condemning the error of those heretical Christians who regarded Christ as a serpent, Tertullian says: "But we, little fishes, followers of our Fish, Jesus Christ, are born of water, nor can we otherwise obtain eternal salvation." It was, in accordance with those ideas, the custom among the Jews, who generally abstained from eating fish, to partake of sacramental meals consisting of fish, thereby manducating the substance of the Divine Messiah, who was said to be destined as food for his people, and from whom all fertility was derived. The custom is alluded to in the Gospel miracle of the multiplication of the two fishes. The fish was in fact the usual constituent of the Eucharistic meal in the early Church, and is invariably so represented in early Christian pictography. The time-honored custom survives in the prescriptive fish-meals of holy days. Such is the uniformity of religious ideas that fish, which are universally looked upon as charms to impart fertility, and which were, in that character, sacred to Aphrodite, were dedicated in the same manner to the Nordic goddess Freija, after whom the day, Friday, is named on which it is customary, among Roman Catholics, to partake of a fish diet.

Phallic symbolism, that is, the substitution of other images for the phallus, which is not common among savages, was, it should be noted, particularly prevalent among the Semites, who were too observant of superstitious dangers to incur the risks attached to "obscene" and "immodest" exhibitions. The generative attributes of the high gods were, accordingly, most usually denoted by them by assimilating them to bulls, and indicating their superhuman virility by providing them with a large number of horns. Yahweh was usually represented as a bull, and was known as "the Bull of Israel," and to him the first fruits of every womb were supposed to be dedicated. The crescent-horned bull is a universal personification of the lunar deity and of the masculine principle of generation. In ancient Persian religion the Primal Bull stood for the soul of the

world, which was formed out of it. From it all seed was derived. The Primal Bull was said to have dwindled away, leaving only his testicles, which are the moon.

From the ideas upon which those conceptions are founded it follows that it is imperative for every woman, apart from any earthly marriage, to achieve union with the divine source of generative powers. Human marriage is accordingly found to be preceded, in the usages of primitive and ancient cultures, by observances intended to effect that sacred union. This is sometimes carried out by copulation with the image of the god. Thus in India girls were deflowered before their marriage by means of the *lingam*, or phallus of stone, metal, or ivory, which was the emblem of the god Siva. Roman brides were, in like manner, under the obligation of seating themselves before marriage on the lap of the statue of the phallic god Mutunus Tutunus.

The god is represented in other instances by a priest or other sacred personage, the widespread usage constituting the so-called *jus primæ noctis*. Far from being in its origin an abuse of despotic power, the usage is eagerly observed with religious fervor in every part of the world. Thus in many parts of India "the Brahmans play the part of thoroughbred stallions, upon whom it is incumbent to ennoble the race and cohabit with virgins of inferior caste. The venerable personage scours town and country; the people give him presents of money and stuff; they wash his feet, drink the dirty water and preserve the rest. After a repast of dainty meats, he is conducted to the nuptial couch, where, crowned with flowers, the virgin awaits him." The first child is accordingly held particularly sacred, and is spoken of as "born by the grace of God."

The means of divine union may be sought in general pre-nuptial promiscuity, or in the prevalent usage described as "earning a dowry by prostitution," for it is considered that in such general freedom the gods are afforded the same opportunity as other males of claiming the bride. In some forms of the usage pre-nuptial prostitution is limited to strangers, or, as in Herodotus' description of the observance in the Babylonian temple of Mylitta, to a single stranger, to whom it is obligatory for every woman to yield herself once in her life. The unknown stranger is, in fact, in popular tradition, a common disguise of the god. The pre-nuptial prostitution of the bride is, in the usage known as the Nasamonian rite, confined to the male guests attending the wedding, who each possess her in turn before the bridegroom is allowed access to her, usages of which

vestigial survivals appear in the rights of the priest and of the wedding-guests to kiss the bride. It was until lately the custom in the remoter districts of Ireland for the male guests to undress the bride on the wedding night. In more advanced stages of culture such rites are frequently represented by the custom of postponing the consummation of the marriage for three or more nights, during which the bride is supposed to be dedicated to the god before passing into the arms of her earthly husband, the god being sometimes represented, as in India and in ancient Mexico, by sacred emblems, such as an ornamented staff or a jewel, placed upon the bridal couch by the priest. The usage, adopted by the Catholic Church under the name of *Tobias nights*, is scrupulously observed in many pious communities and its observance is still strongly urged by the authorities of the Church. There are many indications that much of the solemnity imparted to the union of Holy Matrimony in higher cultures rests upon the fiction that the earthly husband acts as the representative of the Divine Bridegroom, in whose name he claims the devotion and obedience of the wife, who is expected, according to the words of the Laws of Manu, to look upon him as her god.

The sexual rites of early religion are not confined to promoting the fertility of food-animals, of the fruits of the earth, and of women. Those primary purposes of primitive magic, frequently combined in rites of fertility, also include the ritual control of the rainfall, that paramount requirement of early cultures. Rain, upon which the fertility of the soil depends, is generally assimilated to seminal fluid, and the Manichæans are said to have regarded a downpour of rain as the effect of amatory excitement on the part of the deity. In the same manner Priapus was, among the Romans, the sender of rain. In India the amount of rain is thought to be proportionate to the number of marriages that have taken place during the season. What is regarded as the chief factor upon which depends that general prosperity which it is the primary object of archaic religion to secure, thus presents itself to primitive theology as appertaining no less than the control of the powers of generation to the sexual aspect of religion.

The utilitarian effects of sexual activity extend, in early ritual, to practices intended to promote the general welfare of the community and to avert danger and misfortune. Thus when the blackfellows of Australia were panic-stricken by a storm or an *aurora australis* they indulged in general sexual promiscuity, thinking thereby to placate the powers which were thought to threaten their

well-being. Ritual prostitution was resorted to by the Amerind tribes as a remedy against every manner of evil, as in cases of epidemics or on the occasion of the illness of a chief. Similarly the Patagonians when dogged by misfortune send their wives into the forest with a request that they shall yield themselves to the first stranger who presents himself. The ancient Greeks were familiar with the same ideas. When the Lokrians of Magna Grecia were hard pressed by their warlike neighbors, they proposed to avert military disaster by placing their wives for a month in the brothels of the city. The courtesans of Corinth were rewarded by a public memorial for their patriotic conduct in the exercise of their calling when the city was threatened by the Persian invasion. A usage which doubtless dates from the times of the Pharaohs is still carried out in lower Egypt by women of the most respectable families. When they are keenly desirous of obtaining some special grace from heaven, they make a solemn vow to attend the holy *mulid* of Ahmed-al-Bedawi, the most popular religious festival of the country, and there to yield their favors to the first man who happens to approach them.

The ritual observances which are by some peoples regarded as incumbent upon every woman in the interests of the community, are by others delegated to specially appointed sacred women, priestesses and hierodules, who are regarded as the wives of the god, and fulfill their office either by acting as prostitutes in the temple precincts, or by effecting the divine union with consecrated priests of the god. The sacred marriage is often celebrated, either in actual or symbolic ritual, by the chief priestess or the queen and the supreme hierophant or other representative of the god. That sacred marriage, or *hieros gamos*, constitutes the central and most solemn act of many religious ceremonials, as in the sun-dance of the Arapahos, in the Vedic rites of ancient India, of Egypt, of Babylon, of Crete, of Athens, and in the Mysteries of Eleusis.

The divine generative and creative power is not only thought to be assisted in its activity and diffused throughout nature and mankind by the sexual act, but that power is held to be stimulated by any means calculated to produce erotic excitation. Hence every form of lasciviousness and obscenity of word or deed promotes the aims of religious magic. As the Kochs of Bengal explain, the god "is pleased to see nude women dancing before him and to hear obscene songs, in consideration of which he sends rain and a good harvest." For such reasons, as Porphyry remarks, "phalli are set up to the gods and obscene phrases used." Nudity is universally

held to assist the success of all magical operations. It is a requisite of the practice of witchcraft, which was but the survival of pagan rituals, and is at the present day a feature of the rain-making ceremonies which still survive among the more secluded populations of Europe. The obscenities characteristically attributed to the Sabbaths of witches were not manifestations of corrupt licentiousness, but of magical efficiency. By such ribaldry and exhibitionism was Baubo, in Attic tradition, reputed to have conciliated the deity of fertility, and the gesture of Baubo was part of the ritual of Egyptian women at the agricultural festival of Bubastis and at the installation of the sacred Apis bull, the offspring and representative of the moon. Such obscenity is a feature of the rites of religious societies of women from which men are strictly excluded, in Africa and in Indonesia, no less than of the women's rites of ancient Mediterranean cults. In the same manner as, being regarded as an obligatory and sacred ritual, it implied no reflection upon the character of the matrons of Athens and Rome, so the boundless obscenity of the rites performed by women in Central Africa is, we are assured, consistent with the utmost modesty in their habitual conduct.

With the extension of the proprietary sentiments and claims which goes with the conditions of advanced civilization, the tendency is everywhere to restrict sexual religious practices which are opposed to those sentiments. In Greece the growth of those sentiments "gradually swept out of religion, or at least covered with a decent veil, that great mass of rites which was concerned with the food supply and the tribe-supply and aimed at direct stimulation of the generative processes. It left only a few reverent and mystic rituals, a few licensed outbursts of riotous indecency in comedy, and the agricultural festivals." [3] Athenian tradition stated that Solon had "regulated the outgoings of the women and their festivals, forbidding by law all disorder and excess." [4] In the *phallephoria*, the consecrated emblems were replaced by poles adorned with ribbons, and the obscenity of the songs was regulated by official censorship. The Fescennine jests which are loudly chanted by the women in the rituals of Africa and of the East Indies were whispered by the officiating women in the Athenian *thesmophoria* and in the Roman cult of *Bona Dea*. The phalli which were carried in procession in Egypt and in Dahomey and set in motion by operating strings were covered with a cloth in the Attic ritual and hidden in

[3] Gilbert Murray.

[4] Plutarch, *Vit. Sol.* xxi.

the temple of Vesta at Rome. In Syria women were in later times permitted to compound for the obligation of pre-nuptial prostitution by cutting off their hair, a common marriage rite by which, like Catholic nuns, they became mystically united to the Divine Bridegroom.

Primitive magico-religious ritual consists broadly of two orders of procedures, the one intended to please, attract, and conciliate the divine powers, the other to avert and exorcise the harm which they have power to inflict. To the first class belongs imitative magic and all those rites which are designed to increase and stimulate the beneficent functions of the gods; to the second belong the rites of aversion and of mourning. As the sexual rites and symbolisms of early religion became inconsistent with the sentiments of more advanced cultural phases, the alternative class of primitive magical measures acquired a corresponding importance, namely, those practices which originally served to avert the envy and jealousy of ghosts and other supernatural beings. These practices consist everywhere in abstention from all forms of gratification which might arouse envious feelings, in self-humiliation, in the mortification of the body, in neglect of personal adornment and cleanliness, in the self-infliction of injuries and mutilations, in fasting, and above all in chastity. The two classes of primitive ritual are very clearly illustrated in Greek religion. The Greeks designated by the same term, *agneia*, the term which is used by the Christian Fathers to denote chastity and sexual purity, both abstinence, not only from sexual intercourse, but also from food, and also the rites of mourning, or rites of aversion. Porphyry "going to the heart of ancient religion," as Miss Harrison remarks, tells us that those rites were practiced "not in order that we may induce the presence of the gods, but that these wretched things may keep off." Such funereal or ascetic rites are generally regarded, as for instance in India, as imparting, like all magic procedures, a power of control over supernatural agencies which owes nothing to any moral character attaching to them or to the person who carries them out, who may be a malefactor or a dæmon. They are supposed to control the gods, not by pleasing them, as sexual rites are supposed to do, but by disarming their envy and malevolence, and belong therefore essentially to the element of fear in religion. Among the Jews, who drew no distinction between ritual requirements and ethical virtues, the identification of magic practices and moral qualities proceeded to a degree which was singular among the nations of antiquity. The

conception of ritual defilement, of lack of *agneia*, became modified with them into that of moral impurity or sin. Out of that identification arose the ascetic ideals which characterized early Christianity, and in particular the fierce denunciation of all manifestations of the sexual instinct as the essence of evil. The uncompromising attitude of the Christian Fathers, which caused many Christian converts to castrate themselves, condemned marriage as inconsistent with religion, pronounced woman to be the gate of hell, and declared the extinction of the human race to be preferable to its propagation through sexual intercourse, has afforded the foundation of those standards of sexual morality which have ever since been current in the tradition of Western civilization. It is customary to regard those standards as the mature fruit of accumulated human experience, as the temperate conclusions of human wisdom. But it is not so. They are the survival of what, in their original form, few would hesitate to pronounce as being the fanatical ravings of delirious minds.

The manifestations of the sex instinct are almost as syncretic in their cultural development as religion. Because it is the most potent actuating impulse of living beings, the reproductive instinct infuses its imperious force into every other form of activity in proportion to the extent of the repression imposed upon its direct operation. In the lowest phases of culture the appeal of sex is, as among animals, almost entirely functional and physical. With the restrictions introduced during the course of social development, forms of sublimation are imposed upon the activity of the instinct which are to a large extent molded by the environing traditional culture. Man owes his exceptional social instincts to the circumstance that, in a degree without parallel among animals, he develops under the protecting care of maternal love operating over a long period of helpless infancy. That condition of dependence is the most specific character of the psychical constitution of man. The need to which it gives rise is supplied in primitive cultures by the strong social solidarity between members of the same clan or tribal group. Where that original tribal organization and its remarkable solidarity have disappeared, the need of the dependent human individual is supplied by personal affections and friendships. In monogamic societies that need becomes naturally conjoined with the organic instincts of sex. The wife or mistress is not only, as with the savage, an object of sexual desire, she is also the surrogate of the mother. The needs of the sex instinct

thus become intimately blended with the most pronounced specific character of humanity resulting from man's prolonged infancy and dependent development—"the love of Love and the heart's loneliness." [5]

The sentimental development of sexual love acquires likewise a greatly increased importance with reference to religion as this passes from the stage of primitive magic to the more philosophic and emotional phases of its development. When religion comes to be viewed not as a magic means of satisfying the needs of life by the control of supernatural sources of power, but as an interpretation of the universe and of man's relation to it, the chief emotional aspect of that relation becomes identical with the quality of man's disposition which has sublimated sexual love. The need for a trust or faith in the existence of a well-disposed and beneficent power governing human destiny, which has sometimes been improperly described as a religious instinct, is of the same nature as the need of the dependent human individual for the equivalent of maternal tenderness in his sexual associate. Schleiermacher, in the discourses which for a long time set the standard of the theme, placed the essence of religion in the feeling of absolute dependence, without attempting to define the object towards which it was directed. That feeling of dependence is the source of the sentiment of love, as it is of all human social instincts. The function of the Deity has thus been commonly characterized by the declaration that "God is love," and the relation of the supreme power to man has come to be regarded as mainly parental. The most exalted forms of religious emotion are represented by that "love of God," in which God is faint and love is fierce. The emotionalism of the saint and the ascetic is a manifestation of the same psychic elements which, in other circumstances, will fire the romantic exaltation of the lover.

As with the latter, the spiritualized sentiment is inseparable from its psycho-physiological basis: when the religious emotions surge up, the sexual emotion is never far away. Hence the fierceness of Christian sexophobia. The obsessing denunciation of sex which fills Patristic literature is the protest of an exasperated sensuality envious of that which it denies itself and for which it secretly craves. It is the homage which virtue pays to vice. "How often," says St. Jerome, "when I was living in the desert which affords to hermits a savage dwelling-place, parched by a burning sun, did I fancy myself amid the pleasures of Rome! I sought solitude because I

[5] Rupert Brooke.

was filled with bitterness. . . . I, who from the fear of hell had consigned myself to that prison where scorpions and wild beasts were my companions, fancied myself among bevies of young girls. My face was pale and my frame chilled from fasting, yet my mind was burning with the cravings of desire, and the fires of lust flared up from my flesh that was as that of a corpse. I do not blush to avow my abject misery."

The primal function of the primitive religious magic of generation is re-echoed throughout the long line of female votaries of the Divine Bridegroom, in the lascivious ecstasies of a St. Theresa, of a St. Catherine, of a Madame Guyon. In 1925, a Norman Carmelite nun, Thérèse Martin, was added to the list of Catholic Saints under the title of St. Theresa of Jesus, on account of her transcendent devotion to her spiritual spouse. "Ah! how sweet is the first kiss of Jesus!" she exclaims in the collection of devotional thought she has contributed. "Indeed it is a kiss of love. I felt myself beloved by him, and I said to him 'I love you, I give myself to you for ever.' Jesus and myself have for a long time understood each other. Our coming together was a fusion of our being. . . . My heaven is no other than that of Love, I have felt that nothing could detach my ardour from the divine being who has ravished me."

The male aspect of the deity is, as an obvious consequence of the conceptions which have been noted, predominant among primitive societies of hunters, nomads and pastoralists. But the male god is, as a rule, associated even among these with a female deity, who is not his wife, but his mother. For descent being primitively reckoned through the women, a motherless male presents to the mind of the savage an incongruity. With the development of agriculture as the chief means of subsistence, the Mother of God, while remaining invariably a lunar goddess, acquires an enhanced importance from her assimilation to the fruit-bearing earth. In her religion, which attained conspicuous prominence throughout Mediterranean civilizations, the religious emotion of the men was afforded the same opportunity of close approximation to the sexual emotion as that of the women in the cult of the Divine Bridegroom and Dying God. The goddesses of fertility, the Divine Mothers, Ishtar, Ashtharte, Anaïtis, Hathor, Aphrodite, are likewise the Goddesses of Love.

Christian theology at first excluded the Mother Goddess from its scheme, substituting the Holy Ghost, whose name, feminine in

Hebrew, is neuter in Greek, for *Holy Sophia*, although Judaic Gnosticism continued to regard the third person of the Trinity as the mother of Christ. The Goddess was, however, before long restored to her time-honored place in the devotion of the peoples of Mediterranean lands, and the Queen of Heaven resumed her pristine position with her ancient attributes, the crescent moon and the serpent. The erotic hymns and sonnets to the Holy Virgin which abound in medieval literature, the exaltations of her worshipers, of which a vivid analysis has been given by Zola in *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*, present the counterpart of the fires and languors of feminine devotion.

The psychiatrist and the alienist are well aware that religious exaltation, like sexual sentiment, readily reverts in its manifestations to the more direct forms of sexual activity and to the crudest perversions and aberrations to which that activity is subject under the stress of excessive stimulation and repression.

SEX AND PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

BY ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER

In the Beginning was sex and sex will be in the end. Such perhaps is the general thesis maintained in my essay, and the meaning of it is this. The rôle of sex in life and society has at times been exaggerated. Perhaps it is so now: man liveth not by sex alone. Again it is doubtlessly true that the repressions of Puritanism, as well as the oversensitized constitutions of modern men and women, have resulted in a set of new manifestations of sex attitude and behavior unknown in primitive society and perhaps at any other time in history. It is true, finally, that woman as sex is not the whole of woman and that the humanity of woman asserts itself more and more. Her sex aspect tends to be weakened or even effaced, particularly at certain times and places.

All this notwithstanding, I maintain—and this is my thesis—that sex as a feature of man and society always was central and remains such; that, by and large, sex attitudes were always essentially the same; and that woman as sex always was and still is an enigma, a menace as well as a joy.[1]

Sex and Procreation

Partly under the influence of Freud and partly for entirely different reasons, sex in most recent days tends to be separated from procreation. This is so in part as a consequence of birth control; in part again on account of economic conditions which bear on procreation in ways quite different from those in which they bear on sex; in part, finally, on account of the modern emergence of individualism in the light of which sex with all its overtones is felt to be a personal matter, whereas with procreation the rights of society assert themselves.

[1] The attentive reader will have noted that my essay apparently is to deal not with sex but with women. This shading arose quite spontaneously and, in view of the sex of the author, supports my thesis.

In speculating about primitive notions many writers have asserted that there must have been a time when the nexus between sex intercourse and procreation was unknown to man. In this most general form one can hardly doubt the validity of the idea. Animals live their sex and procreate, but they cannot in any sense be described as realizing the connection between the two; and so it must have been with man—in the beginning.

But recent anthropological researches permit us to go a step further. Sex and procreation are separate in the minds of some primitive folk still to be found on the surface of the globe. Spencer and Gillen, for example, have shown that such is the case in Central Australia. Conception here is believed to occur somewhat as follows: A woman passing by one of the sacred spots at which the mythological ancestors are believed to have sunk into the ground, has a vision of such a spirit creature—a kangaroo, waterhen, or hawk. The spirit-being throws at the woman a small stick called *ratapa.* The *ratapa* enters the body of the woman who henceforth deems herself pregnant. The child born in due time is regarded as belonging to the clan of the animal who threw the *ratapa.* Thus in the minds of the natives sex is for men and women, but conception and procreation are the concern of the spirits.

A storm of controversy broke out over this case of the Central Australians. Some, like Sir James Frazer, claimed that the natives in their primitiveness had not yet discovered the proper nexus of things. Whereas others, such as Andrew Lang, held that in this case native "psychology had obfuscated their physiology," that the Arunta natives must once have known how things stood—as indeed they still do with reference to the higher animals—but that their spiritualistic theory had overlaid their earlier understanding. This may be so, and yet the fact remains that among these natives at least the nexus between sex activity and procreation is not understood. And this is the point at issue. Nor need we restrict our survey to the Central Australians. Apart from the extensive, even though superficial, investigations of Reitzenstein, the recent researches of Malinowski in Melanesia leave no room for doubt that here also sex is sex, and pregnancy, childbirth, etc., have nothing whatsoever to do with it.

It is clear then that among those primitive peoples who ignore the nexus, sex is a matter for the individual, with certain restrictions presently to be noted, whereas conception, procreation, children are for the family or society.

Sex, Love and Jealousy

It is often held that romantic love is modern and that sex jealousy was unknown in primitive society. In this drastic form both notions are mistaken. It is quite true that the romantic overtones of love in their more elaborate forms are of relatively recent historic origin and could not well be fitted into the unsophisticated atmosphere of primitive life. And yet to say that love in those days was but a fleeting physical spasm without psychic accompaniments of a more tender nature, would be radically to misrepresent the situation. In her recent book, *Coming of Age in Samoa,* Margaret Mead gives the following picture of the sex relations and attitudes of young Samoans.[2]

At times young girls will form alliances with older men and young boys with older women. These affairs, determined wholly by personal inclination, are mildly ridiculed by society, without being definitely forbidden. But the more common unions are between agemates. Here we find clandestine encounters "under the palm trees," the whole setting of which, as sketched by Miss Mead, reveals a high degree of psychic efflorescence far removed from mere momentary physical passion. But there are also elopements, of which society is not unaware—these also are prompted by personal choice. And, finally, there is courtship, the setting of which is particularly interesting. Courtship is always carried on by means of an ambassador (*soa*) or an ambassadress (*soafafine*). The delegated lover is the one who does the wooing. When the boy "sits before the girl" what actually happens is this. "If you wish to know," writes Miss Mead, "who is really the lover, look then not at the boy who sits by her side, looks boldly into her eyes and twists the flowers in her necklace around his fingers, or steals the hibiscus flower from her hair that he may wear it behind his ear. Do not think it is he who whispers in her ear, or says to her 'sweetheart, wait for me to-night; after the moon has set, I will come to you,' or who teases her by saying that she has many lovers. Look instead at the boy who sits far off, who sits with bent head and takes no part in the joking, and you will see that his eyes are always turned softly on the girl. Always he watches her and never does he miss a movement of her lips. Perhaps she will wink at him, perhaps she will raise her eyebrows, perhaps she will make a sign with her hand. He must always be wakeful and watchful or he will miss it." In this highly conven-

[2] The customs and attitudes to be cited all refer to couples before marriage.

tional and artificial setting can the emotions of the boy just described by the author be anything but romantic? Nor do the Samoans stand alone in this.

The notion that jealousy is absent among the primitives is even less realistic. The source of the idea is not far to seek. How can the primitive be jealous, explain these writers, when he invites a stranger to spend the night with his wife (as do the Eskimo and others), or when he permits plural relationships of several men with several women (such as occur in the different forms of group marriage), or when he sanctions such customs as the pre-nuptial orgies of the Australians when all the men of certain relationships have access to the bride? But do these ideas and customs really preclude the sentiment of jealousy? Do they rather not indicate that jealousy like other emotions is subject to conventional control, repression, and deflection? The Eskimo who does indeed lend his wife to a stray visitor and who would resent a refusal (as would she), is keenly sensitive to any breach of marital fidelity on her part in situations other than the one described. In the different forms of group marriage referred to, only particular men and particular women are permitted to be parties to the arrangement, and the intrusion of an outsider would meet with social opposition and emotional resentment.

Animals are jealous, children are jealous, we moderns are jealous, the primitives are jealous.

Sex Taboo and Repression

It would be an error to assume that the remarkable degree of sexual freedom precludes restrictive regulations. In these primitive life abounds. First come the prohibited degrees of relationship. These do not merely include members of the immediate family—brothers and sisters, mothers and sons, fathers and daughters—but also numerous other relatives, different ones in different tribes. In all such cases the sex taboo refers not merely to marriage but extends to sex intercourse of any sort. And by intercourse here we must mean not the sex act alone but any intimacies between two persons of the opposite sex. One of the most widespread regulations of this sort is the so-called mother-in-law taboo. It takes different forms: in one tribe the son-in-law may not speak to his mother-in-law, the wife carrying the messages when needed; in another, the two may not even look at one another; in still other cases, they must not be together in the same house. This salutary regulation, which must

have saved mankind many a domestic squabble, is somewhat dark in its origin.

Freud is, no doubt, correct in his assumption that so stringent a restriction must signify the presence of a powerful impulse, the consummation of which the restriction is designed to prevent. But this fails to make the matter entirely clear: why this emphasis just on the mother-in-law? One is tempted to think of Australian conditions where the old men are so frequently married to young, attractive women, whereas the young boys must for the time being put up with older and somewhat withered mates. But the geographical distribution of the mother-in-law taboo is not by any means coextensive with conditions like those of Australia. So once more, the facts do not fit together! Is it not possible that we have here one of those instances where the common sense of mankind asserts itself? It could not by itself originate the custom where it does not exist, but where the custom is found, common sense seizes upon it and makes the best of it—and the home fires are kept burning.

Another set of taboos refers to women in different critical periods, during menstruation, pregnancy and after childbirth. The behavior and appearance of women during these periods have everywhere struck the imagination of man. There is much here that is unusual, repulsive, incomprehensible. Women, when they are like this, are not quite human, or perhaps, more than human; they are unclean or holy, which, in point of behavior towards them, amounts to the same thing.

But if woman at certain times is peculiar and dangerous, then woman at all times is at least potentially pregnant with trouble. A person like this cannot be treated with indifference; and sex intercourse, which ties man to woman, must itself partake of this unholy holiness. While important and delightful in itself, at the proper place and time (and as to that tastes differ), it is conceived as inherently inimical to other important and critical pursuits. Hence the well-nigh universal taboo on sex intercourse before serious undertakings, whether these refer to war or ritual or the chase. Hence also the exclusion of woman, common but by no means universal, from the most sacred religious rites and her debarment from religious leadership in general.

To this there are many exceptions, but the trend is unmistakable. Facts such as the above—and but for space they could be multiplied indefinitely—must be kept in mind when we are invited to think of primitive man as a child of nature, giving free expres-

sion to his impulses and never restrained in the pursuit of his desires. Far from it! Where there are restrictions, or regulations patently directed against acts which but for the restrictions could be performed, there must also be repressions. And where there are repressions, they will on occasion break out. Hence the orgiastic scenes which, among many tribes, accompany certain ceremonial occasions, scenes during which all taboos are lifted and even the prohibited degrees of relationship are disregarded at will.[3]

Marriage and Promiscuity

The theory of primitive freedom receives an especially severe blow when one contemplates the well-nigh ubiquitous stringency of marital regulations. Amatory escapades apart, the choice of a more permanent mate is nowhere left to the taste or inclination of the individual, or, should they enter at all, they operate within rigorously defined limits owing to the numerical narrowness of the groups —male and female—who are permitted to intermarry. The numerical limitation is not serious when a man is prohibited from marrying a woman of his own phratry (approximately one half of the tribe) but may only marry into the opposite phratry; as, for example, among the Haida of the American Northwest. Nor is this limitation serious where clan or gentile exogamy prevails, a condition so common in primitive society as to be almost typical. No marriage within the clan or gens! Still, there are other clans or gentes, and numerically at least the restriction is not rigorous enough to cause serious inconvenience. Conditions are different in Australia. Here the phratries (of which there are two in a tribe) are further subdivided into matrimonial classes, in some tribes two, in others four, in each phratry. And the matrimonial rule is: a matrimonial class of one phratry may only marry into one particular matrimonial class of the other phratry. If this were all, the choice left would not be great. But there are further restrictions. In the tribes with four classes, for example, the orthodox marriages are between cross-cousins, the children of a brother and a sister. It is true that the number of such relatives is here larger than one might imagine, owing to certain peculiarities of the relationship system, but even so the marriageable groups are greatly restricted. From

[3] The other day an unconfirmed report has come to my attention that among certain Melanesian tribes the taboos on jealousy are broken with a vengeance whenever the natives are under the influence of liquor. The report may be spurious but it has the true ring.

the point of view of a young man about to go in for housekeeping, the tale of woe does not end even there. For he finds that all or almost all the young and attractive women are already married to the older men. The choice left to him makes the prospect of marriage still possible but not joyful. Is it surprising, under such conditions, that a young man will migrate to another local group in the hope, ill-founded perhaps, that there he may fare better?

In Australia, moreover, the marriageable and non-marriageable groups constitute limits to be observed even outside of marriage. The tribal law reads: no marriage, no sex, between such and such. Outside of Australia, however, and some other tribes similarly organized, pre-marital freedom is more complete. And it is here that primitive folk prove their full-fledged humanity: there is wooing and sighing, and dreaming, granting and rejecting. We saw it in Samoa, and the Samoans are not an exception.

Nor must it be imagined that the primitive belle is less in control of the situation than she is in other places and at other times in history. This is how some South Africans define courtship: a man chasing a woman until she gets him. The South Africans here voice a universal truth. There are, of course, exceptions to everything.

Marriage is a different matter altogether. Here the family asserts its rights, or—more accurately—its traditional prerogatives. In primitive society, as so often in later days, marriages are planned not by the prospective mates but by their parents. And when we say "parents" we ought in truth say "mothers." So it is in part, even to-day in our own society—certain classes excepted—and it was general yesterday. And the yesterdays of primitive life are in this quite like our own.

In the light of these facts the theory of a pristine promiscuity—an unregulated sexual panmixia—loses whatever *prima facie* plausibility it might otherwise possess. This theory was born not of historic insight, but as a speculative projection of the evolutionist. To him all definiteness came from indefiniteness, all order from chaos, all regulation from original license. But the facts of human life squarely contradict any such contention. And they are supported by other facts referring to the higher animals. Credit must be given both to Westermarck and Briffault for having stressed this latter point. Among animals neither the flesh eaters, often living in families, nor the grass eaters, usually gathering in flocks or herds, are promiscuous. The flesh eaters are frequently monogamous

or mildly polygamous, even though particular unions, it seems, seldom outlast one season. The grass eaters, such as wild horses, donkeys or buffaloes, while scorning restricted family life, are yet not promiscuous. The conditions here are more like those of a male sex-lord with his harem—more or less temporary—of females. Elephants who go about in herds, are monogamous: to each male his female.

As to humans, the most primitive tribes known—the Bushmen, various pygmies, the Andamanese, etc.—are somewhat uniformly monogamous. The more advanced tribes with clan or gentile organizations combine polygyny and more rarely polyandry with monogamy and, as shown above, follow precise and often elaborate rules limiting the choice of mates.

It must, of course, be admitted that a long period must have intervened between the higher animals, including the anthropoid apes (or their cousins, our ancestors), and the most primitive humans now known; a period about which we know nothing. But is it possible—and why should one try—to assume that during that dark period conditions were so strikingly different from those before and after? Promiscuity does not seem to fit either human or animal psychology; at any rate, it is belied by their practice. It may be possible, but it has never been tried.

Sex Byways

With the lifting of Puritanical vetoes and the advent of psychoanalysis, comes illumination of many heretofore obscure phases of sex experience. Of these, masturbation is one. We know to-day that it is neither as dangerous to health nor as rare or exceptional as was once supposed. It is, in fact, general if not universal in childhood, if we are to believe the analyst and the nurse maid (in strict confidence). In later life, it is also common, particularly so among adolescents of both sexes. In the latter instances, harmful results are indeed often recorded, but these are not due to the practice itself but to the psychic after-effects induced by self-consciousness and a sense of guilt, which reflect social disapprobation. Among primitives the practice is general—referring now to adolescents—whereas no deleterious effects on health or mind are observable, for society knows but does not condemn. Miss Mead, for example, reports about the Samoans that both boys and girls masturbate as a general rule, girls singly and in seclusion, boys openly in groups. The latter, in particular, exhibit no self-consciousness whatsoever,

unless some one is present who, for some reason, does not participate.[4]

Another *sub rosa* aspect of sex is homosexuality. Here our information with reference to primitives is extensive though not accurate. Numerous reports attest the presence in various tribes of effeminate men who avoid male occupations and discard masculine attire: they dress as women and participate in feminine activities. Not infrequently such men function as magicians and seers. The phenomenon has been reported with especial frequency among the tribes of the American Northwest and in Northeastern Siberia.

We do not know to what extent such instances are to be identified with congenital homosexuality nor are we informed as to the extent and nature of the sexual practices involved. The existence of the phenomenon itself, is, however, beyond doubt.

An over-enthusiastic contemplation of these facts has induced Edward Carpenter [5] to evolve a theory which merits mention for its curiosity. Division of labor between men and women, observes Carpenter, goes back to the very beginning of humanity. Once the division took place, men continued to do masculine things, women feminine things, and there was not much occasion for change or innovation. But then something happened: "When the man came along who did not *want* to fight, who was perhaps more inclined to run away, and who did not particularly care about hunting, he necessarily (sic!) discovered some other interest and occupation—composing songs or observing the qualities of herbs or the processions of the stars. Similarly with the woman who did not care about housework and child-bearing. The non-warlike men and the non-domestic women, in short, sought new outlets for their energies. They sought different occupations from those of the quite ordinary man and woman—as in fact they do to-day; and so they became the initiators of new activities. They became students of life and nature, inventors and teachers of arts and crafts, or wizards (as they would be considered) and sorcerers; they became diviners and seers, or revealers of the gods and religion; they became medicine men and healers, prophets and prophetesses; and so ultimately laid the foundation of the priesthood, and of science, literature and art. Thus, on this view, and as might not unreasonably be expected, it was primarily a variation in the intimate sex nature of the human

[4] The same would happen at a modern "petting party" in the presence of a purist or otherwise passive intruder.

[5] In *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk.*

being which led to these important differentiations in his social life and external activities."

A quaint fantasy this—homosexual men and women as culture heroes of mankind! And it has a delightfully primitive flare about it. Primitives think this way. Unusual people do unusual things. Those marked by the gods become responsible for great events. The Indian, Australian and African Negro would readily accept Carpenter's theory as a creation myth.

Psychoanalytic Sidelights

Rather than enrich the domain of primitive culture with new insights, psychoanalysis has, by and large, exploited it for its own purposes. Result: a prodigious literature on religion, mythology, totemism, symbolism, a literature throughout uncritical, dogmatic, sweeping, filling in argumentative gaps with imagination, mercilessly exploiting the frequent vagueness of primitive data.

Feasibly enough, sober minds have turned away from this flood of ambitious and futile speculation, advising in no uncertain terms that the analysts should stick to their lasts and leave culture, especially primitive culture, strictly alone.

There is, however, one line of approach which promises to bring fruitful results both for the study of primitive life and for psychoanalysis itself. This approach was adopted by Malinowski. With great *a priori* plausibility he argues that psychonalysis, being, in the main, an extension to the interpretation of life of a family complex, should profit from a comparative study of family systems in different societies. It would, he thought, be rash to assume that in a family organization contrasting sharply with our own, the fixations and complexes should yet be the same. With this as his general point of view, Malinowski [6] examined the family of the Trobriand Islanders. What one finds there is a social system utterly at variance with our own. The early pre-marital years of the young Trobrianders run, in matters of sex, true to the pattern with which we are already familiar. Sexual play in childhood, general license in adolescence, later more permanent unions—what we might call "trial marriages"—in a communal "bachelors' house." Then, matrimony. This is usually monogamous, except in the case of chiefs. This union is relatively permanent, husband and wife are expected to remain faithful to one another, there is a common economic régime and an independent household.

[6] *Sex and Repression in Savage Society.*

But how different otherwise from family life in our own society! Truly a topsy-turvy world; all values seem to be put on their heads.

Procreation, as commonly elsewhere among primitives, has nothing to do with the father. When children come, he is expected to "receive them in his arms," protect and cherish them. But conception and pregnancy are not his concern; they are due to tiny spirits inserted into the mother's womb usually through the agency of the spirit of a deceased kinswoman.

The father, in consequence, is not recognized as a kinsman of his own children. He may exercise authority over them by dint of his personality but his social status gives him no such right. The real power over his children is vested in the person of his wife's brother, the "maternal uncle." This man, thus standing to his sister's children in a position of authority and control, is yet never intimate with either his sister or her household. This is prevented by the brother-sister taboo.

In matters economic his nephews and nieces are his heirs, and even during his lifetime he hands over to them many of the possessions and privileges he enjoys. He it is who supplies the family with food. The father, who may offer the children his love and companionship, works not for them but for his own sisters and their children.

On account of what anthropologists call patrilocal marriage—the bride going to live in her husband's community and village—her children grow up in a place and among people who are strangers to them. Their traditional rights and associations lie elsewhere, in the mother's "home town" where her brother, their uncle, resides.

Is the father then a mere supernumerary, doomed by ignorance and social tradition to play second fiddle? Far from it. His relations with the children are both intimate and tender. He helps to take care of their physical needs; he carries them in his arms on a journey (which the mother does also, there usually being enough there for both). Many are the expressions of fondness and affection, more or less formalized, which pass between him and his offspring. And, as he is not the source of authority, he need not be feared. Also, his standing in the family, being socially negligible, is what he makes it. His personality, his attitude towards his mates, determines their attitude towards him.

We may not carry this picture any further. Enough has been said, however, to make clear how justified Malinowski is in his original assumption. Types of family systems must be studied if

we are to understand the true nature and range of the family complex.

Deeper insight will, of course, only come with a psychoanalytic treatment of the natives themselves. This no one has thus far ventured to undertake. But even a preliminary analysis discloses much. There is, for example, no ground whatsoever to assume that the Trobriand boy will suffer from a father complex, be torn and divided against himself by an ambivalent relation. His contact with the father, being free from any elements of pressure or strain, is not likely to cause conflicts or tensions.

And so on with the rest. Clearly, there is here a most fruitful field for further inquiry which is bound to expose many recondite aspects of savage life as well as to set limits to the over-confident flights of psychoanalytic speculation.

Conclusion

Sex, it will be seen, with its associated galaxy of attitudes and practices, always led as it still leads man along a tortuous and thorny path. The awakening of sex urges, even when unencumbered by repressions and resistances, precipitates a host of new and pressing emotions and desires, only some of which can be satisfied. With dawning adolescence, when more complete sex gratification becomes possible, the young aspirants, in days old or new, find themselves confronted with the distracting if alluring phenomena of sex play, sex antagonism, sex segregation, and in primitive society—sex fears associated with the cycle of strange, perhaps terrifying, manifestations of sex life in woman. These, together with her skill in the game of love, ever attractive, ever elusive, inviting, rejecting, granting, derisive, have placed woman in the center of the sex realm. She whom the French call *le sex*, is, indeed, sex. Woman is sex. Sex selects her, isolates her, exalts her, humiliates her, makes her taboo. She must be sought, avoided, wooed, conquered, held. But the real conqueror, at all times, is woman herself, she—*le sex*.

This is never as clear as when sex appears apart from marriage, for with matrimony other factors, social, economic, supervene which tend to obscure the operations of sex as such. It is through the obfuscation created by the matrimonial situation that woman has come to be represented as the martyr of sex, rather than the mistress of it, which she is and always was.

This essay may well close with an oft-quoted story from Bain's *The Digit of Man:*

"In the beginning, when Twashtri came to the creation of woman, he found that he had exhausted his materials in the making of man, and that no solid elements were left. In this dilemma, after profound meditation, he did as follows: He took the rotundity of the moon, and the curves of creepers, and the clinging of tendrils, and the trembling of grass, and the slenderness of the reed, and the bloom of flowers, and the lightness of leaves, and the tapering of the elephant's trunk and the glances of deer, and the clustering of rows of bees, and the joyous gayety of sunbeams, and the weeping of clouds, and the fickleness of the winds, and the timidity of the hare, and the vanity of the peacock, and the softness of the parrot's bosom, and the hardness of adamant, and the sweetness of honey, and the cruelty of the tiger, and the warm glow of fire, and the coldness of snow, and the chattering of jays, and the cooing of the *kokila*, and the hypocrisy of the crane, and the fidelity of the *chakrowaka*, and compounding all these together, he made woman and gave her to man. But, after one week, man came to him and said: Lord, this creature that you have given me makes my life miserable. She chatters incessantly and teases me beyond endurance, never leaving me alone; and she requires incessant attention, and takes all my time up, and cries about nothing, and is always idle; and so I have come to give her back again, as I cannot live with her. So Twashtri said: Very well; and he took her back. Then after another week, man came again to him and said: Lord, I find that my life is very lonely, since I gave you back that creature. I remember how she used to dance and sing to me, and look at me out of the corner of her eye, and play with me, and cling to me; and her laughter was music, and she was beautiful to look at, and soft to touch; so give her back to me again. So Twashtri said: Very well; and gave her back again. Then after only three days, man came back to him again and said: Lord, I know not how it is, but after all I have come to the conclusion that she is more of a trouble than a pleasure to me; so please take her back again. But Twashtri said: Out on you! Be off! I will have no more of this. You must manage how you can. Then man said: But I cannot live with her. And Twashtri replied: Neither could you live without her. And he turned his back on man, and went on with his work. Then man said: What is to be done? For I cannot live either with her or without her."

But she was there and there she remained; and ever since man made the best of it, more or less.

These lines, I am aware, might arouse the ire of some pugnaciously sex-conscious lady. To her rebuke I could honestly reply that no offense was intended, but should she persist in her wrath (as I suspect she would), I might be tempted to make matters worse by telling her that she had been anticipated generations ago by Christine de Pison, who, when confronted with books denouncing women, said simply: "It is not the women who have written the books."

WOMEN IN TRANSITION

BY BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE

Since Adam's time women have always been a problem to men; in our age they have become a problem to themselves. In discussing this problem we must avoid prejudices, sentimentalities, and large generalizations; confining ourselves, in the scientific spirit, to the observation of facts and to legitimate deductions therefrom. The writer of this chapter, therefore, hopes it will be understood that she is recording facts as she sees them, and not her wishes as to what these facts might be. She assumes it is not the purpose of this book "to remould life nearer to the heart's desire," but to examine it. If some of her suggestions seem disturbing, they should not, therefore, be considered as emanating from a bent of opinion, but from such powers of deduction as she may possess.

The adventure of women in Western civilization for the last one hundred years is nothing less than the quest of their full powers and functions as half the human race. They know they are biologically specialized as reproductive agents; "armed and engined for the same." They seek to know what proportion of the sum of their activities must, or should, be set aside for the sex life of love and reproduction, and what proportion can and will be deflected into more various human fields. How far are they simply channels for the flowing of the Life Force; how far differentiated individuals? How far must they be static; how far may they be dynamic?

This problem cannot as yet be answered, but even its statement clears the air. It is the problem which makes women "news" in the journalistic sense. Their status, much more than men's, is in an adventurous transition stage.

Overnight, as it were, there has been a revolution in the educational and economic standing of women, together with a rapid transformation in home life, marriage, and maternity. A brief reminder of women's age-long past is necessary to an appreciation of the gravity of the change.

Women have always labored; but, save in a few primitive or matriarchal cultures, have never controlled the product of their labor. They have rarely been free, at least officially, to choose their mates. Caste, class, religious taboos, parental authority, sale and purchase, economic standing, have, in the main, outweighed or obviated natural selection. Sexual intercourse has always involved procreation, and this usually throughout the whole potent period, that is, from puberty to the menopause. Women having been in almost all cultures chattels or slaves, their price has depended largely on their being *undamaged goods*. Leaving on one side religious sanctions, superstitions, or taboos, it was natural for the owner-husband to demand that the children he supported and defended should be his. Therefore society has exacted chastity in women, and has rigorously punished the disobedience which illegal pregnancy proclaimed.

As a corollary, society has tolerated, (save in some very primitive cultures,) the existence of a special class of women to minister to the exuberant sex impulse of the male. This class, while loaded with obloquy, has been considered necessary, and has even been held up as a vital safeguard to virtuous womanhood. Higher education and extra-domestic training have, until the last two generations, been denied women as superfluous. There have been few women apprentices and few scholars save among the very highly placed. Thus the way to advancement outside marriage has been, in the main, closed. Under Christian culture, indissoluble marriage, convent dedication, or the scorned standing of the unwanted *old maid*, have been the life-choices open to respectable women. The early church did much to lower the standing of woman in her own eyes by its attitude toward sex. "It is better to marry than to burn." As in Buddhism, to be virgin was best. Woman's greatest task thus became a *pis-aller*. To married women, child-bearing and tending throughout almost the whole active period of life left little or no leisure for extra-domestic activities, while every free moment was filled by laborious domestic crafts; so that the vast majority of the sex has lacked leisure and energy to ponder its status or to inquire if it was content therewith.

To set against these conditions, mainly true of every age and culture, we have to-day in America the following contrasting facts.

The possibility of economic independence in almost all fields of human endeavor provides an honorable alternative to marriage and is made available through free education. For the first time in his-

tory, and owing to modern science, women can gratify the sex instinct without the risk of pregnancy. Also for the first time, divorce can be obtained by women almost at will. Voluntary limitation of families gives married women a long youth and leaves them in middle life with physical energies unimpaired. Men's labor-saving inventions, together with their continued custom of wife-support, have produced the largest leisure class the world has ever known—American married women. Finally, there is to-day an ever accelerating breakdown—through modern thought, education, and economic independence—of family and religious control.

This change is thorough, and so swift as to have occurred almost entirely within the memory of living people. It has been attributed to everything from latch-keys to Darwinism, from original sin to the Great War. But the latter only momentarily accelerated a revolution inevitable since the machine saved women's labor in the home and drove her to find it in the workshop; a revolution completed by the most far-reaching invention of our age—effective contraceptives.

It would be trite to enlarge on the present economic activities of women. Suffice it to say that there remain only some half dozen trades, (including soldiering and sailoring, and even here there have been individual exceptions,) into which they have not penetrated. Their physical and mental training facilities are almost equal to men's; in the academic field, entirely so. Their pay is mainly lower than men's, but is rising, while the prejudice against their participation in the liberal professions is rapidly breaking down. There are even women in the ministry, that last and most jealously guarded masculine stronghold. The American spinster is free: free economically and socially; free, if she so desires, morally, since science enables her to avoid the natural result of sex experiment.

That large numbers of spinsters should avail themselves to the full of their new freedom is inevitable, for a time at least. The cult of *personal expression*, so fostered by modern psychology, is a natural reaction not only against past inhibitions but against the present over-regimentation of American life, with its standardized housing, clothing, occupations, amusements, popular reading matter, and mass propaganda. The more the mass does the same things in the same way, the more the individual will yearn to do differently, and, given the opportunity, will tend to avail himself of it. The fact that prostitution and houses of ill-fame are apparently on the de-

crease is proof enough that free sex experimentation between young people of the same social standing is taking place, even without the rather hectic evidence of Judge Lindsey and his school. The writer of this chapter does not, and never has, advocated free sex experiment; but sees little reason to change the opinion she expressed in a fourteen year old book,[1] as follows:

"If, which I do not believe, we are to be faced with a choice between trial marriage and *free love* on the one hand, and prostitution on the other, then I unhesitatingly pronounce in favor of the former; and so I believe would all clean-minded women who were dowered with any medical knowledge, pity, or imagination."

In considering the spinster's "new freedom" it must also be remembered that economic pressure constantly heightens the age of conventional marriage, leaving the ever widening gap of years between it and puberty emotionally unprovided for.

Marriage is the crux of women's transition stage. Training they have won. Economic independence while spinsters they are rapidly winning. Sex experiment before marriage is available, though illicitly, without the natural price, for those who wish it. But marriage, both in the theory and practice, is in the melting-pot. Its late arrival, its economic complications, its idle wives, its easy rupture through divorce—whither do these, together with the cult of self and sex expression, tend to lead this most fundamental of our institutions?

Marriage has been built upon a foundation of human needs and conditions which have hitherto been static. Overnight this foundation has changed or been modified; therefore, marriage is changing, and will continue to change and modify until it finds its true relation to the new conditions. If these vary—as they do—in locality and class, marriage will—as it already does—vary with them.

Primitive marriage was dictated not merely by inclination, but by an inexorable population need. A family, tribe, or pioneer community, needed children as workers, and sons for defense against savage nature and savage man. A small child did his share of necessary work; a young son took his part in the chase or in war. Even to-day a child's labor on a farm can balance against his upkeep; but America is no longer a nation of farmers. In the town a child is an economic liability till he is grown, often till he is mature; the standard of living is higher in a childless household. If cheap labor is required, Europe can still provide it; the immigrant

[1] *What Women Want.*

can do the work of the native son. Nor are sons needed for defense. Savage enemies, whether beasts or men, have gone; militarism is waning. The American, safe behind his ocean barrier and the strength of his natural resources, neither demands nor will accept a great standing army. Children, therefore, are only a necessity in the larger sense of racial survival, not in the immediate sense of individual need. Thus we find the small family established throughout almost all sections of our native population, and child-bearing an episode in the career of modern women rather than a life task.

With infrequent child-bearing, comes leisure for the married woman; a leisure fortified by compulsory schooling, which takes the child from the mother's care during half its waking day, from the age of six, a leisure further fortified by labor-saving devices in the home and the availability of factory-made goods and public eating places outside it. Meanwhile, as the law tarries in meeting changed conditions, husbands are still liable for the support of even childless wives; so that we have this interesting paradox. The most democratic country on earth has set up the largest aristocracy the world has ever known; that is, a class specialized in culture and pleasure, which "toils not, neither does it spin"—the aristocracy of American wives.

But again another cross current. Such is the economic pressure on the modern wage-earner that the husband, however willing, is increasingly unable to support even a childless wife in that state of life which she desires; so that married women, freed from laborious homes by the aforementioned conditions, are entering industry and business by the hundred thousands, thus gaining for the first time in history complete economic independence of their husbands. More, economic competition and "the high cost of living" constantly raise the age of marriage, so that the sex impulse is developed anywhere from one to two decades before it can be legitimately gratified, thus creating a new and pressing social problem.

Yet society, which has sanctioned the wage-earning of spinsters, still frowns on the gainful employment of married women, in the interests of offspring who may, in any case, not be forthcoming. The majority of men still feel their dignity is abrogated by their wives' pay-envelopes; while public bodies, such as School Boards, still refuse employment to married women. Thus society, while urging marriage and maternity upon women in the interests of the race, throws increasing difficulties in the way of its own precepts.

Again, the specialization of men as wage-earners, the increasing distance between home and office, the long hours of intensive work demanded by our competitive system, leave men little leisure or energy for home life, for companionship with their wives, or for the small amenities so dear to women. Men are no longer within sight and sound of their families during the working day; married couples revolve in separate orbits, children in a third (of school and playground); the unity of family life disappears. Among the well-to-do, men specialize in business, women in the arts, philanthropy, and pleasure. Men become "subdued to that they work in"; they lose the gallantry, the adventurousness, and the cultivation which will hold the imagination of their wives when the glamor of romance is past. They lose the strength, the swagger, of the master-male, (that equivalent of the lion's mane or the pheasant's plumage,) and take on the drab livery of the worker-bee. In the past man mastered woman through her utter dependence on him, and enslaved her by his strength and beauty; he is in danger of losing both weapons of control.

Finally, owing to all these difficulties and assisted by the liberal laws of a young country, society in America, (outside of one church,) has accepted easy divorce and re-marriage. So that it is not only maternity which has become episodic; marriage itself follows suit, and we have one divorce to every six or seven weddings. American civilization repudiates polygamy and frowns on promiscuity, but it has instituted progressive monogamy.

In the midst of such a welter of changing conditions we shall expect to find the accepted code of sex relations in and out of marriage questioned; we shall expect the theory to be challenged as well as the practice; nor shall we be disappointed. An age of change is an age of theorists. Any one is at liberty not only to "strike his finger on the place and say, Thou ailest here, and here," but also to propose his reform or advertise his nostrum. One imagines that never in any age or race has there been such a storm of cure-all notions and counter-attacks as conventional custom and morality is now breasting in America and western Europe. Space forbids a detailed investigation here, but a few salient examples must be quoted.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in common with most feminists, comes out flatly for the economic independence of the married woman. Ellen Key of Sweden advocates the *right to maternity*, which, boiled down, means the right to bear a child in or out of marriage. Judge

Ben. B. Lindsey produces a plan for providing legitimate sex expression to bridge the gap of years between adolescence and the period when fruitful marriage is economically feasible. This plan is for a recognized union of young people, dissolvable at will and without social stigma; divorced from housekeeping, financial responsibility, or offspring, and involving instruction in birth control, or rather, contraceptives. It is called *companionate marriage;* perhaps because, as Chesterton wittily suggests, "it is not marriage, and will very soon cease to be companionate." Mrs. Bertrand Russell frankly comes out for what she calls "The Right to Happiness," and amplifies this in her book of that name, as follows: Divide your emotional life into three periods. One: free sex experiment, with contraceptives, for both sexes. Two: monogamous marriage for those who wish children. Three: a further period, following on the birth of the required number of children, in which both partners indulge in what new sex adventures may be desired, with mutual confidences and a complete absence of jealousy. Thus "happiness" will most easily be assured.

Again, certain socialist and communist writers advocate complete State charge of all children, somewhat on the Spartan system. The individual couple can thus enjoy parenthood without responsibility, and there is no premium upon single blessedness nor on sterility.

I do not pretend to have followed all the divagations of Mr. Wells' brilliant intellect; but he, in common with a host of lesser prophets, harps much on *free love,* both in and out of marriage. Then there is *visiting marriage,* or marriage conducted from separate rooftrees, as advocated (among other sources) in an article by Miss Fanny Hurst. Add to these the permanently childless marriage, and the full conventional union with the proviso of easy divorce and quick remarriage (*i.e.*, the aforementioned progressive monogamy), and we have, I think, our principal variants, both in theory and practice, from the hitherto established norm set up by society.

So far, we have merely examined the facts of this very interesting and provocative situation, in which we see the whole theory of the relation of the sexes under fire, as indeed are all theories of government, religion, life itself, in our agnostic, inquisitive, and rather cynical epoch. What may we legitimately deduce from these premises as to, first, the ideal, secondly, the probable, future of the sex relation? However faulty one's deductions may be, the attempt

to make them is too enticing to be resisted, and where so many pens have led the way one more may be pardoned for following.

No individual can combine the sum of human qualities, which are to be found only in that unit comprising a male and a female. Therefore, for him who desires his ego to be rounded and complete, such unification seems implied. And since the racial will-to-live is strong—the parental instinct deep even when unacknowledged—and children are the only *provable* extension of the well-loved ego after death, one may assume that monogamous fruitful unions will continue to be the rule wherever the two sexes approximate numerically. We have seen that America suffers a high divorce rate, but let us quote the figures more optimistically. *Only* one in five to seven marriages is dissolved; which means that the great majority clings to permanent marriage in spite of all its imperfections.

This fact suggests that procreative, monogamous marriage, entered into in youth and for life, will continue to represent the race's ideal; a form of union than which (when successful) nothing more satisfying or beneficial to the next generation is likely to be found. Those who attain to it will always be admired and envied, even though one may suspect that those who fall short of it will increasingly be pitied rather than condemned outright.

There is, however, every indication that outside this ideal, free experimentation, for good or ill, will continue and increase; until the crucible of the present age precipitates a new gospel or, by trial and error, re-proves the old.

But that the gospel of indissoluble marriage, exactly as it has stood through the Christian ages, will be reëstablished in its past unassailable strength, is too much to expect, or even to desire. As an ideal, yes; as the sole practical solution, no; for as we have seen, the conditions which determined it have changed. Also, we must not forget that implicit in the old code was a great wrong and a great hardship; the wrong of prostitution; the hardship to that wife, specialized only as a reproductive agent, who found herself tied for life through child-bearing and dependence to an unloved mate. Nor should the similar hardship to the mismated husband be overlooked. We used to be told that "man's love is of man's life a thing apart, 'tis woman's whole existence." That love should be anybody's *whole* existence seems to the modern mind absurd, and will continue so to seem.

Marriage, while appearing to have lost so much, has made two gains. First, the parties to it are now equal partners instead of

owner and owned; and we know that the master and slave relation is "fatal even to him whom it seems to benefit." Secondly, birth control and woman's economic independence having apparently come to stay; wherever complete permanent marriage with all its discipline and mutual sacrifice is found, it is now almost always self-imposed by choice, not externally enforced by necessity. True, many evade it legally through divorce, or illegally through different forms of free experiment. But the more numerous the alternatives, the finer becomes that marriage which consciously refuses the palliatives they seem to offer.

I use the words *free experiment* rather than *free love*, for the latter is a contradiction in terms. Love implies mutual obligations; not necessarily economic, but emotional and spiritual; and can therefore never be *free*. Lust can be free, but never love.

And on this matter of free sex experiment a word more may well here be said. We are urged by certain semi-students of psycho-analysis, and by such writers as Mrs. Bertrand Russell, to cultivate the life of the senses lest we fall into the miseries of repressions, complexes, and joylessness. Mrs. Russell, for example, advocates the *right* of the young to become *intoxicated* occasionally by dancing or by wine. All this is a natural reaction from Puritan inhibitions. But we have to remember that standards of taste do, slowly but surely, progress. Gluttony, accepted by the Roman *bon-viveur*, has gone. Public drunkenness, permitted to the eighteenth century gentleman, is rapidly going. Insolence, an accepted attribute of the European upper class until recently, is on the wane. So with unrestrained sex expression. Leaving religious and moral sanctions out of account, and speaking only scientifically, excess in any physical expression is a danger to the individual and to the social body, and will never be acquiesced in by civilized society. And, whatever the theory may be, in practice the line between free sex expression and sex excess is tenuous indeed. The most highly developed men, pagan or Christian, Oriental or Occidental, have without exception realized the value of self-control and moderation in all things. In fact, without these attributes, I suggest that the highest development of the individual, as of the race, is impracticable.

Now as to the *right* to happiness, to maternity, and so forth. One doubts if society will ever admit the existence of rights in these fields. Personally I am skeptical as to the existence of abstract rights at all. The individual can, in the long run, win for himself only such rights or freedoms as are consonant with the safety and development

of society as a whole. This is axiomatic. When he exceeds such limits, society will defend itself against him, to the death if necessary.

Thus I believe that childless sex relations between two physically clean and economically independent people are a private matter within the reach of all who choose, regardless of established codes, to seek them. Society may deprecate them as a bad example or for the suffering they may cause a third party, such as the wife or husband of a participant, or as an evasion of racial duty; but it will not, because it cannot, prevent them. But directly there is disease, a danger to society, or a child, a public responsibility and racial asset, society has a claim to consideration which it will never forego.

The idea that unmarried women have a *right* to maternity, or that children will ever be communally owned, thus eliminating the need for recognized parents, is reactionary. Whether or not the State finances its upbringing, the child needs for its best development the influence of both sexes, and especially of an individual man and woman closely concerned with and related to it, as well as whatever help society may give in education and general protection. Thus fecund sex relations should, for the child's sake, always entail responsibility, and can never therefore be wholly free; while if the majority or any large proportion of the population elects to be sterile, the race will speedily die out, and these problems with it.

Monogamous procreative marriage, involving a degree of joint parental responsibility over a term of years will, then, remain inevitable for the vast majority in the interests of the best race-survival.

But there is every evidence that the small family will become the rule in all civilized countries, and that the leisure it brings the wife will more and more be used by her in gainful employment. Only the parasite type will prefer economic dependence; but the parasite type will probably always succeed in obtaining it.

As for *visiting marriage*—the number of rooftrees, apartments, and offices into which a family may spread itself in the pursuit of privacy and mental concentration is entirely immaterial so long as there is a common center to which parents and children frequently rally. The point made by Miss Hurst and others is that privacy is a necessary condition of mental growth, and that no person, because married, has a moral right to annihilate the physical or mental privacy of another. This rule is, of course, part of the A B C of

successful marriage between civilized persons, and a fruitful source of divorce when ignored.

The persistence of marriage does not, however, in the least solve the problem of *progressive monogamy* or of the gap in years between puberty and the married state. We have the interesting spectacle to-day in America of large numbers of children (particularly among the well-to-do), in the possession of four parents and two homes. So long as divorce and remarriage are legal this cannot be prevented; but I am inclined to expect a social reaction against the practice. Step-parents do not adequately take the place of the genuine article, and two homes with two redundant parents are an "embarrassment of riches." I believe that society will learn to frown upon parents who divorce and remarry when their children are young; (except when the presence of one of the parents is injurious to the child, or when one has definitely abandoned it;) and that the first to do so will be the victims of the system. The products of multiple establishments will be unlikely to provide such superfluities for their own offspring.

The divorce and remarriage of childless couples, or of those whose children are grown, is a private, and racially speaking an insignificant, affair.

Now we come to the age of marriage. One of two things seems inevitable. Either this age must be lowered through a conscious effort of society, or *companionate marriage*, *free love*, or sex experiment of one sort or another, will increase. It must not be thought that the sole effort of reforming radicals is now directed toward the latter alternative. There is another school. In Europe experiments are being made with "family endowment," a system of wage and salary readjustment calculated to insure an increase of family income on the birth of each child, and thus facilitating early fruitful marriage. No charity is involved; it is merely a question of how the sum of wages available may best be distributed through the working population. It is an intricate and interesting scheme already in practice in several continental countries.[2] It assumes that youthful marriage is natural, and, contrary to the views of Count Keyserling, preferable; and that the children of young parents are the best physically endowed. Space forbids more than the bare mention of the scheme here, but it is necessary to bear in mind that the present late age of marriage is not inevitable, but is merely the result of a certain lack of adjustment between social and industrial conditions.

[2] See *The Disinherited Family*, by Eleanor Rathbone.

Those who deplore half-way matrimonial experiments are free to work for such adjustment. But if they think that the age of marriage can continue to increase and the younger generation be kept chaste meanwhile by admonition, they are, in my opinion, deluded. Short of a lowering of the marriage age, sex experiments between young people of equal social and economic standing will, one must suppose on the evidence, tend to increase, until a generation is born which will revolt from this "unbuttoned" state of society in favor of something more controlled and aspiring; a code more consonant with the dignity of man when he shall have attained—as he certainly has not yet done—to mental maturity.

Which brings us to the question—so much now mooted—of the purpose and value of sex itself. This purpose is no longer regarded as solely procreative, modern psychology seeing a host of values in the sex relation outside procreation. For those who deprecate any divorce between sexual intercourse and fruitfulness it is perhaps sufficient to point out that—given the continuance of the small family—they would confine the actual sex impulse to three or four single expressions in the course of a lifetime; a consummation (whether or not *devoutly* to be desired) obviously unlikely to be achieved.

If sex, then, is no longer mainly procreative, is it to become recreational? In other words, if children have become episodic in the sexual life, is this to be sought mainly for the gratification of a natural instinct, for "release," for pleasure; or has it less transitory values? On the answer to this question depends, in my opinion, the successful emergence of woman from her transition stage, to say nothing of the future well-being of society as a whole.

Many of the present generation, in their reaction from Puritan inhibitions, are inclining toward the thought of sex as fun, as adventure, as something less important than work and more thrilling than a cinema or a cocktail. This has always been true of young men; modern science and economic independence enables it to be true of young women.

But sex is much more than that. For developed man it should be an adventure, yes; but a spiritual adventure, calculated to assist in the higher development of the individual. I agree with Count Keyserling that a civilization must be judged by the stature of the individuals it produces. In the winning of this stature sex has an important part to play. All human powers should be used, or they atrophy. All can be frittered away in a variety of trivial employ-

ments, or can be conserved for some single and worthy purpose. Nor is the reservoir of human power endless. We all have just so much force, no more. Dissipating some of it, we have the less left to call upon at need. For example, a woman cannot love three men and bring to her fourth love all she could have given to her first. Something of sensitiveness, of imagination, of singleness of heart, of functional freshness, has been lost by the way. The ultimate individual value in the union of a man and woman lies neither only in procreation nor in pleasure, but in its quality of a noble and difficult adventure calling for its success on all the powers both parties have at their command.

With greater psychological education, it is probable we may see in America a swing of the pendulum away from that Dionysianism which is itself the inevitable swing from ignorance and Puritanism. This likelihood is strengthened by the natural volatility of the American people; a people eager to learn, eager to experiment, quick to cast aside the old for the new. Let the pessimist remember that the Dionysianism of the present generation will be "old stuff" to the next.

Returning to women: I have seen no evidence that casual sex experiment makes for their happiness. Women are (at present at any rate) more static than men. Their tempo is slower, their adventurousness less. Biologically more specialized as sex instruments, they must, one assumes, remain that half of humanity in which sex goes deeper and means more. They cannot have the best of two worlds. They cannot spread the sex emotions wide and also enjoy them at their full depth. If they feel that by contracting the field of their experience they are missing some of the richness of life, they should remember that the perpendicular dimension is as extensive as the horizontal; depth is as great as width. Moreover, light love has no synthesis; it leads to nothing save an addiction to more light love; while sex expression without any love at all is too poor a thing to satisfy, even momentarily, a really civilized being. To put it quite flatly; for women to become sexual free-lances is for them to play into the hands of the less biologically responsible and more peripatetic male. In light or temporary love some one almost always gets hurt, and that some one is usually the woman, even where no child is involved. Of the two, she usually loves more, and suffers more when the male loves and rides away. I incline to the view that this difference is fundamental, and not merely the result of training and suggestion, though these greatly increase it. So that I think

women will discover, through the painful method of trial and error, that the fewer their sex experiments the greater their ultimate well-being. (All this, of course, quite aside from present moral or religious sanctions.)

But here another interesting possibility suggests itself. Assuming they retain and expand their present opportunities, economic independence, birth control, legal escape from unsuccessful marriage, greater differentiation through physical and mental training and every variety of extra-domestic activity, will women also retain their old preoccupation with sex? Will they continue to be *the* sex, or shall we see a marked decrease in their secondary sexual characteristics in proportion as their energy is deflected into the fields of intellect, affairs, and sport? It is possible, of course, that the reverse may be the case, as it superficially seems to be at the moment; that with greater freedom of self-expression women may become more highly sexed. But I think not. After all, as we have seen, human energy is limited. In spite of the present tumult and shouting on the subject, observers note that the American man is already less sexually preoccupied than his European or Oriental brother. He plays golf where his ancestor would have made love, works when his ancestor would have adventured. This may make him more drab, but it certainly makes him more efficient. He is evolving (after first youth) a semi-neuter type in the interests of mental activity, as his medieval ancestors did in favor of religious.

Will women do the same? For example, will large numbers of them give up, as men have done, *exhibitionism* (sexual advertisement through dress and adornment), *narcissism* (love of their own beauty), and sexual free-booting; and learn to regard sex itself as an episode, as maternity has already become?

So long as our present intense, objective, industrial civilization continues, we may expect something of the kind to occur, when once women have adjusted themselves to their new environment. Mrs. Gilman pointed out years ago that there is already about a thousand times more sex expression loose in the world than is called for by the needs of race survival. The emphasis at the moment seems toward its increase (through such agencies as popular psychology, the press, the advertising man, literature and the lighter arts), because the whole question is in process of examination and we are everywhere acutely conscious of it. But amid all this ferment the cross-current is perceptible. We have women's cropped heads and unprovocative sports and business clothes; we have the athletic

woman with "masculine" muscles; the woman doctor, lawyer, or professor concentrated on her profession; and the married woman far more preoccupied with committees than with her own or other people's husbands.

For some generations, then, partly through a reaction from the present sex-ramp, but more at the call of ever-elaborating cultural interests, we may develop a race of efficient, objective beings, very unromantic, regarding sex frankly as a physical appetite like eating or drinking, to be experienced but not overindulged in, with very small families and a mated life based, after a short early period, on economic and mental partnership rather than on physical attraction or emotional love.

But in the end, as suggested by the French philosopher Tarde, the genius of man, already dying down in the field of warfare and terrestial discovery, may master the fields of commerce and science to such an extent that there will remain for him only one unexplored territory, that of the mind. When he ceases to be intoxicated with things, as are the many—or with science, as are the few—he must cultivate the garden of the soul, or perish of inactivity. In that day the "proper study of mankind" will indeed be *man*, and its motto will be "perfect thyself." Here love may help him, for as we have seen, no single individual can possess the sum of human attributes. And here woman will, one may believe, meet him on his final quest—knowledge and mastery of the human spirit. If that day comes, civilized beings will cease to regard the relation of the sexes mainly either from the procreative or recreational points of view. They will, on the contrary, see love as a difficult and laborious art, not to be pursued as an end in itself, but as a field for the exercise of self-control, altruism, delicate adjustment and understanding, effort, and all those qualities of body, mind, and heart which help to make of man a more complex, and therefore a more mature and perfected, being. All, as Count Keyserling points out, will not be capable of this art; many will neglect it; but all, as indeed emotionally developed people have always done, will believe in it.

SHOULD ALL TABOOS BE ABOLISHED?

BY WILLIAM McDOUGALL

We hear much nowadays of taboos and especially of taboos relating to sex conduct. The word *taboo* is taken over from ethnology and is commonly used in discussion of our problems of conduct to imply some unreasonable prohibition, some "don't," which, though commonly insisted upon, cannot be justified by reason or considerations of expediency. A taboo thus comes to mean in popular speech any unjustifiable restriction of human liberty imposed by public opinion. If we accept this popular usage of the word, it follows that we should aim at the abolition of all taboos; and it is with this implication that the word *taboo* is commonly applied to this or that restrictive convention.

Further, in savage society it is commonly held that the breaking of a taboo by any member brings upon the community punishment from offended gods or lesser spirits. Therefore the flavor of base and groveling superstition hangs about the word *taboo* and adds to its force as an epithet applied to any restrictive custom or convention.

"Taboo" thus becomes a useful addition to the English language, one that is likely to establish itself. But it is nevertheless a peculiarly dangerous word. We all dislike restrictions upon our personal liberty. Whenever we come up against any such restriction we are apt to pronounce it a taboo; in so doing, we declare not merely that we resent the restriction, but also that it is unreasonable and absurd, as absurd as many of the taboos of savage peoples seem to us, and, further, that it should be defied by every self-respecting person. If we find prevalent in a certain community a prohibition against the eating of some food which medical science asserts to be in every way a good and useful food, we say it is a taboo. If we find in another a restriction upon wearing straw hats after a certain date in the fall, or upon playing tennis or golf on a Sunday, we call it a taboo. I say it is a dangerous word; for its use as a dyslogis-

tic epithet is so easy and so crushing. We are prompted to use it freely and unthinkingly by our natural resentment against any restriction of our liberty of action; and, having applied it, we are apt to feel that our resentment is justified. And, accepting the popular meaning of the word, we are apt to lay down or to imply as a general rule of conduct the maxim—Never be ruled by taboos. This, no doubt, is a good maxim. But the danger lies in the implication that it is open to every individual to pick and choose among the social conventions those that he will obey and those that he will scornfully dismiss as taboos. Yet to determine whether some particular convention is a taboo (in the accepted popular sense) or is justified and well grounded, is in all cases a very delicate matter, requiring nice judgment and vast knowledge. And in making our judgments we are apt to be biased, not only by our resentment against restrictions in general, but also by some strong though perhaps unacknowledged desire that is thwarted by a taboo.

Some restrictions may seem to be taboos, yet in the light of wider knowledge may be seen to be well-founded. A prohibition upon eating the flesh of swine may seem to be a taboo; but if it appears that, in the area concerned, the flesh of swine is commonly the bearer of a parasite noxious to man, the supposed taboo will appear in a different light. Or the social prohibition against the utterance of "damn" may seem to be a taboo. But if it is found that, upon the abolition of the prohibition, the utterance of this word loses all its virtue, its power to relieve our psychic tension under annoyance, shall we not reverse our judgment? Suppose we found a hard-smoking community in which prevailed a convention against smoking on Fridays. Most of us would without hesitation scornfully proclaim it a taboo. Yet such a restriction might well be very favorable to physical health by allowing the system to clear itself of nicotine once a week; and it might be very favorable to moral health by inducing the regular practice of control of an appetite.

Let us then divest the word *taboo* of its opprobrious flavor; let us take it as a general term for all social prohibitions that do not seem to be merely maxims directed to the safety and welfare of the individual. We then have the word in its original meaning, a meaning expressed by equivalent words in almost all primitive communities. In this original sense a taboo is a prohibition of unknown origin the breaking of which is believed to bring, in some way not fully understood, injury or detriment, not to the individual breaker, but to the community. Complete knowledge of any society would justify

some of its taboos and condemn others as useless. Each primitive society, lacking the knowledge that would enable it to distinguish between the justifiable and the unjustifiable, maintains all its taboos. And in the main the continued success and prosperity of each society depends upon the sort of taboos it maintains. If a community has a system of taboos well suited to the nature of the people and their circumstances, it is likely to flourish. If it has a bad system of taboos, it is likely to go under. Taboos, then, have long been subject to natural selection, a process making for the survival of the more useful, the disappearance of the harmful. One may assert, therefore, in general terms that any taboo which is found at this late date to be very widely spread among the peoples of the earth is probably a useful one, has at least a strong presumption in its favor, even though we may be unable to point confidently to any particular evil that must result from the breach of it.

Among primitive peoples taboos play an indispensable rôle; without them order would give place to chaos and society would dissolve into conflicting mutually destructive units. For in primitive societies there are no laws. It is commonly said that such societies are ruled by custom. It is more true to say that they are ruled by taboos. For it is taboo to go against custom; and it is this taboo that gives to custom its regulative power. I well remember going up one evening into one of the village houses of the interior of Borneo, and finding in the great piazza, a quarter of a mile in length, a most unusual silence. There was no sound of talk or music or laughter; no strumming on strings, no blowing on pipes, no oratory, no drinking. "Why this silence?" I asked of the chief, as we sat beneath the long row of dried heads. "It is harvest time," he replied, "and to make merry during harvest is taboo." There was no policeman patrolling the village, no "dry squad" on the prowl; yet even the children's voices were hushed and no dog barked.

Such in briefest outline is the sociology of taboo. Let us glance at its psychology. Why is taboo so powerful? Why, as an agent of social control, is it so superior in effectiveness to the laws which civilization introduces? In savage society taboo owes something of its power to superstitious belief in retributive penalties incurred by breach of taboo; and something also to the general recognition of communal responsibility. But this is by no means the whole story, for among ourselves, where these two factors are reduced to negligible proportions, taboos, as we know, remain very powerful, far more powerful than laws, in controlling conduct. How many of us

will cheerfully risk breaking such well-known laws as those against smuggling and liquor! How few will risk certain harmless actions of which the law has nothing to say! Wearing the wrong clothes; using certain verbal forms; applying a knife to salad; or drinking hot tea from the saucer in a drawing room—is it not more horrid to imagine ourselves doing these things than to remember the smuggling of a silk frock or of a box of cigars?

It is notorious that laws which are not in accord with public opinion cannot be enforced. It is when a law accords with and confirms a taboo that it is generally observed; as in the cases of incest, parricide and wife-beating. Taboo, then, does not owe its power to any penalties prescribed for this world or the next. No flaming sword of justice threatens the breaker of taboo. Nor do the pangs of conscience play the leading rôle: for one's conscience may be easy, one may have no sense of guilt or remorse in breaking a taboo; one may be convinced that it is right to break it. Yet we do not easily defy it.

The simple secret of the power of taboo is that man is by nature incurably social. He cannot long bear to be alone. And worse, far worse, than physical isolation is moral isolation. We are so constituted that we desire not only to be with our fellows, but also to be at one with them. And each of us knows that, if he should break a taboo, they will look askance at him, regard him as an outsider. And we cannot bear to be so regarded. It is only the social outcast, the man that is already a hopeless outsider, who is unaffected by taboos. For him the worst has happened; he has nothing more to fear.

And yet there is more to the psychology of the taboo; and that something more is the least understood. If the shrinking from breach of taboo were nothing more than a shrinking from social ostracism, we should feel no aversion from the breach so long as we could be sure we should not be found out. Now there are some taboos which, given such assurance, most of us would lightly break; but there are others that would still have power over us; in spite of assurance of secrecy, of exemption from all ostracism, we shrink from the tabooed action. The action is not forbidden by law; it carries no penalty as far as we can see; it will harm no one. And yet we shrink from it, it is repugnant to us. How explain the fact? For fact it is. There are some tabooed actions the mere imagination of which we shrink from in horror, even though they may fascinate us. In more numerous instances we merely feel an aversion that may or may not suffice to hold us back from action. We have to recognize that in these cases

the taboo has entered into us and become a part of us. For most of us perhaps, incest, murder, bestiality, and wanton cruelty are in this category; for a smaller number, treachery, lying and deceit; for fewer still, coarse or malicious language. For each man the list is peculiar; but in the main these aversions and these repugnancies reflect, because they are formed under the influence of, the taboos peculiar to our social circle and more especially the circle of our childhood. The Freudian view that the horror of incest is innate in all of us is not strongly founded; though I for one would not rule out the view as impossible. It is only taboos beset with strong emotions that work upon us in this way; through emotional contagion we share the emotional attitudes of our circle to the tabooed actions, and the attitudes become habitual; in short we acquire moral sentiments of dislike, repugnance or aversion. In calling such a dislike a *moral sentiment* I do not mean to imply that it is good or praiseworthy; I mean merely that it is a sentiment for a moral object, for a form of conduct expressing some quality of personality or character. The value of such a sentiment is in each case a question not easily to be answered.

Still standing by the proper and original sense of the word taboo, rather than the popular question-begging and deprecatory sense, we may say broadly that the conduct of men, savage, barbarous and civilized alike, is very largely ruled by taboos. That is the plain fact, whatever be our ethical theory, our theory of the way conduct should be governed.

Let us now pass from the consideration of facts to the question of the value of taboos; in other words, from the science to the philosophy of taboo. The odium, the scorn, the deprecation that usually go with the word *taboo*, how far are these justified? Have any taboos any value? Or ought we to fight them one and all, weaken them by our bold defiance and kill them with ridicule if possible? And, since space is limited and this volume is devoted to the ever fascinating topic of sex, let us consider from this point of view, namely, that of the question of value, the taboos on various forms of sex behavior.

This is the great age of freedom; the age of glory for him who can find another idol to smash and another taboo to kill by bold defiance, by withering scorn or murderous ridicule; the age of Shaw and Mencken and Ben Lindsey and Bertrand Russell and Wells and of many less celebrated iconoclasts. Their common cry is—Away with all taboos; let reason and liberty prevail! Taboos are a survival

from savagery; let us no longer cringe before them; let each one of us take courage and be a free man following a path which reason alone shall prescribe. A noble ideal no doubt! But is it practical politics? Perhaps the policy of pure reason is a crazy error; as crazy as Bolshevism or the Age of Reason. And, in view of the fact that the conduct of most of us has hitherto owed so little to reason and so much to taboo, the burden of proof must be with the exponents of the policy of reason. For, though our conduct may not on the average be very lofty or admirable, nevertheless, we are here, society has at least survived, and even our much decried civilization has shown itself to be compatible hitherto with the multiplication of the species. In view of the acknowledged feebleness of our reason and its small influence on conduct, may it not be hazardous to commit ourselves wholly to its guidance? Shall we not run some risk of overlooking the great power of impulse and desire to bias reason? And may not this risk be peculiarly great in the sphere of sex? Reason, says Russell; experiment, says Lindsey; don't be a craven fool, says Shaw; admit that we all are sexual rogues, says Wells, and act accordingly. But how if all this flow of reason, this freedom of experiment, this frankness of admission, these heroic gestures, should result in the disappearance of our race? In order that man may reason and experiment and be heroic, he must live; and in order to live he must be born. And our sex taboos are concerned with just this troublesome business of getting men born. There is not the least reason to suppose that reason alone would perpetuate the race. The begetting and the bearing of children is a most unreasonable business. Can we reasonably hope to commit it, without serious results, to the care of reason? In very much simpler and less important matters, such as philosophy and politics, reason can make a hopeless mess of things, as Mr. Russell has shown us so clearly. And Mr. Wells' policy of summoning a comet with a green gas to eradicate such irrational factors as sex jealousy may not always be practicable.

Consider a moment what is implied in a policy of education without sex taboos, the policy now so widely demanded. Let us note that no people known to us, however advanced or however primitive, has continued to exist without sex taboos. Remembering, then, the fact pointed out on an earlier page, that the wide distribution in time and space of a taboo of any kind affords a strong presumption of its positive value, we may on this ground doubt the wisdom of such a policy. It may be said that the animals get along very well

without sex taboos; then why should not we, with our superior reason, dispense with them and yet flourish? The answer is that we are endowed not only with a modicum of reason but also with a large dose of imagination. The animals are guided in this matter of reproduction directly and pretty safely by instinct and natural selection. We, with our reason and our imagination, are in large measure emancipated from the direct control of instinct. Not that the sex impulse is any less strong in us; rather, imagination stimulates it and strengthens it by much exercise; and also it points out many new ways of stimulating and satisfying the urge, makes of it a plaything and a torment; while reason elaborates the means to the alluring goals painted by imagination, and ingeniously justifies the following of these new ways. Hence, perhaps, sex taboos are indispensable conditions of the prosperity and endurance of every human society.

Consider one society which, perhaps, has fewer sex taboos than any other known to us, that of the Trobriand Islanders.[1] There the policy of education without sex taboos is almost realized in practice. The children are allowed and even encouraged to find pleasure in sexual play at a tender age. As soon as they are capable of it, they begin to copulate freely with one another; and, as the sex impulse grows more imperious, they find provided for them special houses in which their amours may be conveniently carried on. But even in this paradise of sex pleasures there are restrictions; the ideal of complete promiscuity is not realized. There is a very strict taboo upon the slightest sex relation between brothers and sisters; and while a youth consorts with a girl he most unreasonably expects her to make him for the time being the exclusive recipient of her favors. So strong is unreason in the human breast.

Contemplating this and similar instances, our advocates of education without sex taboos may well despair of the realization of their ideal, even if their faith in it is not shaken. The facts suggest the possibility that, if these happy islanders had dispensed with sex taboos entirely, there might be no such islanders surviving at this late date. They support the suggestion that perhaps natural selection rapidly and surely eliminates societies without sex taboos or those in which sex taboos become few or feeble.[2]

[1] Carefully studied by Dr. B. Malinowski and reported on by him in several works, especially *Sex and Repression in Savage Society,* London, 1926.

[2] In a recent comprehensive study of the islanders of the Pacific Ocean (*The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races,* London, 1927.) Mr. Pitt-Rivers has shown how very subtle are the influences which may determine the extinction of a people by modifying the working of the sex instinct.

But do the advocates of the abolition of all sex taboos really mean what they say? It is possible that their faith in reason is not so robust as they pretend. What are the sex taboos surviving still, or up to a recent date, among us? Abiding by and frankly confessing my old-fashioned prejudice in favor of taboos, I will list the chief of them in an order of merit. Taboos against incest of several forms, against bestiality, sodomy, adultery with seduction, plain adultery, seduction of virgins, sex intercourse in public places, various unnatural practices, prostitution, promiscuous copulation, promiscuous flirtation, masturbation, sex-exciting talk as an amusement, the enjoyment and pursuit of the lower forms of art that aim chiefly at the titillation of the sex instinct, indiscriminate exposure of the person.

Now it would not be fair to suppose that the abolitionists advocate, or personally desire to indulge in, all of these tabooed practices. But presumably they would, if they could, abolish the surviving remnants of all such taboos and leave it to each young person to pick his (or her) way by the light of reason alone through the tangle of varied indulgences temptingly displayed by modern civilization for his (or her) selection.

Let us consider the application of the abolitionist policy to a single one of these taboos, and let us choose the last on our list, the taboo of least merit, that against public nakedness. This taboo lies more heavily on women than on men; we must consider it in relation to them. I have remarked elsewhere [3] that "women will always expose as much of their persons as the taste of men will permit." That is a sweeping generalization; but it is roughly true, more especially of course of those with comely bodies. It means that only taboo prevents a considerable proportion of young women from going about naked upon occasion. About nine o'clock last evening I met, strolling down the main street of a little town, two young women escorted by two young men, all clothed only in the very scantiest of bathing costumes. It would seem that we have gone far towards the abolition of this particular taboo. Well, do we, do the abolitionists, really desire to complete the process? Do they wish that all of us should go about freely in public places quite naked? Mr. Russell says, Yes. He seems to regard this as a first and essential step towards the abolition of all sex taboos.

There are, I think, valid objections to even this small step. First, as a race we are not beautiful enough to make this policy desirable.

[3] *Character and the Conduct of Life,* London and New York, 1927.

I do not know whether Mr. Russell puts his lofty principle into practice in his new ideal school. Probably not on all occasions; for the British climate will always afford a very good excuse. In so far as he does so, can we feel sure that the esthetic objection is quite groundless? But in the American summer the question is complicated by climatic difficulties and becomes urgent. The abolitionist will say, of course such a reform cannot be instituted suddenly or by a few persons only; at present the unusualness of nakedness makes it objectionable. Well, we are making steady progress in that direction. I estimate that skirts have shortened by ten inches in the last ten years and that the maintenance of this rate of progress will abolish them in the next twenty years. But I fear that, even if this process should be consummated, the young women of America would not be left free to follow the light of reason; the taboo against nakedness would merely be replaced by a taboo against clothes from the 10th of June to the 15th of September. But suppose that this gloomy view is ill-founded, and that twenty years hence the young women of America shall stroll abroad in summer time clothed or naked, as pure reason shall in each case dictate. Shall we really be better off? Will the great cause of sex morality be really advanced?

If all young women were divinely beautiful, I think that, as regards them, the policy might work well. For, strangely enough, such is the complex and incurably irrational nature of men, the beauty of woman's form, although it greatly adds to its power to excite the sex impulse in man, yet in some obscure way evokes a restraining influence. It evokes another and opposed dynamic tendency of our nature; and this, holding the sex impulse in restraint, secures that balanced satisfaction of opposed tendencies which is of the essence of esthetic contemplation. Hence, the free representation of that beauty in art. But, unfortunately, few women are beautiful to the required degree. And if these rare specimens alone practiced this high principle, they might be subjected to considerable annoyance, by reason of the rarity of the phenomenon. A prior need would seem to be some two centuries of a strict and effective eugenic régime.

But the climatic and esthetic objections do not stand alone. We have no record of a people entirely without the taboo on nakedness; and those who approximate most nearly to such freedom are generally regarded on other grounds as the lowest of the low. Does not this universality of the taboo constitute presumptive evidence of

positive social value of some kind? The question of the origin and motivation of the practice of clothing has been much discussed, and several rival theories are in the field. I suggest a new one. I suggest that clothing, and more especially the covering of the sex organs, has a symbolic function and value. It symbolizes the fact that men are not free to copulate as the animals do, whenever and wherever the impulse is stirred in them. It is the outward and ever present symbol of all the other sex taboos. And it is perhaps the intuition of this function that leads our reformers to direct the brunt of their attack upon it. But to attribute value to clothing because it has this symbolic function is to assume that other sex taboos have some value, some useful function. Can we reasonably assign any such general function? I think we can.

It has long been recognized that the production of great art seems somehow related to the sex instinct. The relation is sometimes expressed by saying that both procreation and art production are creative and may be regarded as the work of a single instinct to create. This amounts to little more perhaps than a play upon words. Professor Freud has thrown more light on the subject by his insistence on the process which he calls *sublimation*. Sublimation is the raising of the plane upon which the energy of any instinct operates. It is most clearly illustrated perhaps by love lyrics, or by the lover who writes a sonnet to the eyebrow of his lady. In such cases there seems no room for doubt that the energy of the sex instinct, the *libido* as Freud calls it, finds at least partial expression and some degree of satisfaction in the verbal celebration of the object; just as, on a lower plane, any youth's ravings about the beauty of his girl are such an expression. Such works of art are clearly alternative expressions of the sex impulse. And if the energy of that impulse be freely expended in the most direct and natural fashion, it will not seek and find any such alternative and higher expression. It is not recorded that the Trobriand Islanders have produced any noteworthy work of art or of any other kind. It was not Casanova but Dante who produced an immortal poem. Casanova was endowed with immense sex energy, but he expended it on the animal plane. On him sex taboos had little influence. How then about Shelley and Byron? They also were but little regardful of sex taboos. The answer is, I think, that while Casanova could enjoy himself with any woman, Shelley and Byron had in very high degree that sensitiveness to beauty and ugliness which is the most essential part of the artist's natural endowment. When this goes with a low degree of sex energy,

we get the dilettante and the dabbler in verse or paint. When it goes with great sex energy, as in Shelley and Byron, it modifies the working of sex in two ways. First, only women of high beauty are sought after; others are repugnant. Secondly, beauty evokes in high degree that restraint upon the sex impulse which I referred to on an earlier page: hence it effects the sublimation of its energy. Such a man as Byron may be fickle and ruthless, but while he loves he worships. If, then, we were all as sensitive to beauty and ugliness as Shelley and Byron and Dante, and if all women were as beautiful as Beatrice, we should need no sex taboos. But unfortunately the majority of us fall far short.

The principle of sublimation seems to be involved in the production of all works of art. And probably Freud is right in giving to sex sublimation a still wider rôle; in regarding sublimated sex energy as coöperative in most, perhaps all, great work. If this be true, we may say: without sex restraint, no sublimination; and without sublimination, no culture, but rather the pleasant, lazy life of the islanders of Trobriand, of Tahiti, of Hawaii. We may say also, and more confidently: no restraint, then no love, but only lust.[4]

Here, then, in general terms is the function of sex taboos: to restrain the sex impulse and lead to its sublimation. Perhaps taboos may in certain cases have been too severe; as in the Puritan communities. Yet Milton wrote great poetry; Bunyan produced an immortal allegory; and the Puritans of New England subdued a continent and imposed upon its population strict sex taboos which, perhaps, have been a main condition of their astonishing achievements in the material sphere. How otherwise can we explain the strange westward urge that carried the pioneers through immense hardships to the Pacific slopes, across thousands of miles of territory? Who will assure us that a people wholly given up to jazz and to the pursuit of easy sex pleasures could carry on the great tradition and build a palace worthy of the foundations so magnificently constructed?

Is it not a fair guess that, if, instead of their sex taboos, the early settlers of the Atlantic seaboard had established the manners of the Restoration gallants or the morals of the Trobriand Islanders,

[4] As it is written in my *Character and Conduct:* "The question before contemporary society is whether romantic love can survive the present breaking down of barriers, and whether it is well that it should become again the sweet torment of the few who happen to encounter quite unusual circumstances?"

the area that is now the United States would have fallen into the hands of some people of a sterner code?

But we must pass on from this very general apology for sex taboos to consider the more immediate effects to be expected from the abolition of them.

The immediate general effect is to deprive young people of the guiding pressure of a settled public opinion and to deprive them also of all moral sentiments directly bearing upon sex conduct; for it is in the form of the taboos that public opinion operates, and it is through the emotionally beset taboos that the sentiments of repugnance to certain forms of conduct are passed on from one generation to another.[5] Each young person, as the sex impulse begins to prompt him to modes of behavior new and utterly puzzling to him, is to be thrown upon his own resources of reason and experience. It is for him to decide as each situation arises whether he will or will not; and always his judgment will be biased by the imperious urge of the sex impulse.

If under such conditions the immediate promptings of sex were not given quite unrestrained expression, it could only be because there would rise to mind the question—why not? In the more prudent the question might rise; and then would come the problem of finding an answer, a problem that might puzzle many a man or woman of large experience. Take any one of the forms of behavior in our list of sex taboos, and, in calm detachment from all taboo influences and emotional repugnances, ask yourself the question—why not? Why not incest? Why not sodomy? Why not promiscuity? In each case a compelling answer requires a wide range of knowledge and a wise judgment, and presupposes a very strong interest in or desire for the continued flourishing of the social group in the distant future. We may hopefully estimate that one young person in a hundred might find an answer such as would prompt an effort of self-restraint. But, it may be said, we should advise them wisely. But what young person follows the advice of elders in such matters? And, under the reformed system of education, we elders are merely to instruct, to set the facts plainly before the young, holding nothing back, and leave it to them to choose their path in the light of reason.

Why not incest? Apart from the influence of a well established

[5] Dr. B. Malinowski has the distinction of being the first sociologist to recognize that the sentiments traditional within any community are of the first importance, are the key to the understanding of its life, its flourishing, its decay, its death.

taboo, nothing in the world is more natural and inevitable than brother and sister incest. We may prate of the break-up of the family. But what of that? Young hopefuls can cite the high authority of Dr. J. B. Watson to show that what our world chiefly needs is to get rid of the family and the malign influence of parents.

Why not promiscuity? Remember, it is presupposed by the reformers that contraceptives and venereal preventatives are, or shortly will be, sure and easy. Imagine the mother of the future under the reformed system. On sending her little girl to a party or a picnic, her prime duty will be to see that she is properly equipped with knowledge and material resources. "Don't forget to call at the corner drug store, my dear. Ask the clerk for a packet of these new Wiggeley's *Saveceps*. Every one says they're so good. And have him tell you exactly how to use them." And, arrived at the dance hall, with its long row of sedan cars and limousines, the woodland picnic, the bathing-beach, charged only to have a good time, what power of reason will hold the girl back? The sex impulse, artfully stimulated and unchecked by any moral sentiment, will be reinforced by the natural desire to give pleasure, to satisfy the burning desire of some handsome youth, by the desire to be popular, to be smart, to be up-to-date, to be in the "swim," to enlarge her experience; and cock-tails will release whatever inhibitions may have survived her rational education.

Unless Judge Ben. Lindsey is an artful romancer disguised as an ardent social reformer, this is no fancy sketch; it is rather a picture of contemporary manners.

Judge Lindsey will say that he trusts the natural impulses of average human nature. But there he is relying upon those subtly acquired moral sentiments which he denounces so scornfully as "subjective habits." For he, in the course of his long experience, has independently discovered those all-important factors, the moral sentiments, which the psychologists so persistently ignore. And in trumpet tones he calls on us all to free ourselves from the irrational influence of "subjective habits." But we all have them and are moved by them. Even Judge Lindsey reveals the influence of a "subjective habit" when he writes with horror of abortion. But why not abortion, Judge Lindsey? If, under the influence of many cocktails, the contraceptives have gone astray at the critical moment, what can be more rational than abortion skillfully performed in the light of day by a surgeon of the best standing?

Judge Lindsey, being in a large measure emancipated from

"subjective habits," would have us regard adulterers as pioneers boldly experimenting in the noble cause of a better social system. But for many thousands of years most men and a large proportion of women have made these experiments. And the results have been in part recorded. Denver may be the leader of contemporary civilization, but human society did not begin with the rise of Denver from the prairie some fifty years ago. As well acclaim as a public benefactor the man who boldly experiments to produce perpetual motion or to ascertain whether the earth is flat? Perhaps Denver does accord civic honors to such heroes.

A great artist has recently published to the world with extraordinary frankness the story of her life. From this story it appears clearly that she practiced what others preach. Perhaps an unusual upbringing did little to impose any taboos upon her. In any case she defied the sex taboos. Very early she decided against marriage, holding it a shameful slavery for woman, and in favor of free love. She was beautiful, charming, kindly, talented and famous. She literally threw herself at one man after another; and, of course, most of them accepted the offer—for a time. She complains again and again that all her lovers have deserted her and that of her many pupils, on whom she lavished care and instruction, none stood by her. In early middle life, we see her, in spite of her fame, her beauty, her talent, perhaps her genius, lonely, miserable, contemplating and attempting suicide, poor, hard drinking, dishevelled, contemptuously treated on all hands.[6] What was it that brought this lovely, brilliant creature so low? Was it merely unceasing bad luck? No, it was her principles, especially her leading principle of defying the sex taboos. She makes that as plain as a pikestaff. Then she was a victim of the irrational taboos; one who, in a more enlightened age, might have enjoyed, without paying penalties, the gorgeous times she had. Perhaps, but I am inclined to doubt.

For she did not merely defy the sex taboos; she acted still more unwisely, she went against human nature. If a man is to give his devotion to a woman, he requires some measure of devotion in return. Failing that, he feels no obligation. But this fair lady followed consistently one clear principle: whenever and wherever the sex impulse is stirred, give it free rein in the sacred name of love. She suffered because, like so many others, she did not distinguish between love and lust.

We are told little or nothing of the later life of the celebrated

[6] In addition to *My Life* see *Isadora Duncan* by Sewell Stokes, London, 1928.

hetairai of Ancient Greece, a class long well-nigh extinct but now reviving and likely to grow rapidly in numbers. But I take leave to doubt whether the career, honored as it was, usually led to a cheerful and serene old age or even a tolerable middle-age. If in any time and place a woman in early middle life has not secured the lasting esteem and affection of some one man, if not of a lover, then of one or more male relatives, what is her life worth to her or to any one?

On the other hand, there is in this world no apparition more beautiful and beneficent than a happy wife and mother, secure in the esteem, the affection, and the gratitude of husband and children, radiating sympathy and joy to every living thing that comes across her path. If she has glimpsed now and again the edge of a fierce jealousy in her husband, she is but the happier; for she knows intuitively that jealousy is the inseparable companion of love and that its intensity is a sure gauge of love's strength. But the function of marital jealousy is a story all by itself. Here I would merely note that the abolitionists are doing their best to erect a taboo against it.

SEX ENLIGHTENMENT FOR CIVILIZED YOUTH

BY MARY WARE DENNETT

In discussing sex enlightenment for civilized youth, first of all definitions are needed. What is meant by civilization? Is it what we have now, or what we are going to have some day? For the sake of convenience and clarity, it will here be assumed that what we have now is but an incipient civilization, and that it is only the future which can hold a rounded out, high-grade civilization.

We have then to try to picture what future sex enlightenment for young people should be, and, what is considerably more difficult, devise adequate ways for bridging the gap between the very messy present and the reasonably lovely by and by.

As for appraising the present, endless people are taking a hand in it. The weighing of hopes and fears regarding the younger generation, sexually considered, competes with the weather as a topic for banal comment. The welter of conflicting testimonies would indicate hopeless confusion, if we did not bear in mind that generalizations can be neither sound nor sweeping so long as we have to consider such a wide variety of young people, and the fact that they are at many different stages of mental and emotional development. They may, at the present moment, dress more or less alike, use the same slang, and be subject to the same regimenting influences of the movies, the radio and most schools; for fashions in clothes, language and habits spread over the whole country almost simultaneously. On the surface they may look as similar as soldiers, but underneath they are quite diverse; for these young folks are born of parents whose traditions and developments have been of vastly different sorts; and the children have correspondingly absorbed, during their most receptive childhood years, the powerful impressions, chiefly unconscious ones, which affect their attitude toward sex matters throughout their whole lives. It is rare that these impressions are wholly altered, despite the later layers of acquired information—be

it either the fine sort or the low variety. One does not have to line up as a partisan Freudian or a Watsonian to admit the lifelong effect of early impressions. Emphasis on the pervasive and enduring power of childhood concepts is common to practically all present-day psychologists.

The child of parents who have felt shame in regard to their own sex feelings or expression is often so permeated with this general sense of indecency that, in his later years, it is almost impossible for him to clear it entirely out from his consciousness, and make room for a fresh, wholesome, scientific, poetic, joyous realization of the sex side of life. And this persistent hang-over of early, dirty and disturbing impressions exists in children of greatly contrasting social environment. It is not limited to locality or status. It can be found equally in the child of the university professor, and the child of the village ne'er-do-well, the child of the social butterfly or of a dyed-in-the-wool reformer, and, paradoxically, in the child of the *pure* as well as in the child of the *obscene*. In fact, it seems often to be the *pure* who most suffer from *obscene* reactions to reminders of sex.

And conversely, the child whose parents are lovers who have dragged no weight of shame along with their love, but whose sex life has been untrammelled, vigorous, sensitive, reciprocal and glad, unconsciously stores up in his mental and emotional being a sexual health of spirit that will beautifully see him through all manner of later experiences, which might easily otherwise pervert him sadly. This sort of child carries his own environment with him; it protects him like an umbrella in a downpour.

These early influences are not absorbed *via* words alone; they are potent from mere atmosphere, gesture, expression of face, and from the various subtle inferences from the attitude of the elders, which children inevitably make, as they live and learn in their first few years.

These influences can make or mar a child's whole life attitude. They pave the way for a mean, uncomfortable, sordid, hectic reaction to the development of the sex impulse in the adolescent years, or for a fine, comprehending, sunlit attitude, which gives the power to grow into sex maturity with strength and beauty. Merely to prevent a child from observing gross sexual behavior, or hearing vulgar remarks about sex, or seeing salacious moving pictures and plays, or reading suggestive literature, by no means insures a wholesome mental and emotional sex attitude. It no more guarantees

a fine inner feeling than does observation of the rules of etiquette guarantee true courtesy, the sort which is equal to all manner of occasions, in all phases of life, not merely those met in *society.*

Without making any attempt at statistical accuracy, it seems evident that the present proportion of young people who have reached the later adolescent years, having grown into this much to be desired sex attitude, as a result of wholesomeness of heritage and environment, is relatively small. There is still an appalling mass of young people who are enmeshed in the wretched clutter of a stale and nasty undercurrent of sex thought and feeling, and who vibrate between ignorant fear and turgid allure. The points at which most audiences snicker, when certain sex suggestions appear in films and plays, strikingly reveal the volume and power of this undercurrent. For a long time yet this nervous tension, with its unmistakable symptom of guilty giggling, will grip a great mass of the people, both young and old.

Perhaps the most striking type of young person, nowadays, is the one which has suddenly become modern enough to outgrow sex fear, and which has developed a bravado in reaching out for sex experience that makes the elders gasp and despair. These boys and girls are brazenly shouting from the housetops that human beings are animals just like other animals, and that sex expression should be taken as a matter of course when wanted (being of course sophisticated enough to prevent conception), and that all the moralistic fences so carefully erected by Madam Grundy, preachers, teachers and parents, are just so much old-fashioned rubbish. They are not only yelping noisily about freedom, but they are ostentatiously showing the world that they dare all sorts of exhibitionism which only a few years ago was rare enough to be extraordinary.

It is all very significant. They do protest too much. On analysis, it appears that the stridency and showing-off are mostly but a surface hardness which covers substantially the same old seething, unharmonized sense of sex, which beset the young people before they became hard-boiled. They have shed the fears and some of the shame; they have snatched at some of the outward aspects of freedom; but they have grafted it on to a foundation which cannot nourish any deep roots, and which does not permit the fine flowering and full fruitage of balanced sex living.

It seems more than likely that most of the young folks who are in this stampede are those whose early impressions were of the miserable sort. They instinctively try to escape from those impres-

sions, and without realizing that it cannot be done by merely superimposing a procedure that is largely negative in its nature. It does not do away with the effects of false and shameful feelings about sex simply to let raw sex impulse run wild. It is worth something, to be sure, to shed fear. But courage, unless grounded in impulses of validity and beauty, becomes a very doubtful asset. The bully and the daredevil have courage, but they are a nuisance to themselves and to others. They require an audience and are not happy even when they get it. Bravado is not joy. Granted that the old sex conventions are pretty thoroughly dessicated and even decayed, the mere superficial or ostentatious defiance of them does not produce the deeper satisfactions which belong to truly civilized sex life. Iconoclasm is not creation.

The young people who have had their sexual flings and have exhausted the stimulation from bragging about it, are still restless and dissatisfied. Some of them will never be anything else; but for many of them there is a way out. It is not an instantaneous or effortless way, but it is possible, provided they care enough, to clear out of their minds and their feelings most of those old, mean notions of sex, and to replace them by an intelligent comprehension of what it means to make sex at least catch up with the other factors in civilization; to realize that mere animalistic sex expression has no more place in worth-while civilization than would mud-huts serve as modern homes, or barter in place of commerce, or the pack-horse in place of the automobile.

It is by no means easy for young people who have a bad background of sex impressions to clean house and substitute for them a fine sense of beauty in sex life which is at once vigorous and lovely and harmoniously integrated with the rest of life. But it can be done, and when it is achieved, they will be all through with bravado. They will have dared to be animals, but they will also have the courage and the ambition to be animals, *plus*. And the *plus* opens a vista which goes on and on to a limitless horizon.

Daring to be an animal is probably, on the whole, a step ahead, even if distasteful demonstration has to go along with it, and one may well wish that all the prudes and inhibited puritanical folk could get at least that far on the road to discovering the true place of sex in well-evolved human life. But in proportion as the mental concepts and feelings become educated and balanced, that is, reeducated, the distasteful demonstrations will fade away, and the top-heavy, blatant sex consciousness will subside. It is not so much

the quantity of sex consciousness that will change as the quality—to deprive humanity of a lively sex consciousness would be to rob it indeed—but the consciousness will play its powerful and legitimate part, without the sense of naughtiness, to put it mildly, which now bedevils so many young people. They will come to see the wide difference between the attitude of the girl who goes hipping along the street with her coat held tightly around the most purposefully jiggling part of her anatomy, and the open-air girl who plays with gayety and bare-legged freedom in her swimming suit, or, presently, without it. Both girls may feel equally sex conscious, but one feels wicked and the other feels happy. They will likewise differentiate between the boy who makes a smutty sexual appraisal of every girl he meets, and the boy who is able to link his natural sex susceptibility with the realization that a girl is more than simply a female. Both boys may be equally alive to the girl allure, but one feels nasty and the other just naturally stimulated.

In other words, sex concepts and emotions can be civilized. Obviously it is more easily achieved when the process begins in earliest childhood than with people whose mental and emotional trends are already established, and on a bad basis, and there is much to unlearn.

Sexually speaking, one of the very prettiest sights which present life affords is the way in which a relatively small but rapidly increasing minority of young people are living their mated lives and producing their wanted babies. These young folks are mostly the children of what might be called the first crop of the progressive educational group. They have had the enormous advantage of being started in life with decent, wholesome impressions and knowledge of sex; and despite the fact that they have grown up amidst general conditions which are anything but lovely or well civilized, and have seen all about them the evidence of a perverted sense of sex matters, they are tackling their own lives with a serenity, intelligence and beauty that is a delight to behold.

They have had plenty of opportunity to estimate the values of sex freedom among young people, with the result that they have almost rediscovered love and marriage,—not by any reversion to Madam Grundy and the conventions of the past, but by sorting out of the pot-pourri which life, fiction and the drama shows to them, the elements which they know are vital and which they know they want. There is a directness and honesty about it that is most refreshing. To be sure, their language, their methods and their con-

clusions would make their grandmothers turn in their graves. But what of that? It must be said that these young folks have made rather more relative progress in being good parents than in being good lovers and mates; but that is to be expected, for the problems of parenthood are more tangible, and more adequate instruction and inspiration is available on that subject than on mated living. However, it is these very much alive young folks who form the basis for the amply warranted assumption that fine sex life is a possibility, and that adequate sex education is on its way.

Considering the great variety of young people, clearly one type of sex instruction will not serve for them all, at least not at present. Those who are hectically rampaging through the kaleidoscopic experiences of "sex freedom" certainly would be impervious right now to the sort of education that would be suitable for the further development of the group which is already on the highroad to a fine all around understanding of how to integrate sex into life successfully. Then there is the enormous mass of young people in between these two extremes, those who are neither snatching at sex expression whether or no, nor evolving constructively, but who are still in the grasp of the stale conventions, and without much initiative either for rebellion or for vision. This huge group needs something which will lead them out from the falsities, fears and uglinesses of traditional attitudes, and on toward the real freedom and beauty of the future.

The young folks who are in the rampaging stage need an educational stimulus that will help them to see and feel below the surface, something that will connect sex with the other great forces in life, and will open their perceptions to the beauties, and even the romance, of love which is at once modern and profound.

The fairly well evolved group need education which will keep them growing, and which will prevent any smug conclusion that they have arrived.

As for the great middle millions, they will need for a long while yet education which recognizes the great power and tenacity of early distorted sex concepts, and which will gently but mightily impel an onward and outward march away from the miasmatic lowlands of sex mean-mindedness up to the high pure air in which sex can come to a normal flowering in the sunlight. And this educational guidance must not be of the suppressive sort. It is futile merely to denounce or cover up all the evidences of uncomfortable sex concepts; they must be understood, their source must be real-

ized, and they must gradually be scattered into nothingness, by substituting for them the new, clean, scientific, up-standing, beautiful concepts, which rightly belong to normally constituted and highly developed human beings.

And now, looking ahead into a more unified future, or at least one in which a sizeable majority of young people will have outlived the need for the present sorts of sex instruction, what kind of sex education may one rightly predict? Certain elements seem clearly evident. Obviously many things which now seem needed can be omitted, and it will be a joy to discard them.

Sex education for youth will then be free from fear, embarrassment, shame and apology. Parents, writers and teachers will not approach the subject as one which is "difficult," "delicate," or "dangerous." They will use no "holy tone" in discussing it. They will not be foolish enough to warn little children "never to discuss these matters with other children, but bring all your questions to father and mother." The elders will know quite well by that time, that discussion with one's contemporaries regarding everything in the universe is one of the natural rights of children, and the more one tries to prevent it, the more imperative becomes the impulse; and it is a most wholesome impulse too.

There will be no such use of the terms *animal passion, lust,* or *indulgence,* as occurs nowadays in most instructions for youth. The legitimacy of joy in sex union will be taken for granted. It will not be looked upon as an unescapable human weakness, which has to be provided for by "sacred" matrimony; but as the supreme factor in human biology, an act which combines the straight animal urge (akin to that of all living organisms) with the reflexes of sentiment and happiness, and the stimulations of the mental, moral, esthetic and emotional phases of life—those qualities which differentiate humans from other live creatures.

The use of the word *indulgence* is one of the worst flaws in some of the otherwise fairly decent-appearing sex instruction of the present day. The implications of this one word can counteract pages and pages of fine talk. It is indeed a useful service to point out to young people that excess can ruin sex expression, just as it can ruin everything else that is needful in the maintenance of life or for the joy of living, eating, drinking, study, work and play. But it is an abominable disservice to treat sex union as if it were an unavoidable concession to a bad habit. The inference from such a concept is that in truly ideal living, man would be able to sup-

press entirely the urge for *indulgence*. Sex union will be looked upon as fruition, as the balancing, completion and perfecting of life, rather than as an unmanageable inheritance from the "lower animals."

Nor will there be any harping upon *virtue* and *purity*. We shall dare to assume that young people are capable of comprehending that what makes sex relations beautiful is neither ignorance nor inexperience, nor obedience to dogmas and all the *thou shalt nots* which have hedged in the young folks of the past; but that it is the magnetism they have for each other, and the ardor, reciprocity, intelligence and finesse with which they give it expression.

Venereal disease will receive proportionate discussion under the topic of sex hygiene, and the scientific facts as to its nature and extent, its curability and prevention will be given in straightforward fashion. But all this will be in tremendous contrast to the handling of venereal disease in present-day instruction, so much of which is still lurid, unscientific and hypocritical. The relative amount of attention now given to this subject and to the effort to scare and browbeat young people into continence is not only an insult to youth, but is utterly false to any sound principles of education.

Sex instruction, like all other education, must be based on an honest fact-finding policy, not mandates based on assumption and motivated by fear. The tendency to discount the curability of venereal disease in its earlier stages, is still evident among the "purity" propagandists of the old-fashioned sort. They find it difficult to conceive of sex education deprived of its chief scare. They are afraid to face the possibility that an infected person may recover, and that his children may not be damned or doomed to the third and fourth generation. They are like the fundamentalist old lady who felt that her theology was being menaced by the freethinkers, and who proudly said, "my damnation is very dear to me." They hug the traditional fears, which so perfectly match their ossified mental patterns. Many of them will not live long enough to learn the profound difference between the "purity" which is induced by terror, and the fine taste and open-eyed knowledge under which sex expression grows into ways of self-respect and beauty.

In the new education, the scientific truth about masturbation will be told. The fact that there is no sound evidence that any physiological harm results from ordinary masturbation, but only psychological harm—and that due solely to the person's own feeling of wrongdoing—has already reached the knowledge of many

young people, but nothing like the majority. And most sex instruction for young people still includes hectic advice and dire warnings on the subject. Intelligent youth is perfectly capable of realizing that autoerotic excess can be damaging just as is excess in coition or in any other physical activity. Likewise they can understand that extreme and uncontrollable masturbation is a symptom of neurosis rather than the cause of it.

The control of conception will be adequately and specifically explained. Just how soon our defunct laws on the subject will be decently cremated remains to be seen; but meanwhile knowledge is more and more being circulated, on a bootleg basis. The need for supplementing the present unreliable, and obscenely surrounded information with open, scientific, hygienic, perfected instruction is beyond stating. It hardly seems exaggeration to say that more young people have been morally damaged by the disgusting conditions under which contraceptives are being circulated than by any use of the contraceptives themselves. The notion that calling contraception obscene in our laws, or that keeping young people ignorant of its efficacy in regulating the incidence of parenthood, will contribute toward sexual ideality, is even now pretty well exploded. The future will dissipate it entirely.

Will full sex instruction become a regular part of ordinary school curricula? Possibly, sometime, but in the distant future. And even then, it may be doubtful wisdom. There is every reason why simple sex physiology should be taught in the schools now, wherever physiology is taught at all. The stupidity of teaching school children that humans have bones, muscles, nerves, blood circulation, digestive and respiratory organs, and omitting the fact that they have sex organs as well, is one of the disgraces of the period from which we are now emerging. Sex physiology, however, is but the factual foundation for full sex education, and before the latter could wisely be made a part of the ordinary instruction in schools, we should have to have a teaching force made up of something other than the young unmarried women who now constitute the largest part of our teaching system. They are mostly what the brilliant author of *Why We Misbehave* calls "the emotionally illiterate." Certainly the unmated women, young or even older, who have had no normal sex life themselves, are not the best source for sex enlightenment for young folks.

Then who is? Perhaps the ideal answer is that it is the mature men and women who have had enough normal sex experience to

produce a poised, un-neurotic approach to the subject, and who are blessed with balanced organisms, in which sex plays its full part, but does not play either less or more than its part. Much of the sex instruction of the past has emanated from obviously under-sexed, over-sexed or mis-sexed elders; what wonder that it has been so unsatisfactory to the young people?

Parents, up to date, have not always or even often, been good instructors for the young folks, for the simple reason that most marriages are uncomfortable, if not actually unhappy. The parents are often considerably inhibited, for they are unable to point to themselves as examples for the children to inspect. They find it easier to let the children get their full knowledge elsewhere. They can readily enough give the children the simple physiological facts of sex. But adolescents want more than that. They want to understand something of actual sex technique, and they have inarticulate longings to comprehend more about the relationship of emotion to actual sex union.

How then are young folks to acquire their knowledge? To the majority for a long time yet, it will come mostly by reading. Then, as fortunate circumstances permit, by learning from just the right older people—those who have not forgotten how it feels to be young, but who, in the living of their own lives, have gathered wisdom, sympathy and understanding as well as scientific facts. And not until a great many such people become teachers, could anything like adequate sex education be provided in schools, or even in colleges.

The coming sex education will induce a new type of reverence. It will be based upon a profound respect for the marvels of sex life itself, and its subtle, powerful and beautiful relation to all the other phases of life. It will be the sort of reverence which inheres in the perception that the natural laws which run the universe imply the existence of a Great Intelligence; and the reflex of this perception is an unwillingness to spoil the big plan to the extent of one iota, by messing up one's own little life. This reverence is a long way off from the induced acceptance of some ecclesiastical dictum or other, which has called sex "sacred," and has tied it up to various conventions, to disregard which is "sin." The new reverence is dynamic rather than static.

The coming sex instruction will include something at least regarding the technique of sex union. This prediction will perhaps scandalize some of the present-day elders. They will say that such

detail should be deferred till after marriage or certainly till adulthood, that it is wholly unsuitable and even dangerous for young people, that it would needlessly stimulate desire, and so forth.

The answer to these perturbations is that nature does not sufficiently endow civilized peoples with knowledge on this function. We are not animals, nor are we primitive. Instinct needs to be supplemented by knowledge and by artistry. This being the case, young people cannot help wondering endlessly about the actuality of sex union. Not helping them to understand does not in the least prevent their continuing to wonder. They want to know, and they need to know: partly because they have a right to understand something about mysteries of basic life experience, even before they meet it themselves; and partly because if they do know, it tends on the whole to lessen rather than to increase the pressure of sex urge.

This statement is substantiated by the evidence accumulated during many years of correspondence and talk with young people in their later adolescence.

Suppose then that one can grant the need for some enlightenment on this phase of sex education, how is the knowledge of sex technique to be acquired? Not formally, and not academically, nor yet, till well into the future, from the average physician. "Consult your family doctor" is easy advice. It shifts responsibility, and it sounds well, but it does not necessarily serve any good purpose. Physicians, *as such*, are hardly any more apt to be good guides in this matter than are others. They do know sex physiology, and can teach it, but that alone is not sufficient. And, alas, many doctors have quite as shoddy a view of sex relations as have other people. Ordinary medical education is no particular antidote to the false, uncomfortable notions about sex which are early acquired and long held. Indeed, medical smutty-mindedness is by no means uncommon. However, the rare physician, who is at once a scientist, an artist, and a balanced, experienced human being, is probably the most perfect of all teachers. There will be more such, as time goes on. Sex technique will be best taught by these doctors, and by mothers and fathers and friends. It will be learned in much the same way that the other niceties of private life are learned, by intimate association with people whom one loves and trusts.

Future education will treat sex from the approach of art quite as much as from the approach of science. Soundness, responsibility and beauty in sex living will be developed as the expression of inner fineness. We shall help young people to apply to sex expression the

same courtesy, tact, good taste, fairness, honor and understanding that they do to all other relationships, instead of trying to safeguard it with merely external fences, such as moral dictums, fears, conventional habits and conventional marriage. Sex emotion and expression can be trained and developed just as are all the other phases of emotion and forms of expression. There can be no such thing as the fine art of living unless there is, for its foundation, a fine art of sex living.

When will such education be general? Who knows? Among a relatively few it has already arrived. But possibly the masses of the population will drag on for some decades, generations, or maybe æons, struggling with limited information, mis-information, fears, smutty notions and unillumined experience. Certainly this sort of education cannot be general so long as humanity is burdened with so large a moron quota. The weeding-out process is slow.

The most that can be said is that this is an age of rapid evolution—in streaks. And sex education bids fair to be one of the streaks. Predicting progress in terms of time is rash, but predicting progress as certain, in view of existing well-defined trends and achievements, is thoroughly well warranted.

SEX AND RACE PROGRESS

BY CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

THERE are many persons, generally among the less educated, who deny the facts of evolution. There are others, often highly educated, who deny the fact of human progress, and some, indeed, the fact of race-distinction in humanity.

No one, however, denies the fact of sex. We may, we do, interminably discuss its nature, use and purpose, but no one disputes its existence. Thankfully accepting this certainty we shall find it useful in establishing the other terms of our discussion.

It is clear that sex, in our species, has certain distinctive manifestations; it is also clear that it does exist in other species; and while in us it is associated with many factors, in them its obvious use is contributary to reproduction.

Sex is not primarily essential to reproduction. This should be heartily urged upon those enthusiasts who call it the Life Force. A little elementary biology shows us life going on swimmingly for countless ages without any sex at all; and not only living, but reproducing, with unparalleled fecundity.

Sex was a later development, with a further purpose. There was something to be done by the real Life Force besides live and multiply. The big business which has filled the world with all the varied forms of later life was the improvement of species, growth, development, evolution. In this immense process sex was an indispensable element of race progress, and has not ceased to operate in human variation and civilization.

Its introduction, through the segregation of the male element, and his gradual attainment of race equality, allowed of variation and selection previously impossible, and in plant and animal, fish, flesh and fowl, become one of the main avenues of evolution. The other line of change, through natural selection, was still wider, but whatever the source of a modification, it was transmitted through the functions of sex.

Our own race has still further means of improvement, but as an animal species it cannot escape the effect of this great force upon its status and progress.

As to the word progress, applied to humanity, it should not be difficult for any honest thinker to establish its nature. So long as life, health and pleasure are held desirable we may base a definition of happiness on adaptation to the environment; since environment is changeable those animals are happiest which can most readily adapt themselves to change. The human race is not only most adaptable, but it alone is able to alter its conditions, to modify its environment to its own advantage.

Primitive man was far less able so to manage conditions; with the passage of time he has acquired more knowledge and power, has destroyed many of his enemies, has learned to live in such relation with his own kind as allows periods of peace in which further growth is accomplished, and this line of development is progress.

That it is accompanied by many injurious factors does not alter the fact that more people live in more comfort and with a greater range of interest and achievement than was possible in our earlier stages of existence.

This progress has been by no means uniform in its rate of speed, nor equally manifested by those varieties of *genus homo* called "races." Such a markedly distinct branch as the negro race shows not only conspicuous physical differences, but as marked variance in the attainment of knowledge and power.

In the oldest surviving civilizations we see a high degree of intellectual growth, often quite beyond that of younger races, and among the later racial groups some have manifested qualities quite different from those of others, and produced cultures as different. Evidently progress varies in kind and in degree. Moreover it has not yet succeeded in attaining a safe and lasting improvement beyond a certain rather disappointing level. Repeatedly the progress made by ancient cultures has failed to keep any one of them at a satisfactory stage, and most of them collapsed and disappeared. It is to be noted with relief that certain of the necessary attainments and abilities constituting progress have remained to us, passing from people to people as in a relay race. The cumulative achievements of humanity have steadily contributed to our general advance, even if the original producers have fallen out.

In this long course of human development there are two distinct fields, that of individual improvement, physical and psychic, and

that of social improvement, consisting in transferable achievements. On the one side we may look for gain in size, strength, health, beauty and intelligence among the people; on the other for advances mechanical, industrial, political, in the whole wide range of special knowledge and skill.

It is a truism that human progress, so far, has been conspicuously better established socially than individually. In knowledge, in the arts, in marvelous products and inventions, we gain and gain, but in our proportion of morons and invalids, lunatics and criminals, congenital cripples and general lack of beauty, we seem inferior to many ancient peoples. The scientific attainments of the modern world are enormous, the stupidity of the average mind is almost as impressive.

The distinctions which mark human races are almost wholly social. Physically we may differ in color and minor visible attributes, yet as animals we can still interbreed. The same ability to interbreed characterizes dogs, with somewhat similar undesirable results, but no one refuses to recognize the difference between a *dachshund* and a great Dane. The main distinction in human races is in their degree of social progress, their attainment in knowledge, power and skill, their relative value to one another in product of hand and brain.

The present inquiry is as to the influence of sex on this varying progress of ours, both in its direct use in individual improvement, and its further effect on the field of social advance.

Like other animals we shared in the advantages of variation, competition and selection of the superior male; like some of them we shared in the beneficent results of the higher processes of motherhood. Through the mother came all those modifications of organ and function which gave us a more competent machinery for reproduction, such as the hard-shelled egg, viviparous birth, the marsupial pouch, and that triumph of physical mechanics which furnished the young with prepared food in *order mammalia.*

Quite beyond these comes the immense educational value of higher motherhood, the development of further faculties used in the service of the young, in the effort to benefit other lives besides one's own. All animals whose young require much service show more intelligence than those who lay eggs and forget them, but even where the most care was demanded it consisted in the repetition of the same activities for one set of cubs or kittens after another.

In our species the prolongation of infancy, giving the mother children of different ages to care for at the same time, proved highly

developing. With increased brain power and the opposable thumb to make new activities possible, the extension of motherhood was the beginning of industry. The primitive mother began to make things for her young, she began to work. Here we see an essential social capacity developed originally as an extension of sex-function; a measureless contribution to race progress.

This enlarged mother-service, developing the primary arts of basketry, pottery, sewing, cooking and so on, was applicable to more than children. The male savage found in his female an attraction no other male had known, economic value. She was useful to him aside from the gratification of desire. His own father-service of hunting and fighting was strengthened and augmented by her labors. It is obvious that a savage who had a woman to take care of him could hunt and fight to better advantage than one who had to take care of himself.

In this new relationship, with motherhood extended to benefit the father as well as the child, begins the swiftest stage of human advance. The arts and crafts, originating with the woman, formed the basis for further power and wealth. Mother-care, given to the adult male, seemed as nutritive as mother's milk given to the child.

But the new attraction of service, added to the old attraction of sex, made women so desirable that they became necessary possessions, and as possessions they were unable to avoid the quite natural abuse of their original function. From this point follows a divided current in the influence of sex upon our progress; the wholly beneficent original effect, and later ones widely varying.

The simplest result is in regard to individual development and heredity. The possession of numbers of women involved their seclusion, their seclusion cut them off from most lines of activity and so of improvement, the qualities required of them were by no means those most valuable to the race, and their enforced sex-activities tended to increase that function beyond its natural scope.

As helplessly sold, given, or seized by force, they lost their power of selection; the male alone did the selecting, and his choice did not depend on her strength or intelligence—quite the contrary. Through this perversion of a naturally elevating means of transmitting improvement, our use of sex has contributed to race progress a deteriorating influence. It can be roughly indicated that those peoples whose women are most completely denied freedom and growth remain the least progressive.

But this is a mild contribution compared to the conspicuous

effects of her abnormal position in excesses and resultant disease. In approaching this part of the matter it will be well to devote a little space to the current delusion that any suggestion as to the misuse or over-use of sex rises from "Puritanism," and rests on "moral" considerations.

That temporary and local group of religionists who originally wished to purify the Church of England, and some of whose sturdy exponents aided in founding our country, did indeed advocate self-denial in many lines, but not in matrimony, as our old graveyards show. Their mighty families and buried wives gave no evidence of sex restraint.

But their theories are of small account compared with the urgent asceticism of the early Christians, and theirs again had a background in the stoic philosophy of the ancients. Still more remote and extensive we find in many a savage tribe the practice of rigid self-denial and even self-torture as a means of training. It is a quaint limitation of historic and sociologic knowledge which confines the advocacy of self-control to those scant Puritans; though we may grant that religion has been a frequent factor in the practice of self-denial, leading to ridiculous extremes.

One of our human distinctions is the capacity for telic action, for voluntarily acting or not acting on the basis of knowledge or belief and even against desire. The governing idea does not have to be true. A familiar instance of the amazing ease with which we "fly in the face of nature" on no better authority than a silly mistake, is in the frequently found religious doctrine of celibacy. Here is a theory that there is virtue in completely denying a natural instinct, and an astonishing number of people doing it. In spite of its utter folly it certainly gives valuable proof of the power of the human being to modify his conduct according to his ideas.

As to excess, there can be small dispute that it is possible to over-use any faculty or function, as in the familiar heart-strain of the athlete.

Our characteristic of self-consciousness, our superior ability to procure gratification, led to much mistaken conduct. It was inevitable that the innocent savage, finding certain processes to be pleasurable, should indulge in them as far as circumstances allowed. His most immediate avenues of excess were the simple pleasures of eating, drinking and mating. All animals indulge these as they can, but water-drinking is seldom carried to excess, and eating without appetite is not attractive. As to mating, that was amply indulged in

at the period when the desire for it was felt and the female permitted, a periodic occurrence of mutual satisfaction. They had no wine, no cooks, no female slaves.

No one should call it "Puritanical" to say that gluttony is unhealthy. The results of continuous over-eating may be seen in any fat ill-tempered lap-dog; as the result of under-eating may be seen in many a foolish woman. The fashion-starved female is not therefore a Puritan; nor is the carefully-rationed athlete who wishes to keep his body in the best condition.

The most conspicuous pathological result of our sex excesses is shown in an array of special diseases peculiar to our species. These have not only pronounced and hideous effects in their worst forms, but have been so widely distributed and transmitted as to constitute a grave handicap to race progress. We suffer from many diseases of our own making, as in the numerous alimentary disorders so frequent among us, but these are neither contagious nor hereditary.

An impressive treatise could be made on the effect of venereal disease on the course of history. We know how it debilitates an army. Many a decisive battle must have been won or lost owing to the number of combatants disqualified by this cause. Wider than this is the wholesale weakening of old civilizations from the increase of self-indulgence in this and other lines, allowing of their easy conquest by fresher races, not yet rich enough to follow the same road. Most illuminating would be a chart, marking in deepening color the effect of increasing misuse of sex on the progress of one people after another.

Yet conspicuous and dramatic as this influence is, it is not so important in its effect on humanity as subtler results, both individual and social, of the segregation of women and their over-emphasized sex characteristics, which were unavoidably transmitted to their sons as well as daughters.

We are familiar with the good, or supposedly good effects of this relation. Women, selected for qualities attractive to men, became more and more alluring. Also a new force was added to their "sex-appeal": they made their living by it. Sex attraction is powerful enough in nature, but when economic advantage is harnessed to it it becomes irresistible.

Since this passion, the original dominant of the male, has been increased in the human male by indulgence and again increased by the doubly developed attraction of the human female, we find such tremendous expression of its force in human affairs as to give rise

to popular proverbs of recognition, as " 'Tis love that makes the world go round," and, in regard to man's misconduct, *Cherchez la femme.*

As an accelerant of civilization it has had eminent effect. The male, as selector, developed beauty in the female, and with it his own esthetic sense. While women were obtained by force, he increased in fighting capacity; when they were to be bought, either from a previous owner or as a personal bargain, he increased in the capacity for securing wealth. In order to please his women he has produced all manner of conveniences, comforts and luxuries. Unquestionably sex as a "spur" has promoted many of the social processes.

Seeing all this, conspicuous and undeniable, we have supposed this sex-promoted kind of progress to be natural and advantageous, and have failed to recognize any other. Preoccupied with the phenomena of sex, both normal and abnormal, we have at last come to a distinct philosophy which assumes it to be the main governing force of life, seconded only by the demands of nutrition.

Such a philosophy, consciously exalting what was already predominant in human action, obscures and delays our recognition of the real nature and purpose of social life. Real race progress, which has moved from a scant and meager, scattered and disconnected existence, to the present degree of racial and inter-racial organization, is as detached from sex influence as if it were in a fourth dimension.

Social evolution has developed quite other instincts, and proceeded along quite other paths, than those associated with the desire of the male for the female, or the desire of the female for economic advantage. This is clearly visible in any one of the innumerable lines of social progress, as in the development of our present art of navigation, with its immense and complicated machinery, from the first hollowed log urged by a paddling savage.

Human society, in all its successive experiments, failures and achievements, is a form of life beyond that of the physical bodies perpetuated by sex. The structure of a society is seen in the framework we build and manufacture; the functions of society are those of industry, art, science, all those interrelated processes which enable people to live together and follow highly specialized pursuits and occupations.

The spirit of organized humanity is that which we cannot avoid recognizing in the statesman, the inventor, the discoverer, the organizer, the devoted student, the great artist. Being still separate

animals we are all governed by the primary demands of eating, drinking and mating; but those demands did not produce the telescope, the microscope, or the automobile. The haunting desire to fly, which has at last found practical expression, has nothing to do with sex. The Wright brothers, experimenting patiently in their bicycle shop, were not urged by sex desire nor led by sex-appeal. Neither was Lindbergh.

We see human individuals living in this social relation and profiting by it, some contributing largely to its improvement, some as irrelevant as pet animals, and some weakening and corrupting it. Civilization has progressed through the activities of some, in spite of the inactivities of some, and has succumbed over and over to the pernicious activities of others.

We find social progress differing widely in degree and in rate of advancement among different races, but we do not find that they differ commensurately in sex development, or that sex is the acting cause of their progress.

Is the contrasting record of Holland and Ireland traceable to any similar contrast in sex-power or habit? Is the stationary culture of Abyssinia due to lack of sex impulse? Is the sudden and amazing progress of Japan based on as sudden and amazing a development in sex-activity?

No, the real race progress has no such relation. Whether we look at sex as a simple physical phenomenon, or as of the highest psychic development in noble emotion, it remains an individual affair; whereas civilization, in all its advance, stagnation or collapse, is a social affair.

One of our human prerogatives, immensely useful and as immensely dangerous, is the capacity of arbitrarily associating emotions with facts or behavior, conditions or beliefs. We have invented shame, and applied it to a variety of subjects; and pride, as variably distributed. We have attached a sense of virtue to the mere attitude of belief; we cultivate admirations and fears of total unreality. Witness in this connection the recurrent admiration for any fashion, promptly dismissed and turned to scorn with each new one, or the absurd terror of most women at sight of a mouse.

Sex, being the subject of contemplation and discussion from earliest times, is so encrusted and weighed down by cumulative and inconsistent emotions that it is difficult indeed for even the most skillful psychiatrist to make out what are the essential feelings and capacities. Especially is this true if the inquirer starts out with

profound conviction as to the overwhelming preponderance of this field of life.

Even among lower animals there are far more interests in life than those of sex. Their continuous efforts to secure food and to escape or overcome their enemies have developed a wide variety of organs and activities quite apart from the periodic expression of sex. But with humanity, where the individual life is so extended into the social, the area of extra-sexual interest becomes larger and larger with the advance of civilization.

That advance requires the growth of social instincts and capacities, notably of the power to organize and act in unison for a common good. Also we must produce those special talents which meet the needs of a developing culture; everything indeed which differentiates the normally civilized from the savage culture, is extra-sexual.

In this natural social progress the effect of our over-developed and still more sentimentally exaggerated sex has been anything but beneficial. This exaggeration does not refer to the growth of high and beautiful devotion, of the lasting love which has been an ideal through ages of literature and tradition, but to the sexolatry which deifies this function and attributes to it an importance out of all proportion.

If race progress proceeded normally it would include a steady increase in those group feelings which alone make possible true social relationship; and the delay of which has made necessary the restrictive and punitive processes of society. Sex, being from lowest to highest an individual quality, contributes nothing to the social advance, except through the enlargement of motherhood.

A dominant motherhood gives us the most extremely socialized types we know, as seen among certain insects, but such unbridled action of one sex, with the almost utter extinction of the other, does not produce any farther culture than a hugely efficient nursery. Our own reversed position, with the dominant male and reduced female, has allowed of better results, in spite of all its inevitable individualism, warfare, disease and crime.

The fairest balance of male and female influence would not in itself have given us race progress, which comes through the development of quite other faculties of a distinctly social nature; but our unbalanced position, with excessive sex development, and the male as the main actor in making and managing civilization, has been responsible for many of the plainest obstacles to progress.

There is no more basic essential to social advance than the economic processes of production and distribution. Progressing normally this should mean the widest development of talent and skill, and the widest distribution of product among the people. This natural social progress has been always interfered with by the persistence of a grossly disproportionate individualism, and that individualism has been maintained, at great disadvantage to society, by our excessive and misplaced sex development.

The woman service which was of such advantage to the early male soon grew into slave service, a status which has dominated the economic field throughout all history, and the influence of which, with its associated emotions, still prejudices the popular mind against work. It is true that possession of the dependent woman has acted as a spur to man's energies, but his effort was to secure for her, as well as for himself and children, as much as he could get.

Instead of a normal social distribution which would ensure to all the nourishment essential to full production, we have had a world of struggling men trying to get away from one another the products of their industry, a world of destructive competition. It is no wonder that with socialist and communist theories there is associated in the popular mind the fear of sex promiscuity. Seeing women as possessions, and assuming common ownership of all property, it is natural, for minds accustomed to believe and not to think, to entertain this confused idea.

As a matter of fact promiscuity, such as was found in declining Rome, for instance, is no mark of communism, but of sex decay. Perhaps no better proof of our misuse of function can be shown than in this very tendency toward promiscuity which has accompanied the advance of civilization and contributed to its repeated ruin.

As an animal species we are monogamous, like many others. But natural distinctions are not immovable, and under pressure of circumstances we have become in some races polygamous, in a few instances polyandrous, and in certain stages of culture, promiscuous. At present there seems to be quite a general reversion toward promiscuity, accompanied with a new theory of the essential need of sex indulgence at all costs.

If this is to produce better members of society, or conduce to social progress, it is justified, but as far as the promiscuity goes it uses the most careful measures to avoid producing anything; and in the matter of social progress we have yet to see if these sex enthusiasts are therefore stronger, wiser, more skillful in human activities.

If the relation which makes sex indulgence either openly purchasable, or at best, requires ability to secure *support* for a family, puts a heavy emphasis on the predatory instincts of men, and often flatly controverts their social instincts, what is the effect on women, in relation to race progress?

The mother instinct, socialized, is clearly seen at work in the peace, industry, order and wealth of ant and bee. The mother instinct, personalized, is a limitless devotion to one's own family. Women, having been debarred from socialization in its wide legitimate processes of production and distribution, and their activities confined to intimate personal service, have found a meager outlet in what they call "society"—(a sort of children's party) and in the well-meant but illegitimate processes of "charity."

In genuine advance they have had small part, with occasional exceptions in favored periods and places, until the present time. Now they are emerging from their previous restrictions and engaging more and more freely in the genuine social processes of specialized activity.

But so far this enlargement is seen as "self-expression," and neither as members of society nor as a sex is there any general recognition of power to promote the progress of the race. That power is so preëminently theirs that we may hope for a marked acceleration in improvement when it is realized.

The influence of sex on race progress, to promote which is its original purpose, has a range and depth of action never yet utilized in humanity. Because of our artificially extended and enforced individualism we are slow to admit the application of this immense power to determined improvement.

Each woman, engrossed in her own children, feels some responsibility for their inherited physique and character, and a little more for their "bringing up." But the women of a country do not yet face their responsibility for the children of that country and their right rearing.

Among our many popular misconceptions as to the nature of sex is one amusing contradiction. We are willing to trace sex-distinction through physical and psychic attributes, and out into such superficial distinctions as those of dress and occupation; with men we have unquestioningly attributed all their superior achievements to their sex.

Yet when an improved system of education, a more beneficial service through government, or increased public care of children,

is shown as an extension of social motherhood, a sex function, we stoutly deny it. Motherhood we admit as a not too-necessary consequence of mating, but it is the mating itself most men mean when they talk of sex. It is not surprising, in a masculine culture, that this should be so; with the male the process culminates in that preliminary. With the female it goes on through increasingly elaborate functions.

There is an amusing absurdity in this exaltation of the match that lights the fire, while minimizing the cookstove and the dinner. These big books and little books, these lectures and classes, this endless discussion of sex which palls upon the ear to-day, is almost wholly confined to the brief preliminary, the primitive initial step, of this tremendous process.

But while natural for the male to overestimate the importance of his small share in a great undertaking, it is ridiculous for the female. When she says "sex" it should mean to her the whole of her great power. This is something far beyond that boasted "sex-appeal." To appeal, to attract, to secure a mate, to consummate that attraction, this, all told, is the merest beginning. If the love that lasts through life goes with it, there is the highest personal happiness we know. If children follow, well-loved and well reared, there is more personal happiness and personal duty.

But human beings are more than persons, they are members of society. If men, for self-indulgence, maintain what has been called a "necessary institution," prostitution, they injure society. The large number of women so misused are deprived of home and family, denied motherhood, and also kept out of social productivity, a dead loss. Here is the sex with the larger share in a great function balked of its real use and made to contribute to the temporary enjoyment of the lesser actor in the process, while even his contribution is totally useless.

It needs no Puritan or moralist of any sort to criticize this absurd relationship. It was just as absurd when considered a virtue as when considered a sin, when considered a necessity as when seen to be a gross injury to society as well as the participants. If we are ever to appreciate sex at its true value it will be only by recognizing the whole of it, and not by overestimating a part of it.

As our history stands, we can see clearly enough how much this vital impulse has contributed to race progress, in so far as it improved the stock, or increased the value of individuals. We can see its lovely heights in types of undying love, in instances of parental

devotion. No matter how wrongly we may conceive it, a natural force cannot be utterly thwarted even by our mistakes.

That we are still here, and on the whole advancing, shows that those mistakes have not been fatal. But when we look at our best progress, in the most advanced races, when we see the kind of people we produce and their manifold sufferings, it does seem as if we might do better in the way of progress.

While freely admitting the power and value of sex when naturally used, with the higher and subtler development of this function in our species, and even some advantages pursuant upon our misuse of it, the record of race progress clearly shows how our upward movement has been checked, perverted, often brought to an end, by that misuse.

To it is traceable the mischievous persistence of an exaggerated individualism in our economics, an individualism whose more than natural greed is stimulated by the limitless demands of the dependent women, married or hired. With a normal sex life, with women functioning socially as well as sexually, we should be able to recognize the immense advantages of orderly coöperation in production and distribution, the disadvantages of fierce competition, the worst effect of which is war.

That ultra-masculine competition, so useful in its original form when it meant the triumph of the personally superior, is anything but an advantage when it means only the triumph of the richer, and when the riches are acquired by faculties not socially advantageous. Race progress requires the appearance of highly specialized talents in arts and sciences, and highly developed coöperation in industry and business, and those most gifted in such lines are by no means always most gifted in sex.

The weak point in our present tendency to deify sex as the source of all our superiorities is that no evidence is produced to show that those most advanced in socially serviceable qualities are also most strongly sexed. The difference in degree of development in sex is perforce admitted, with a frank admiration of those showing most of it; we are further told of this or that eminent man who was or is highly sexed, with no mention of those lacking, but it cannot be shown that the world's greatest servants are also greatest sexually.

On the other hand there are plenty of cases of highly sexed persons who are not high in anything else, and many more where the excess in this power is accompanied by distinctly detrimental qualities. We need evidence, accurately observed and carefully re-

corded, showing the relation of large development in this power with commensurate development in those human distinctions which conduce to social progress. Such evidence would not involve the *rationalized* hypothesis that our most unsexual activities are but the product of *sublimated* sex.

The basic use of sex in human advance should be in the conscious improvement of the species. We need it. Women, whose share in this work is so far the greatest, should face it as their main responsibility. The elimination of the unfit is a necessary part of that responsibility; already approached in some places by enforced sterilization of grossly injurious types. The development of the fit requires a far more intelligent selection than an admiration for sex-appeal.

However much the male may be preoccupied with his contribution, the female should feel her tremendous power for lifting the quality of the human race, and use it. It would take but a few generations to outgrow our present morbid development, especially when false and artificial opinions are changed.

There would remain to us the natural use and enjoyment of this function, now so often unattainable; and the equally natural but far higher development of mutual love in a race normally monogamous, and having an ever increasing area of attachment. A human creature has more to love in his mate, or hers, than the most devoted pair of swans.

There is no more necessary step to preserve and promote race progress than the recognition of the right purpose and power of sex and its full use.

It is admittedly difficult to measure human happiness, but if we may judge at all by the faces of the old, those who have enjoyed a lifelong companionship with one genuine love, show marks of contentment not found in those who have had the widest range in sex contacts. Nor does that happiness seem relative to intensity or frequency in indulgence, but rather to perfect accord.

Our condition is too feverish, our relations too artificial and hitherto too unjust, for happiness in marriage to be frequent. But when it is found, it is difficult to parallel by happiness in "free union," however often repeated.

In a relation so preëminently individual, personal happiness is a main requirement. In a sex-ridden world, with a dominant male, it has not been generally secured. The various laws and customs with which he has tried to govern this relation have not made him contented with it, to say nothing of her. Early chapters in the misuse

of women were so detrimental to the stock as to extinguish some races and keep others at the lowest level, bare reproduction with no progress.

The thin stream of continuity might have been thus expressed by that misused primitive female:

> I lived and bore
> And, though I died,
> So that I lived to bear,
> My daughter lived and bore.

All this cruelty we have outgrown. The more recent disadvantages of matrimony are being rectified rapidly. Knowledge of sex is replacing the unhealthy ignorance once thought necessary. The freedom of women, with their swift growth in human qualities, allows of a larger appreciation of their power than is as yet shown.

That they have become over-sexed, even more than men, was inevitable in their previous condition. However self-indulgent were men, they had also the whole range of human activities wherein to function; while women had no avenue of expression, aside from the arrested domestic labors and the most limited maternal ones, save this main field of the eternal feminine.

Since every condition of their lives developed sex, and yet, with admirable logic and justice, they were forbidden the expression allowed to men, it is no wonder that in their sudden freedom they astonish many by their excesses. It is not possible that a morbid condition, developed through ages of misuse, should revert to a natural one in a generation.

Our disproportionate urge of sex is to be treated with understanding and patience, not with condemnation. It is a pity that an abnormal state should be reinforced by an abnormal philosophy, but that too will be outgrown. Most needed is an understanding by women of the overwhelming importance of their own sex, in its wide and prolonged activities, in its indispensable value to race progress; in place of our ridiculous preoccupation with sex from the male point of view, where all attention is concentrated on the power and pleasure of sex union.

All that power and pleasure will remain to us, all the limitless exaltation of mutual love; but when normal relations are established we shall have also peace and health for the individual, and the sure foundation for a swifter and smoother social advance than the world has ever seen.

II—THE RÔLE OF SEX IN BEHAVIOR

THE IMPLICATIONS OF SEX

BY JOSEPH JASTROW

A CENTRAL question in the psychology of sex is how masculine and feminine minds differ; how far the observable differences of behavior, and endowment and achievement in men and in women are to be referred to tradition and education and the social molding, how far to original traits, inclinations, capacities, however reinforced or diverted by artificial direction. We know beyond all doubt that men and women, boys and girls, feel and think and act differently by virtue of both sets of determinations. They differ by nature and by nurture. To separate the two fields of influence, to follow their range and orbit, to appraise their value in one situation and another, is a difficult enterprise. The conclusions, though subject to uncertainty, may definitely support a consistent view.

All the disciplines—arts and sciences—have been appealed to for a verdict. Biology has the first say, for sex is biological. But bodily sex extends beyond the findings of anatomy in structure; it includes related differences of function, in proportions and pattern of primary organs, to the indefinitely finer variations in all the tissues and their metabolism; it includes divergent liabilities to disorder, among them those that under normal conditions supply the neural basis for divergences in mental behavior. The structural and the functional male and female differ throughout.

There psychology takes up the tale, coördinating bodily differences in structure or function with behavior-patterns thus favored. Here appears the fork in the road of interpretation: how far are such patterns biologically imposed or favored, how far are they sociological issues of the patterns approved and established by the dominant ideals, themselves the expression of a sex (a masculine) determining? Men and women express their traits in a common setting that is man-made (which may mean male-made as well as artificial or not-nature-made), and may be called sociological. Sex is biologically determined, but sex behavior not wholly so. Are the

established and favored patterns of behavior of men, so far as they contrast with those of women as we observe them now and in other days and ways, mainly biological or predominantly sociological? That is the critical question.

The arts, with as little diffidence as the sciences, have delivered their pronouncements. They choose a richer, completer scale of expression, assuming the decisive contours of portraiture. The drama, the story, the song, the essay, and the more majestic or panoramic reflections of philosophy and ethics and religion, have all portrayed the eternal theme of the ways of men and the ways of women. And as so much of the portrayal is male inspired and male expressed, it turns to the eternally attractive and baffling feminine. Worshiped as Madonna, denounced and shunned as inferior and a temptress, loved and feared, held simply childlike and deeply inscrutable, with rôle varying from saint to sinner to sphinx, angels and devils incarnate, the best and the worst of creation, queens and slaves, virtues and graces, furies and witches—such is the rendering of the feminine by the artists, speaking male-wise with chisel, brush and pen.

The last and the first to speak is history, sharing with science the objective criterion and record of fact, sharing with psychology the complexities of motives and stimulations and opportunities, sharing with the arts the vicissitudes of an interpretation and an ideal in personality. Among all these voices is there any harmony? Is a convincing composition possible? If the positive scientist says: "Thus natured, woman could not be other than she is," and the historian versed in sociology maintains: "Responsive to condition, the woman of each age and stage of culture becomes what the world makes of her," where shall the decision rest? And through it all runs the disqualifying suspicion that the judges in session, the masters of the disciplines claiming authority, are sex-prejudiced in their judicial functions.

As none of these many-toned voices have shown the timidity of angels in treading upon this controversial ground, the psychologist who refrains from rushing in, steps cautiously and responsibly, may claim exemption from the rôle of folly. From his central position in the chorus of verdicts and with benefit of the objective trend of latter-day science, he may offer his services as arbiter, admittedly at his own risk and with no security and slight expectation that his conclusions will be acceptable or accepted. Such is the background and the program of this ambitious undertaking.

The expectation that psychologists, since they all have access to the same data and share the same professional point of view, will agree in their interpretations, is likewise doomed to disappointment. I shall proceed on my individual venture to paint the psychological features of sex—of the implications of sex—as I see them. An individual selection, rendering, perspective, and color-scheme is implied in the very attempt to put brush to canvas or pen to paper.

I begin with the undisputed yet significant statement that men and women are obviously and overwhelmingly alike. They are so by their common human nature, the issue of the same evolution, subject to similar influences in their history. They are still more conspicuously alike in that the social tradition molds them to a common pattern. Yet I take the position that to all these influences the sexes react differently by reason of the inherent divergences of their nature. The biological differences are nature-made and authentic; no decree of man can alter them in any essential, roughhew them as radically as his mode of acceptance or of protest against sex-determined assets and liabilities may attempt. "Male and female created He them." There are no human beings—only men and women. Sex remains the eternal motive of nature's organic design; hence the eternal feminine and the eternal masculine.

Darwin made current the concept of secondary or derivative sex characteristics. The existence, the significance for behavior, the conspicuousness, the degree, the quality or mode of divergence, of such traits, is each a separate matter. By decree of nature men have beards and women have none. Beardedness is an incorporated (secondary) masculine trait. The pattern of hair-growth in the sexes may have a zero behavior-value, despite the story of Samson. How we regard long-haired men or short-haired women is wholly a matter of sociology, of custom, as changing fashions convincingly show. But razors and lip-sticks are not devoid of a suggestion of the implications of sex.

The difference in strength in men and women, another secondary sex trait, carries a far-reaching implication; it affects profoundly the expressions, the work, the preferred activities of men and women. The sword is more significantly a masculine implement than the razor, and if it be exchanged for the (under conditions) mightier pen, the might of wielding that pen carries characteristic, far-flung sex implications, though as an instrument it is as adaptable to the hands of women. The mental implications become dominant

in a civilization in which the idea, the argument, the proof, the printed word, have achieved an important status in directing human behavior.

Voice is no less a secondary sex trait. In terms of pitch it depends upon fairly minute variations in structure of vocal chords, but in terms of command or authority as against plaint or plea, it carries a psychic implication. The voice of the male and the voice of the female carry different psychic messages, however similar the words. Stature, delicacy of structure and function, the varieties of craft and manipulation, all tell the same tale and with ever wider ramifications in the coarser strands and the finer network of the body-endowment, fitting for preferred expressions of behavior in the industrial, the political, the social life. Let the illustration suffice as examples of the bodily implications of sex as they affect behavior. The summary of Havelock Ellis may stand: "A man is a man even to his thumbs, and a woman is a woman down to her little toes." "A man is a man throughout, a woman is a woman throughout, and that difference is manifest in all the energies of body and soul."

A masculine body implies a masculine mind, and a feminine body carries even more significant implications, though we take our chances in tracing their issues by confusing what and how much is set by nature, what and how much shaped by nurture; which is often man's interpretation of nature's intentions. If woman's place is in the home, is it so by nature's or by man's decree? And the question is just as germane in holding that man's place is in the great bustling world outside. Feminine domesticity may be both natural and enjoined; masculine roaming both natural and encouraged. It is itself natural that men should find in nature the suggestions for their direction of human traits to what becomes established custom and career. Sociological trends may seem unnatural because they misinterpret or distort natural differences of men and women, and they certainly can both exaggerate and suppress them; but in some measure they follow their clew.

The one selected trait of the male from the club of the cave-man to the masculine protest of Adler is mastery—an aggressive ardor and domination, from brute strength to Alexander sighing for more worlds to conquer, to Cæsarism in whatever age or form of empire, to plutocratic captains of industry, and no less to exploits in discovery, invention and the conquest of nature, of continents and ends of the earth by sea, by jungle, by air, of the secrets of nature

by microscope, telescope, X-ray and radio—all *mastery* implications of sex.

Not that any of these exploits or pursuits fall out of reach of feminine accomplishment, but that by and large they do not fall so readily, so congenially within the preferred activities. Chivalry is not an accidental sociological development in which the rôles of men and women might as well have been reversed, though it takes a fairly complex development of the romantic relation to establish chivalry as a sociological custom. The primitive version of the same implication may develop marriage by capture, real or ceremonial; the industrial version may vary from marriage by purchase to stenographers disturbing to marital peace, even though the dictator in the office is the dictatee in the home. He is both by virtue of different phases of the components of masculine and of feminine nature.

But we must not proceed too rapidly in the emergent evolution of the implications of sex without considering the situational aspect. This takes us back to conditions nearer to natural human needs and their satisfaction. Food, mates, and shelter may stand as their summary, and the family relation as their setting. So man courts, mates, builds and hunts, while the home industries otherwise fall to women. The pursuit and construction behavior-patterns thus initiated continue as preferably masculine; the ministering, mothering, sheltering, minor, detailed, patient industries preferably feminine. In all this primitive psychology, however modifiable by social ideals, the implications of mothering stand supreme. The potential mother in every woman penetrates deep into her nature, radiates intimately to the finer modes of expression, more than any other feminine trait. "The female of the species is more deadly than the male," because she is in more deadly earnest about the species; and while children form a central human interest, the child world—especially the mothered infancy and childhood—plays a commanding rôle in the feminine psyche. Its only rival is its counterpart in sex implication, the rôle of attraction of the belle in the feminine technique of courtship. This throws the emphasis on charm and the social arts, on beauty and the esthetic life, on the intimate contacts with humanity.

The sex ardor and general aggressiveness of the male sets the type of activities preferred by men; it provides the quality and patterns that yield characteristically masculine satisfactions. The objective situations change vastly and with it the precise patterns,

but not the inherently satisfying factor, for that lies deep in the psychology. When the hunter becomes a trapper, he is still on the food quest; but in a measure he substitutes wit and craft for strength, aim, and endurance. When he fights, he is still on the war path, but strategy, engineering and diplomacy follow closely the male-satisfying types of behavior. One man finds his bent in one phase of the composite primitive action-pattern and its derivative ramifications, and another specializes on another. The fight or contest element of the food-quest, mate-rivalry, or general struggle for existence may dominate. When it does, the man is and remains a fighter, whether literally or in transferred activity. He may fight to conquer nature by exploration, pioneering, harnessing its resources; or his rivals in industry or politics; he may debate in a court of law; or campaign as a reformer or social leader for cause or nation. He injects the fighting flavor into his activities and career, and lives and prevails on and by his fighting instincts.

While the common engagement of this masculine, virile energy is for command, including resources, power, glory, the nearer to the original contest-patterns retain their stronger hold. A prize-fight or a football contest draws the largest crowd, and sport [1] in general looms large in the masculine horizon because it supplies that strongly-rooted primitive zest of contest in direct primitive pattern. Winning is the goal, and success the general stamp of achievement. The hunter and the trapper and the fighter all survive compositely in however disguised careers. The battle may be waged with wits, dollars, influence, or threats, as weapons, but the inherent satisfactions follow the original patterns of contest.

Business presents as convincing an example as sport; for its history shows what happens under a shift of sex apportionment. Most industry, as patient handicraft, fell to women; when men took it over under changing conditions, they made a contest and a competition of it, injecting a masculine zest into it. The business man is playing the game of big business. He aims to be a captain of industry, a *generalissimo* of finance, a Napoleon of the

[1] It is interesting to note that when women attend in large numbers a sporting event, a horse-race or horse-show, or a regatta, and no less a bull-fight, their presence converts the occasion into a spectacle and a social event and a favorable opportunity for sex-display, including the prowess of the male in the presence of the female and the gala array of the female to captivate the male. The utilization of sport for courtship is quite compatible, just as the revelry of the male, however virile, includes wine, women, and song, or as the gentlemen of the banquet-table include a toast to the ladies.

stock-market. He may specialize on possession and amass a fortune; he may specialize on venture and speculate on a grand scale, cornering the market. Venture itself attracts; he takes chances; he gambles; becomes a gentleman of fortune. But also he plans, invents, breaks a record. The farthest north or south, the highest peak, the densest jungle, the farthest unknown is a challenge. In complex undertakings primitive patterns are not forsaken; though the transformation of the derivative activities is many-sided, they still carry unmistakeably the implications of sex.

A further derivative variant of a male sex implication may be added to the illustrative survey. To roam, to wander, to take to the road, to seek one's fortune, to pioneer; this is the call of manhood to youth, of the *wanderjahre*, romance and fortune seeking. Much of world history is written in terms of this masculine trait; migration, the frontier, the new settlement, exploration, travel, sport, gambling, sprees, wild-oats, dare-devil exploits are all congenial outlets of intense masculine satisfaction: though in modern life men must be content with curtailed, enfeebled, conventional counterparts, tailored substitutes of primitive zests.

More specifically the roving ingredient in venture may make the tramp or vagrant or gypsy or Bohemian and bring them into the masculine portraiture, in so far as that quality is more alluring than command or possession; it makes the irregular, the artistic male. The coming and the seeing may prevail above the conquering, featuring the restlessness of the male and his quest for new contacts, bringing travel and infidelity and the rolling stone of economic turnover into one psychological formula. Or the constructive inventive may constitute the major pattern of attraction. The patent-office and reformatory measures are records and monuments of this trend; man is a schemer and a visionary as well. Combined once more with conquest and possession and the glory of achievement, these in a modern world take the form of powerful and ingenious machinery, towering skyscrapers, majestic bridges, and the great industrial scene that appeals to as it typifies masculine energy. To have a part, however modest, in the total enterprise in the bigness, the mastery, the organization of it, confers a share in such satisfaction. Developing, organizing, creating, carry forward similar patterns of masculine preferred stock.

Through the effects of the environment that we call civilization, the fighting, roving, venturing, enterprising male has shifted to the organizing, promoting, developing, constructing, advertising

and big-business-pursuing male. In appearance the war paint and feathers and the business suit are ages apart, but in psychological setting not so remote; and the brave in either setting may at a moment's call become the sheik, so various and variable and versatile are the rôles of the male in the varieties of dramatic situations of which life consists.

A further phase of such sex implication is of peculiar consequence and has a biological confirmation. It is the greater originality of the male. He deviates more readily, favorably and unfavorably alike. There is more masculine genius and more idiocy; a freer departure from the norm, making the female by contrast more conservative, nearer to norm. The male wanders genetically farther from the child pattern in which the sex differentiation is as yet less conspicuous; to which theme we shall return in a later connection.

What we gather from this picture of preferred and congenial masculine behavior-patterns is more than the features of its composition; it affords the clew to a commanding principle of interpretation. Our search is not alone for a characteristic contrast in degree and composition of favored male sex implications, but a significant standard of comparison. What we are seeking is a criterion of importance in gauging the psychological behavior value of traits of men and women. All traits that are deeply rooted in these original male satisfactions are of larger consequence than those secondary, remote or adventitious, or tangential to such traits and patterns. What counts, and counts heavily, in the psychology of the male is all that harks back to and ties closely with these masculine preferences and superiorities (and limitations—no less). In more remote traits men and women may be substantially alike, and yet that equality will not discount or minimize their telling bio-psychological differences.

The application is direct to the criterion of mental tests that have figured so largely in the experimental approach to the issue. To one type of psychologist the argument for inherent sex equality in the mental realm is convincing because he sets great store by these laboratory results. Such experimentalists plot curves of mental aptitudes in men and in women, find them decidedly overlapping, and conclude that the differences of interest and behavior in men and women are the results of divergent social ideals, opportunities, traditions, and prejudices. Checking like characters in an artificial alphabet; repeating a list of words heard or read once;

tapping rapidly for half a minute; building up words of six letters, are all matters in which men's records and women's records are indistinguishable. There are some moderate masculine superiorities and some feminine ones. But the findings of such sampled bits of performance show that as tappers, character-checkers, word-builders, memorizers, men and women are wholly comparable, and why not? If you go farther and argue that all intelligence is just the sum total of such aptitudes (a questionable assumption), and that these straws indicate which way the wind blows, you assemble a body of evidence not negligible, but requiring interpretation to determine its bearing. Such findings carry weight [2] only on the supposition that one test is as good as another; that you can dip anywhere and everywhere into the stream of these many, minute bits of aptitudes, and if you find no differences, there are none anywhere except as we create them. But that supposition ignores the vital psychological principle that significance follows a biological clue, of which more presently.

The evidence offered does not rest there. Records of scholastic attainments tell about the same tale, from elementary grades up to *Phi Beta Kappa* elections; and the experience of occupations and trades adds to the impression. The urgency of the World War further demonstrated in how varied occupations women can replace men without serious differences of efficiency in output; and feminine superiorities were discovered in the process. Though the peace standard is more authentic, the evidence stands. It is possible to overstate the differences of men and women, and despite the contrasted picture in the industrial world, men and women may be recruited and trained for like service when needed.

It is at this point that the principle of interpretation enters. We may concede both the validity of the measurements and the sufficient accuracy of the yardstick, uncertain as it is. What is questioned is the assumption that for reaching a significant comparison of efficient masculine and feminine traits, one trait is as good as another, is as pertinent as another. The biological and consequently psychological perspective holds otherwise. Traits must be weighed as well as measured. Every item in the masculine and

[2] But the fact that these data are accurately arrived at and on a large scale gives them no peculiar importance. Men and women do equally well or equally badly in college because their records depend on traits so remotely or irregularly related to their most significant strengths and weaknesses. Opposed to all this is the record of what intellectually selected men and women do with their minds when released from academic discipline.

in the feminine repertory is weighted, counts much or little according to its place in the scale of nature's values in its nearness to an original nature-set function. All feminine traits are not on a par nor all masculine ones. Sex differences must be measured with a perspective scale, the nearer end of which (nearer to nature) scores far more heavily than the remote derivative end. In that perspective intellect is more remote than emotion, and derivative kinds of intellectual proficiency are less significant than nearer-to-nature orders of the same talent. Thus in all these secondary mental tests, why should we expect men and women to differ, since they are all so artificial, so remote from any natural test of preferred masculine and preferred feminine mental activity? It is far more significant that even in these remote proficiencies differences still appear as a tendency however slight, or literally insignificant.

To find that high school boys and girls do equally well in algebra may mean nothing more than in an employment so abstract, so detached from natural bent, they do equally poorly. The average boy has as little aptitude for mathematics as the average girl; a conclusion alike expected and of no great moment. It is more significant that left to themselves boys will select and take to mathematics more commonly than girls, and that among expert mathematicians men far outnumber women, and an original, professional, woman mathematician is rare, and is apt to be regarded by her sex as not only a *rara avis* but a peculiar bird.

Since in our most artificial and complicated way of living mathematical ability finds a place and it enters into our social appraisal of schooling and what a college education may mean, we are under temptation to regard equal mathematical ability or lack of it in boys and girls as somehow significant in the scheme of sex differences. If we take something without such setting, such as playing chess, we are not so likely to be misled. Certainly most of us can learn to play chess, and to play it by any proper standard quite poorly; and for all we know there will be little difference in the chess-playing power of unselected boys and girls. Take 100 of them, pit a boy against a girl, and you will probably find pretty nearly 50 boy winners and 50 girl winners (making no allowances for drawn games); and suppose you fairly regularly found the score about 55 to 45 in favor of the boys, would that go far to prove boys slightly more intelligent? Hardly, though it may not be wholly negligible, and quite the same if it happened to be the other way. Yet again, substantially all the greatest chess-players

have been men. Certainly you would not think it fair to have your own intelligence, nor your masculinity, rated by your ability at chess; and still chess is a distinctly intellectual game. Once we glimpse the principle of appraisal, the drift of the evidence emerges and a consistent position comes within reach.

Once it is agreed that certain types of sex differences count more heavily than others in gauging the total perspective of contrast between the masculine and the feminine mind, the logic of the argument is clarified. But it requires two further emendations, the one rather simple, the other more complex, both important for the issue under discussion. The first is that even small differences may count, and that it is the effect of civilization to put a premium on living upon specialized proficiencies, to make them count. When competition is keen, a slight lead makes for preferment. Occupations in which men can do a little better than women will fall to men, and occupations in which women can do a little better than men will fall to women, other things being equal, which they seldom are in so complex matters. For the issue will never be as simple as that. It will in the nature of things be more like this: If you place a man in the position, he will have certain superior qualifications and certain inferior ones, and you as employer will have certain advantages and certain disadvantages, and just the same will be true if you employ a woman; but they will not be the same ones, even supposing the man and the woman are of the same intelligence and equally well trained, equally capable.

That brings us nearer to the second emendation. In the total picture of the masculine type of behavior, including what men do best and like best to do, appear certain superiorities, aptitudes, proficiencies, on which is developed a profession, an occupation, a career. The male brings to it a set of masculine supporting qualities, the female a set of feminine supporting qualities, in each case lying closer to the natural sex differences. The man does the job more in a man's way, the woman more in a woman's way. The supporting qualities are closely associated with sex differences and count heavily in the total behavior, whether that is of the specialized kind that we call occupational or professional or not. Men and women, let us concede, write equally well, but not in all branches of literature. Women bring to their writing, their piano-playing, their political careers (now that a few have them), a different set of supporting qualities. A woman governor might not put down a riot as well as a man, though a superior woman would do it better

than an inferior man; but she might act as effectually in case of a flood, though again a woman might more readily furnish the sympathy and a man be better in organizing the relief. The supporting qualities enter into minor as into major proficiencies. They help to explain why women make good trained nurses and stenographers, while as clerks over the counter or in the office it may all depend on the kind of clerking or clerical work that is to be done and the qualities demanded.

Another set of supporting qualities may be even more decisive, such as initiative, determination, taking things seriously, throwing dominant energy into them, pursuing them ardently in a long-range, far-flung plan, all of which go into the making of the professional spirit, and may account largely for the differences in masculine and feminine achievement upon much the same general endowment, but with a marked difference in the supporting qualities. It is saying much the same thing from a different angle to say that men tend to be more objective, are subject to fewer rival, distracting interests, can more readily subordinate the sex relations to the rest of their nature, acquire a greater pride in what they can do than in what they are or how they appear; they are less or differently emotionalized, less or differently socialized—and all this not directly, certainly not exclusively, in terms of what they choose to do and learn to do, but in the supporting qualities that accompany their selection and achievement.

If we add the matter of originality or the tendency to deviate, as against conventionality and the tendency to imitate and accept set patterns of behavior, we are adding something related yet different and of high consequence. Slanted toward mastery, it makes for leadership; slanted toward construction, it makes for invention. Originality is such a supremely consequential trait, so much of the world's progress depends on it, that even a slight superiority will go far to make a great divide between those who have it even moderately and those who lack it wholly. Inventiveness, resourcefulness, counts heavily in many occupations and situations. It forms a distinctive supporting quality. There is convincing proof that it prevails more commonly in the human male than in the human female, despite the fact that most men, like most women, are almost completely imitative.

But this, like all such statements, is too sweeping and too abstract, until given a setting. The most pertinent contrast, and this is borne out by tests, is between the mechanically minded and the

socially minded. That distinction may be applied as readily to a group of men as to a group of women; but a greater proportion of men are mechanically minded, a still greater proportion of women socially minded. Skill and wisdom and a dose of originality in the mechanically minded makes for one kind of proficiency, the mechanic and artisan and handy man; skill and wisdom and a dose of originality in the socially minded makes for another kind of proficiency, for tact and sympathy and judgment in handling people socially, including the technique of the social worker and the society leader and much between and outside. In all this supporting qualities operate as effectively as specific talents.

The resulting perspective of the masculine mind and the feminine mind grows in contrast on a nearer approach, a closer analysis. The elements, the features of the composition, are much the same, for so are men and women by virtue of a common heredity and endowment; but what is emphasized, central, and of major import in the one recedes in the other in favor of a different set of major factors, each in turn in closer relation to what is bio-psychologically male or female. What is major in the one perspective is minor in the other, is tangential and not central, is adventitious not inherent, is weak not strong. And the total presentation aims to make clear that out of contrasts thus natured may grow such consequential differences as become conspicuous when we turn from traits to achievement.

That side of the argument may be briefly considered; it is quite familiar. It sets forth that the notable differences in the achievements of men and women, so contrasted in any biographical cyclopædia or similar records of the course of personalities and events—the history of arts and sciences, industry and politics, religion and philosophy—that the woman's part seems less the mate than the reflection of the man's, that this contrast is the result of social pressure, simulation and encouragement for the male, repression and discouragement for the female; that until recently all lived in a man-made world, and the disabilities of women were imposed by the social system and are not inherent. It is well to give this argument the widest scope and the largest value for the reason that prejudice and disqualification, like a slight deviation in two paths, separate more and more as they proceed. With man slightly the master he tends to become wholly so, and the social tradition supports the relation; with woman slightly submissive, she becomes wholly so and again the tradition confirms. The harem is no more

natural than collegiate co-education, though it is natural that the harem should come first, and that it required a powerful lot of social reconstruction to establish higher education for women. But all this does not offset the contrary evidence. In such a career as music there has been little disqualification and in recent times none, and women on the whole are more musical both in susceptibility and to its message and facility for its expression; yet the leaders and composers in music are predominantly men. As performers, women hold their own, especially in the personal vocal accomplishment; and certainly in music women stand more nearly in the men's class than they do in engineering. In both directions the interpretation of achievement is consistent with the view that men are not inherently more gifted musically than women (presumably it is the other way), but bring to music as to other professions those supporting qualities that bring more of them into the professional class, and raise their level of achievement.

For the rest, as the argument is applied to professions and positions of influence with less definite qualifications, it becomes difficult to apportion the contrasts in achievement to social pressure and to native sex differences. There is no question that the former follows the latter, that what men do better becomes the part of men to do; what women do better becomes the part of women to do. The social system confirms, utilizes, and develops natural differences; it may likewise in this employment exaggerate and distort them, push them out of their orbit by the accredited device of making certain occupations and forms of behavior unwomanly and others unmanly. To the degree and variety of such social distortion history abundantly testifies, and the memory of even one generation suffices to confirm. It is at this social gateway at which the ideals of manliness and womanliness become dominant, and such other developments of emergent sex-evolution as feminism exert their sway, that the present discussion may well close.

By way of bringing matters to a conclusion, one may restate some outstanding consequences of the secondary, derivative sex differences, of the wider psychological and sociological implications of sex.

There is the greater affectability of women, the larger susceptibility to emotional sway, especially of the more personalized emotions, which imparts that subjective strain, sets the key of the feminine instrument away from the objectivity demanded by many intellectual pursuits. So far as we have in mind the intelligence of

men and women and those traits and mechanisms closely related to intelligence, the relation of feeling and thinking becomes important; and feeling affects thinking and, by the joint route, behavior, far more than is commonly accredited. In the total psychic appraisal this affective difference counts heavily and is responsible for shaping many of the supporting qualities, and giving edge and finish and quality and individuality to their expression, as well as a sex-derived character. In the larger view a difference in emotionality outweighs a difference in intellectuality, because the former comes closer to the beginning of the perspective scale of nature. As Mr. Ellis puts it, it may bring it about that the feminine mind may not take ideas so seriously and prefer good will to good sense; and there is much to be said for this policy.

Next a word as to sex consciousness and its affect on mentality. It is inevitable, at least under a fairly advanced civilization, that an admired and sought sex should be differently oriented mentally than an admiring and seeking one. Being a woman is almost in itself a profession; far more so than being a man. A man may be anything from a hobo to a genius and even a bit of both, and still carry on with slight concern about his sex rôle. He can take being a man as casually as he likes. It is as though nature had a deeper concern for women as the conservative element, the race-guardian. Mr. Ellis puts its thus: "Nature has done her best to make women healthy and glad, and has on the whole been content to let men run somewhat wild." The difference in the technique of appeal for social notice, which the Freudians generally and Adler particularly makes the pivot-motive of behavior, inevitably has a sex equivalent. The technique of charm or plea is quite opposed to the technique of mastery or bluff, and that is but one of its many contrasts. With the emphasis on appearance, the entire self-consciousness takes on a different stamp. And this type of difference may affect the total psyche, the feminine mind, far more comprehensively than any detailed difference in mental procedure. It is only in such a perspective survey of the ways of men and the ways of women that a proper view of the nature and scope of sex differences results.

The world is far more interesting by reason of the differences between the minds of men and the minds of women. The work of the world is far better accomplished, and social purpose and progress far better achieved through the dispensation that some of the work is better done by men and some by women. Particularly as civilization involves so largely the reconstruction of human nature and

the taming of the too-masculine qualities through domestication, is the part played by women in the process of value. The transformation that we call civilization proceeds in one direction by such *favored in the masculine mind* qualities as exploration, invention, inquiry, mastery and objective interest, and in another by such *favored in the feminine mind* qualities, as sympathy, esteem, good will, gentility and the graces and refinements of the arts of living; civilization is the more secure by the inclusion of both cultural arrays. The world might be too brutal and coarse, too aggressive and matter of fact, if the ways of civilization were too much masculinized; too sentimental and subjective and "paternal" (the term should be "maternal") and unenterprising if too much feminized; and deprived of romance and the finest complementing of personalities if sex differences were less comprehensive and pervasive.

The control of human affairs is passing slowly but surely and more abundantly into the leadership of ideas through the understanding of human nature. Since human nature is so definitely specialized into masculine nature and feminine nature, it becomes of primary importance in the interests of social progress and mental evolution that sex differences be rightly understood and rightly directed. Hence the large significance of the implications of sex.

SEX IN DYNAMIC PSYCHOLOGY

BY A. A. ROBACK

We have traveled far in the exploration of sex regions since Eve ate of the fatal apple, and Adam knew Eve, and the Sodomites sought the angels, and Onan inaugurated the birth control movement, etc. We have traveled far, but have we moved in a rectilinear direction or has our progress been of the circular type, which seems to be characteristic of the advances made in more than one human endeavor, particularly in connection with human institutions?

To be sure, there has gone on of late a steady diffusion of sex information, in spite of the prurient prudes and senseless censors, so that we have often heard it said that the boy of to-day knows more than his father, and the adolescent girl can, at least theoretically, give a few pointers to her mother in regard to the mysteries of sex, but we shall have occasion to look into this boast or plaint anon. Certainly it must be conceded that the public mind, if there be one, is more alive to sex problems than the same hypothetical mind was, let us say, fifty years ago. Even an Anthony Comstock, were he alive to-day, with all his kicking could not stem the surging tide of the ruffled subconscious sea within us.

To be interested in a thing, however, is not necessarily to possess knowledge of that thing. The subject, I make bold to contend, is still surrounded with a mist; and as for the masses, they are still fed on the superstitions of bygone ages. It had been thought that in sex education, practice makes for enlightenment, that the knowledge gained is at least a compensation for the innocence lost in the experience, but even this general belief cannot be accepted without qualification, for anthropologists tell us of whole tribes for whom, so far as they are concerned, all conception is immaculate, in other words, they have not reached the level of grasping the connection between the mating act and the birth of a child.[1]

[1] If the statement that "over the greater part of the continent [that is, Australia] the father's share in procreation is not known" (*The Family among the*

The Conspiracy of Silence

I have mentioned the twentieth century, as if the age or era had much to do with the understanding of such matters. On general principles, we might have expected that the progress of sexology would proceed *pari passu* with the great strides in science as a whole. But there is the key to our very problem. Just because "all roads led to Rome," Rome had to be guarded most vigilantly. Thus all religious, social, and political influences converged in the direction of keeping sex within its dam, always in danger of breaking down, and at times actually bursting and allowing the pent-up waters to overflow on neighboring territory.

At the same time, there was never a period in history when sex has not played a predominant rôle in the shaping of cultural productions. In its protean disguises, it has percolated even into the sphere of religion, even if we do not take the extreme and one-sided views of Kempf and Schroeder, who see indications of sex activity in every nook and corner of civilization. Sex has had its votaries, its apostles, its poets and reformers, but it is no exaggeration to say that the scientific approach to the study of sex has only begun in the twentieth century.

The First Advance

Books on sex under various titles there had been aplenty for at least a generation, but it was not until Havelock Ellis's *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* appeared that the whole tissue of sham, superstition and old wives' tales had been punctured and a direct investigation of how people behave in this private sphere had been instituted. But Ellis's work, epochal as it was both in its daring and scope, was after all only *descriptive.* The author had brought together a vast amount of information, and as a result of his gleanings had opened new vistas before a philistine world. His great asset is a critical appreciation, or rather depreciation, of mere conventions.

Australian Aborigines, p. 179) should be interpreted in a more sophisticated sense than the one intended, we may have recourse to several of Malinowski's other books such as *Sex and Repression in Savage Society,* where we are told (p. 109) that "the natives have no idea whatever of the fertilizing influence of the male semen, but they know that a virgin cannot conceive, and that to become a mother, a woman has to be 'opened up' as they express it," and *The Father in Primitive Psychology,* where we read "I received a great number of similar declarations all expressing the view that the way must be open for the child, but that this need not be necessarily brought about by sexual intercourse . . . But once opened up—in the normal course of events this is done by sexual intercourse—there is no need for male and female to come together."

The revolt of the prophet marks this monumental labor, which may be regarded as an encyclopedia on sex matters.

On the other hand, Ellis did not have the rigid training and discipline of the scientist necessary to exploit the mines which he had come upon. His sources, especially the personal ones, were of a casual nature. He had to get the accounts from whomever he could. Similarly, in his citation from books and articles, he followed the anthropological method in vogue at the time and pursued by cultural explorers like Westermarck and Frazer. The result was that Ellis supplied us with valuable ore but the forging of the metal was still to be accomplished.

However, even if Ellis had only called attention to the fact that there is a *psychology of sex*, not merely a physiology of the reproductive organs, we should have been beholden to him for his achievement. He it was who bridged the gap between the pathological manifestations of sex, which Krafft-Ebing had studied so assiduously, and the normal phenomena of the fictitious average person.

In academic circles, in the lecture halls of Leipzig and Würzburg, of Berlin and Freiburg, the connection between sex and psychology was dimly sensed. At most its exposition was confined to the mention of sensations from the genital organs, and the discussion in a general way of the sex impulse or instinct. The laboratories were too busy producing after-images and difference tones of the second and third orders to bother about such a complicated affair as the sexual phase of man.

To all intents and purposes, the world was divided psychologically into two classes, consisting of those whose sex tendencies ran the regulation course and those who gave evidence of a craving for a variety of sex experiences which would immediately brand them as perverts, as being drawn to the unnatural. Morally, of course, the dichotomy was between the chaste and the lewd, but one can tell at a glance that the above "psychological" division was prompted by moralistic considerations. This was the pre-psychological stage of the study. Very few persons until recently were in a position to judge otherwise.

There were of course the physicians, specialists of nervous and mental diseases, who were conversant with the sex problems of some of their patients, but only rarely did they gain any insight into the problem. In his historical sketch of the psychoanalytic movement, Freud [2] reflects on the neglect of men like Charcot to link up the

[2] S. Freud: *Collected Papers*, vol. I, p. 295.

particular disturbances with the causes, although at one time the latter, speaking to a few students who had surrounded him at an informal gathering, astonished Freud with the enlightened utterance "*mais dans des cas pareils, c'est toujours la chose génitale, toujours . . . toujours . . . toujours.*"

For that matter, priests too have access to many hidden recesses of the human soul, but their task is not that of the investigator. To them merely *weaknesses* are displayed. The weaknesses require, from a religious point of view, no interpretation. Individual differences, origins, motives cannot be gone into when all mortals are supposed to be saddled with the same temptations, although at different times and under different circumstances. The *dispensation* and not the *malady* or *offense* is all-important under this purview.

The Dawn of Dynamic Psychology

It was reserved for Freud to usher in a new era in sex research. No longer was the questioning to be casual or restricted to intellectual acquaintances who volunteered information. Freud came in contact with a cross section of the world, in that his patients represented all classes. The examination on sex matters—whether direct or indirect—through the psychoanalytic method, was a task imposed and constituted a part of the therapy, hence a flood of light was thrown on this obscure region of human behavior. Who would have dreamt that the *libido* was to play such a dominant part in the interpretation of acts so trivial in their outward manifestation and yet so significant in their symbolic representation? Who would have thought, let us say, fifty years ago that the infant was already capable of reacting to a sexual situation? And, finally, what an advance in conception to note the polymorphous nature of man and to differentiate between the desires or wishes on the one hand and the actual overt behavior on the other.

From the older view that few people were perverts on the assumption that by far the majority of people were given to a standardized mode of sex response, there emerged the more realistic observation that the alleged normal *tendency* in sex life was, if not a fiction, at least so rare as to come, in a certain sense, under the head of the abnormal. Freud and his disciples dethroned the moralistic illusion which held sway for many centuries. Perhaps that is the reason why the founder of psychoanalysis has been the target for so many moralistic bolts.

What Is Dynamic Psychology?

The great service of psychoanalysis, however, has been not merely the undermining of a false conviction. Freud did much more. He introduced the *dynamic* note into psychology. He searched for explanations of certain types of behavior. He explored the field of motives. The *how* of the act was subordinated to the *why*, and in the place of a thousand and one detached and desultory observations, affirmed and contradicted in turn by different investigators, Freud has given us a *system*, a system which may be altogether too artificial or too air-tight, but nevertheless a well-organized body of generalizations that seem to illuminate many occurrences in mental life.

Freud, then, if not *the* founder, is at any rate one of the chief pillars of dynamic psychology, which consists in going beyond the mere facts of introspection, so prized by traditional psychology, and *allowing for inference as regards what takes place in the subconscious.* Ordinarily we perceive the mental billiard balls collide, move on, or roll back and then fall into the pockets of the table, but the impact has been imparted to the balls by *some one.* Energy has been expended, and even this energy was preceded by an effort, an intention. All these antecedents are scarcely reckoned with.

In the case of human acts we have, of course, conditions obtaining that could not be ascribed to actual ivory balls. Desires, wishes, purposes, motives, intentions—in brief, all that goes to make up the warp and woof of the so-called *drive*—must be analyzed and related to one another. This is the operating center of dynamic psychology, and it is here that it shows its advantage over the Wundtian system, which may be characterized perhaps by the dictum *non est in psychologia quod non est in conscientia.* Dynamic psychology, especially that of Freud's brand, would retort to this "There is more in consciousness and mind than your introspective psychology ever dreamt of."

The Transmutation of Drives

Another feature of dynamic psychology, and one which is frequently lost sight of, is the principle of metamorphosis—the fact that one instinct or drive can be transformed into another. This doctrine is particularly stressed in psychoanalysis, and the concept of sublimation is necessarily based on such a presupposition. Mc-

Dougall also, to a large extent, makes use of this principle,[3] and Morton Prince, in some of his papers, implies it, although neither subscribes to the well-known *ultima transformatio* of Freud. On the other hand, Woodworth apparently questions the applicability of such a principle in any strict sense. Referring to the concept of *sublimation*, he points out that, properly speaking, it should "mean that the tendency toward a certain consummation could be made to drive mechanisms irrelevant or even contrary to itself," whereas, he continues, "there seems to be really no evidence for this, and it probably is to be regarded as a distinctly wrong reading of the facts of motivation." [4]

Yet the general tendency of dynamic psychology is, I believe, to take for granted that one drive changes into another without the conscious effort of the individual; and physiologically such a redirection or diversion of energy is readily understandable. By "changes" I do not mean, of course, that one type of energy ceases and is replaced by another as is the case with, say, electrical or mechanical energy, but that in sublimation, the *libido*, while still operative in its irrepressible and subtle way, evolves, to the "naked eye" at least, something entirely different from its characteristic product. The sex urge, *e.g.*, of the ascetic painter or composer, is not wholly lost even during his creative activity but is exploited by other drives and urges in the interests of society and, besides *providing the impetus* to create, also *flavors* the artistic production. With this qualification, it is, I think, still legitimate to speak of a transformation of the *libido*, referring, in the main, to the different course of the energy and the dissimilarity of the results.

Our metaphor of a billiard ball will, in the light of this metamorphosis, turn out to be altogether inadequate; for the impact of one ball against another does not affect its quality, except after a long series of collisions—and therein lies the danger of introducing physical analogies.

But I must not be tempted to present an exposition of Freud's psychology in this essay. That were almost superfluous in a volume of this kind, even if I were not apprised of the collaboration of several leading psychoanalysts in this symposium. It is sufficient only to gain a foothold in the subject and to orient ourselves with

[3] Wm. McDougall: *The Sources and Direction of Psychophysical Energy,* Amer. Journal of Insanity, 1913, vol. LXIX, no. 5.

[4] R. S. Woodworth: *Dynamic Psychology,* pp. 175-176.

regard to the bearing of dynamic psychology on the problems, both psychological and sociological, of sex.

What then can we learn from dynamic psychology concerning the *vita sexualis?*

Different Currents in Dynamic Psychology

It has already been intimated that *dynamic psychology* is by no means an integrated whole so that its conclusions would be regulation utterances. Dynamic psychologists are united, indeed, in seeking motives, in analyzing symbols and odd bits of behavior, in accentuating the importance of the affective life and throwing into relief the *motif* of the drives, but there exist nevertheless divergent premises and attitudes amongst the leaders of this school, whose views on sex matters are colored by their own particular moralistic, sociological, or religious bias. Perhaps it is scandalous that a psychologist should be swayed by other than scientific considerations, nevertheless such is the situation, and we might as well take this for our first clue to the study of the conditions.

Every dynamic psychologist evinces a vital interest in the problems of sex, even more so than does the behaviorist, but it is in the actual results and prospects that the differences arise. Dynamic psychology harbors sex radicals—and Freud is not the extremist among them—as well as Puritans, who like McDougall applaud the rigidity of the law against homosexuals [5] and admonish against flirtation, especially in the case of the married.[6] We have, on the psychoanalytic side, writers like Kempf and MacCurdy; and on the *psychosynthetic* side Jung and his followers, who are inclined again to the ethereal and spiritual; while Morton Prince and Woodworth, representatives of different trends of dynamic psychology, seem to steer clear of the question of good and evil. Adler, dynamic through and through in his treatment of human foibles, is becoming more and more the educator and less the iconoclast of society. Then too there are the sociological and anthropological "dynamists" among whom may be reckoned Flügel [7] and Malinowski. In fact I should not hesitate to include Stanley Hall "among the prophets," for his magisterial chapter (really a book in length) "The Pedagogy of

[5] Wm. McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology.*

[6] Wm. McDougall, *Character and the Conduct of Life.*

[7] Although Flügel is primarily a psychologist, he has, through his *Psychoanalysis of the Family,* made a noteworthy contribution to sociology, from the psychoanalytic slant.

Sex" in his *Educational Problems*, quite aside from his pioneering work on *Adolescence*, entitles him to a place among the deep probers of human motives.

Without attempting to draw up a list of dynamic psychologists or even of separate factions, I shall content myself with saying that there is not, so far as I can make out, any definitive stand among them on the sexual outlook. Many of them, if confronted with a point-blank question as to their findings in this slippery region, will probably consider that they have well acquitted themselves when they have shifted the task to the moralist or sociologist. After all, why should they be expected to pronounce judgment on matters of right and wrong or social reform? And would their *pronunciamentos* have the least effect on rulers and legislators, seeing that the world is constituted as it is, and various deep-rooted agencies and institutions have wielded their cumulative influence for centuries?

And yet the social reformer, or in fact any educated person, has a right to inquire of the psychologist about the data on a sphere of human activity fraught with such consequences as almost to eclipse all other activities. There can be no denying that the center of gravity of the average person's life is the sex drive. It may have been absent or in abeyance in the case of a few outstanding individuals, but this does not alter the situation. An admission, therefore, to the effect that psychology has very little to offer in this region of mental life is almost evidence of failure. And if the psychologist cannot contribute his fundamental share to the rearing of the tremendously elaborate social structure, then sociologists and moralists have no foundation for their construction work.

But it is one thing to observe that there is no consensus among dynamic psychologists and quite another to say that therefore psychology has nothing to offer in the way of clarifying the burning sex issue. Even here extremes meet at least half way. With all his moralistic bias, McDougall has presented a naturalistically frank analysis of the sex instinct, perhaps to the discomfiture of the American publishers of his *Introduction to Social Psychology*.[8] At least we may infer this from the circumstance that the chapter in question, or, as some would probably put it, the questionable chapter appeared only in one or two of the many editions of the book. This goes to show that a psychologist is a psychologist for a' that.

[8] McDougall's *The Definition of the Sexual Instinct* in the Proceed. of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1914, vol. VII, is also to be mentioned in this connection.

An Overlooked Reflection

Freud, on the other hand, is not so sex-bound as the majority of people, and even psychologists, are willing to believe. There are certain significant passages in his works which are apparently lost in the ruck of his writings. Nevertheless, as we shall presently see, they lead us to read between the lines and force us to the conviction that the eternal dilemma has not been resolved in the mind of the psychoanalytic hierarch. Those who would identify psychoanalysis with propaganda for sex license will do well to examine the following statement in the light of Freud's reputation as the inveterate foe of all repression. "It is easy to show that the value the mind sets on erotic needs instantly sinks as soon as satisfaction becomes readily obtainable. Some obstacle is necessary to swell the tide of the libido to its height. . . . In this context it may be stated that the ascetic tendency of Christianity had the effect of raising the psychical value of love in a way that heathen antiquity could never achieve." [9] Of course it is the old story of forbidden fruit, which figures in the proverbs of most nations, but there is a tinge of almost Fichtean idealism in the quoted utterance.

Aside from these earnest efforts made on the part of dynamic psychologists to come to grips with the gargantuan question of sex, it must furthermore be pointed out that the persistence and dauntlessness of Freud and his disciples have been largely responsible for the universal spirit of inquiry which is being more and more manifest to-day with regard to sex expression. Sociologists, moralists, eugenists and the clergy are all eager to face the problems squarely instead of declaring a taboo on them as of yore. The ground has at least been broken, but it will take considerable time before the soil will be made arable. There are almost unsurmountable obstacles in the way of studying the *vita sexualis* at close range, obstacles which have never been fully discussed in all their far-reaching ramifications; and even in this essay I cannot hope more than to treat them in a cursory manner.

A Few of the Problems in Sexology

In the first place, it is necessary to make an inventory of the problems of sex. There are technical problems, such as may be found in the thousands of books on sex physiology, parading under various names, and there are general humanistic or socio-

[9] S. Freud: *Collected Papers,* vol. IV, p. 214.

logical problems, which may exploit the anatomical, physiological and embryological facts, but should not stress them beyond the auxiliary point; else the means becomes an end, thus supplanting the further objective.

Certain controversies arising out of academic attitudes are at present occupying the fore of the mental sciences, whereas in reality they might easily be disposed of in a paragraph or two. The dispute over the innateness of the drives strikes me as one of these scarcely practical endeavors. I should not like to imitate Samuel Johnson in this respect and assert "We know that there are inborn tendencies and that settles it," but in my review of the voluminous literature on the subject, I have not found any experimental evidence, not even the much-heralded experiments on infants performed by Watson, to traverse the common-sense conviction that not only is the sex urge an inborn tendency but that it also manifests itself in a specific mode of response according to the object which stimulates it. Practically all dynamic psychologists adhere to the instinct doctrine, or to put it more accurately, all dynamic psychologists are of the opinion that there are inborn dispositions, which are modifiable in various degrees. It is the specific phase of the doctrine which is at issue. In the case of the sex instance, the question, *e.g.*, is whether a deviation like homosexuality is congenital or acquired; whether other so-called perversions are, if not transmitted in the germ-plasm, at any rate a correlate of the individual constitution. Behaviorists in general, environmentalists, mechanists and their like, hold that sex attachment is conditioned by previous experiences. I must admit that psychoanalysts overtly argue in favor of this theory, when so much is attached to infantile experiences, but on a more searching analysis we shall be compelled to conclude that Freud regards the natural mode of sex response as fundamentally innate, else why should the parental fixation be invariably between the opposite sex, and not, *e.g.*, between father and son, daughter and mother?

Similarly the true environmentalist, who imagines that a typically heterosexual person can become homosexual by training, example, or other artificial means; and conversely a homosexual, had he not been subject to unfavorable conditions, would have led a normal sex life—is under obligation to explain why homosexuals and heterosexuals differ in their physical and mental make-up, and moreover why even homosexuals are attracted to each other on the basis of sex divergence, *i.e.*, the aggressive male homosexual will

seek a more effeminate partner, while the delicate girl who develops a "crush" for another woman will invariably select the virago type. In other words, in the single sex camp, there is a division of sex characters, pointing to the inbornness of the specific response.

The polymorphous sex tendencies of most individuals, to be sure, are not to be denied. It is merely my contention that there exist degrees of inclination which may be regarded as negligible and are brought into the open only under extraordinary conditions, or at the insistence of the desire for variety. Again, most of the polymorphous sex tendencies are decidedly of a heterosexual nature, but are condemned by moralists and public opinion (when some one else is involved) because they cannot serve the ends of procreation, and also perhaps for esthetic reasons.

I have used the topic of homosexuality as an illustration of the problems that have yet to be solved in our study and of the difficulties that attend their solution. Naturally, if a colony could be founded somewhere where children were taught homosexual practices, and afterwards, when thrown in with those of the opposite sex, they yet showed marked preferences for the latter, our argument would be clinched, but we might as well reach out for the moon as hope to have our inquiries settled by experiments the very very mention of which is apt to outrage a respectable world.

The Urgent Need of Experimentation

Yet our only salvation lies in well-conceived and properly directed experiments. Notwithstanding the contribution of Freud and other dynamic psychologists, we are still immersed in a sea of legend and folklore with regard to the essentials of sexology. Why, the very word *sex* needs analysis. How much of what is ordinarily considered to be sex activity is really motivated by curiosity, or the love of power or conquest, the maternal instinct, compensation for a feeling of inferiority, self-aggression, or even self-submission? Is the Don Juan merely indulging his sex appetite when he samples the embraces of a variety of women? In the same work of Freud cited above, there is to be found an interesting comment on the fact that tipplers do not have to change the brand of their wine in order to gratify their craving for drink as do lovers, who soon tire of their sexual objects of love. This pregnant remark might well be pondered by behaviorists to whom sex behavior reduces to mere cutaneous friction or lubricity. If it is not the communion of

personalities which counts in such behavior, then frequency, rather than variety, should be the desideratum of every Don Juan.

Individual Differences

The wall of privacy which surrounds the sex life is nowhere so impenetrable as in the matter of individual differences. It is one of those many factual reversals of commonly accepted opinion—was it not Shenstone who said "Mankind have always delighted in believing enormous lies?"—that in the very phase of sexual relationship wherein everyone thinks he or she is different, *viz.*, the courting stage, all but the most ingeniously romantic behave in about the same manner, whereas in the more advanced stage of the relationship, which culminates in orgasm, there is a huge variety of preferences, likes and dislikes, whims and inhibitions—factors that affect the marital bond incalculably; yet, for the most part, these deviations from the legendary standard of sexual intercourse must be inferred from veiled allusions. The well-known resistence on the part of patients to the prying eye of physician or psychoanalyst needs no documentation. The chief contribution to the differential psychology of sex thus far has been made by Havelock Ellis, but his data are meager at best, not due to inadequacy on his part, but to the incommunicativeness of his subjects.

Sex Differences

The mystery of woman is another of these unaccountable puzzles which clearly indicate that we are scarcely at the threshold of that insight which is fundamental to an understanding of the most vital urge in humanity. Why should woman be the eternal sphinx as if she inhabited a distant star or as if she were represented by only a rare specimen in some *terra incognita.* Fondled by a mother, surrounded by nursemaids and sisters, taught by a dozen or more school ma'ams, schooled by a wife or wives, as the case may be, and perhaps a few sweethearts (pre- and extra-marital) in the bargain, we still keep debating back and forth whether woman is a libidinous creature [10] or a mercenary and calculating adventuress,[11] or both (Weininger). Does woman exhibit no central tendency, or is it that each man judges her in the light of his own personal experiences with her?

The most elementary questions have still to be answered. In a

[10] S. D. Schmalhausen: *Why We Misbehave,* passim.
[11] H. C. Beers: *Women and the Marriage Market,* Harper's Magazine, May 1928.

recent article,[12] Katharine Davis presents the results of an investigation showing why so many did not marry. Naturally from the standpoint of the man in the street, this question requires to be dealt with, but are we to take it for granted that we know *why we marry?* Or better still, has there yet appeared a trace of a psychological inquiry (and I am aware of the biological, religious and mystical approaches to this daily occurrence, as well as the embryonic analysis of Max Nordau) into the absurd inequality of life partnerships? Why is it that the man of industry, energy and initiative will fall a prey to a whining, spineless and supine woman, who far from assisting him in any way, only serves to paralyze his activities, unless he is endowed with extraordinary ingenuity and an indomitable will; and conversely a woman of considerable prowess very frequently marries a ne'er-do-well, who alternately snivels and snarls at the proven capacity of his unquestionably superior spouse?

Whether we are face to face with a cosmic prank, a piece of poetic justice (or rather injustice), or whether to the law of survival of the fittest there is to be added, as a codicil, the phrase "by marriage," we surely are not within reach as yet of the psychological *modus operandi* of this sort of mating. The principle of compensation looms up as a possible explanation; and the prematurely deceased psychiatrist Otto Gross [13] held that first through social selection, and then in the course of things through natural selection, the originally abnormal (subnormal?) inadequate and helpless came to be sought as a suitable mate, but the hypothesis is too general for specific application. In the present state of our knowledge, all one can do is to attest the force of the poet's apostrophe:

> But busy, busy still art thou,
> To bind the loveless joyless vow,
> The heart from pleasure to delude,
> To join the gentle to the rude.

A Woman's Lament

A thousand and one questions may be put to the student of sex phenomena, and we must not forget that each age, each generation has its own problems, although in the case of evils, the momentum seems to be a cumulative one. Toward the end of the last century, that astute observer of human nature, Laura Marholm, whose book

[12] K. B. Davis: *Why They Failed to Marry,* Harper's Magazine, March 1928.
[13] Otto Gross: *Ueber psychopathischen Minderwertigkeiten,* p. 117 ff.

on the psychology of woman throbs with life and is instinct with prophetic earnestness, feelingly asked:

"Whence does it come, this hesitating eagerness, this secret aversion of woman for man, this displeasure of the woman in her sex, this desire to be above and beyond her sex, with which the woman of our day coquets? Whence come her coldness in pleasure and her passion in renunciation? Whence the nervous diseases, soul-sickness, mental disorders, and all the hysterical outbursts of dissatisfaction which prey upon the woman of our day? Why is her charm for man and her power over man so weak and uncertain? Why are her births so hard and her children so often feeble, while all sanitary conditions and the opportunities for prolonging life are so much better than ever before? Why are marriages now so joyless, why is love now so lame of wing? Why are women so much more cowardly than formerly in their sexual life, and 'young ladies' more stupid than ever? Why?

"Still another question: why is all this so much more evident in Protestant lands than in Catholic countries?—and why is it precisely in the centers of our highest civilization that people can neither live nor die?" [14]

With the exception of one of her queries, that regarding the greater cowardliness of women in their sex life, all her questions are even more insistent to-day. How much more this gifted woman, who, writing before Freud startled the philistine world, has expressed herself in a true psychoanalytic vein, would have cause to deplore the situation to-day!

Unless we are really passing through a transition period (an altogether too long period) and the pendulum will begin to swing back, we can readily imagine what the sexes will have to contend with in the next generation. And until the draw-curtains of the nuptial bed are pulled aside, figuratively as they have been literally, we can hope for little in the way of improvement, despite the sermons of preachers, the surveys of sociologists, the maxims and injunctions of moralists, and the legislation of politicians. Whether the personal reserve, so deeply ingrained by tradition and perhaps also by other more psychological (individual) factors, can be eventually broken, I mean whether we can rely on the veracity of the reports, is something, of course, which cannot be settled *a priori*, let alone the interpretations and conclusions arrived at by the investigators.

[14] Laura Marholm: *Studies in the Psychology of Woman*, p. 38.

The New Approaches

A beginning has already been made in this direction through various research institutions and foundations. Questionnaires, calling for information of an intimate and private nature, have been circulated widely among the more educated classes, but these questionnaires possess their objectionable features from a scientific point of view. Katharine Davis, under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation, has been able to collect a mass of data regarding the marital and the pre-marital state of women,[15] but one may express misgivings as to the accuracy of the statements filled out. It is my impression that far more value may be attached to a spontaneous expression than to the answers in a questionnaire. A single intimation, a stray hint is often worth more to the dynamic psychologist than a whole series of definite answers.

The same criticism is applicable to the recent articles[16] by G. V. Hamilton and K. Macgowan, in which a survey of the marriage relations of two hundred persons is presented. The investigation discloses a number of interesting facts, but the senior investigator vitiates his research by theorizing and introducing at every turn Freud's theory of parental fixation. This infantile view in its pristine form was not so absurd as it became later in the hands of eclectic sociologists and psychologists who took it as an "explain-all" of every conceivable vice and virtue.[17]

The Jews have a saying that you do not cut your finger unless God wills it (*"On Gots viln shneidt men zikh a finger nit ein"*). This fatalism is reflected in the environmental bias of Freudianism, except that your father's or mother's *unwitting behavior* toward you in your early childhood is substituted for God's will; and at least on this one ground, the Freudians are joined by a powerful ally, the behaviorists.[18]

[15] K. B. Davis: *A Study of the Sex Life of Normal Married Women,* Journal of Social Hygiene, 1923, vol. ix.

[16] G. V. Hamilton and K. Macgowan: *Marriage and Love Affairs* and *Marriage and Money,* Harper's Magazine, Aug. and Sept., 1928. These articles are included in the authors' very recent book, *What's Wrong with Marriage.*

[17] Consider how Kempf, in his *Psychopathology,* and at his lead, F. H. Allport in his *Social Psychology,* have made Darwin's achievement as well as his mental and physical distress a function of his mother fixation!

[18] Of course it must be recognized that the environmental influence is general and not limited to parental fixation in the behavioristic system of Watson, but the bond which unites the two schools is the stress laid on the experiences of infancy and early childhood.

The Questionnaire and Its Weak Point

To come back to the subject of the questionnaire as a method of investigating the *vita sexualis*, we may conclude that its very control, which otherwise would be an asset, is a drawback, and serves to elicit a mass of camouflaged data, which further are distorted by the speculations of the examiners in order to bolster up a cherished theory that had not been scrutinized critically from the standpoint of enlightened common sense.

The manipulation of questionnaires is proper in more than one sphere, but in the realm of sex, it can hardly take the place of experimentation; and experimentation, as we have already seen, is in the present state of public opinion scarcely practicable, if not next to impossible. Four years ago, in Washington, a young member of the American Psychological Association electrified that august body when he reported on a series of psycho-physiological experiments conducted on a number of couples during the time of their actual mating. Certainly no epoch-making discoveries were made as a result of these experiments. The inferences about the primary emotions and the sympathetic nervous system, to my mind, seemed insignificant, yet the step was a bold one, and for that reason, memorable.

The Taboo on Sex Experiments

What seems to be at the bottom of the prohibition of such experiments, besides the religious atmosphere and the moralistic tone of the country, is probably the feeling that some one is going to get an extra dose of pleasure in this type of research, and if there is anything that is generally begrudged more than wealth and luxury, it is sexual gratification. Perhaps it will be necessary some day, in order to circumvent this perfectly understandable—and to a large extent reasonable—emotion or sentiment, to train a body of artificial eunuchs for the purpose of conducting such experiments; and if the Church could view with approval the practice of castrating prospective choir singers for the benefit of the service and the congregation, perhaps it can be expected to look upon a similar procedure in the cause of science with at least a certain degree of equanimity.

We lack experimental evidence and we lack statistical generalizations. Perhaps some day a future Galton will undertake to direct a systematic survey to test out the truth of the notion current among

the common people that the strength of the sex urge is determined by, or at least runs parallel with, the size of the external *pudenda*. So far we do not know whether there is any significant correlation between the internal secretions of the gonads and sex delinquency. In the criminological literature there are scattered allusions to such a correlation, but in nearly every case they rest on a tenuous basis.

Kretschmer [19] would do well to institute an inquiry into the correspondence of physique and sex vitality. To a certain extent, Sigaud's school in France has furnished us a cue here and there, *e.g.*, if we are to attach any weight to the diagrams of MacAuliffe, then the cerebral type seems to be characterized by a large head and small reproductive organs. Yet on the whole we are still swayed and swamped by the observations of the popular mind. Those with long legs (*e.g.*, the *microsplanchnic* type of De Giovanni, Viola and the Italian morphological school in general) are supposed to be "poor lovers" (and the very phrase "poor lover" is decidedly vague and indefinite, revealing the ambiguity of the mass-mind in all its haziness; for it may refer to devotion, or to demonstrative affection or libidinousness and potency). Again, it is thought that those with a powerful build will prove to be hyper-sensual, while the slight and asthenic are lacking in sex vitality. And what do we find often to be the case? The full-blooded and well-built Beau Brummel may be sexually inadequate, if not altogether impotent, while the puny couple have a regular platoon of children trailing after them. Witness also the painful disillusionment of many a girl who is attracted to the professional or college athlete because of his apparent virility only to find that accomplishment on the gridiron, field or links is not an accurate indicator of ability in other physical activities. Similarly the vivacious flirt, who seems to burn with passion, while engaged in making conquests often turns out to be a salamander, in the sense Addison described the term, after she has "made her catch."

The Anthropological Method

In addition to the questionnaire and the statistical study as substitutive methods for experimentation, we have the anthropological and sociological studies, the value of which is of course indisputable, but their underlying assumption is highly questionable.

[19] I omit citing the works of the writers referred to in this paragraph, as they are referred to in my *Bibliography of Character and Personality* and discussed in *The Psychology of Character.*

It is rather the sociologist, who applies the findings of the anthropologist, that is to be charged with begging the question; for, in a multitude of books and articles, it is implied that since Westermarck, Fuchs, Seligmann or Malinowski has found such and such conditions to obtain in primitive society, as well as in civilization, then we must all be led to the conviction that the institution or practice in vogue is natural and rational; and all attempts at breaking away from the moorings of tradition would spell disaster. The argument is generally put forth not in this crude form; nevertheless whatever subtle phrases it is couched in, the point of it is the same.

We may well ask whether the universality of a practice is a guarantee of its rationality. First of all, of course, it would have to be established whether any human institution has been uniformly accepted throughout the world; and there would probably arise a divergence of opinion at the very outset, since Westermarck's laborious work has shown, if anything, that marriage might mean anything from life bondage and rape to what is virtually *free love.* Yet suppose all the facts pointed to a uniform course of behavior, it is still to be proven that our social organization must rest on a foundation laid by our primitive ancestors. As well might one urge that our *scientific* notions should have followed the trend of the beliefs of the masses, which, on many subjects, have changed but little in spite of education.

The Social Experiment in Russia

At the present time, Russia is undergoing a social experiment of tremendous proportions, thus showing that the present *can* be divorced from the past in a definitive manner. Whatever our religious, moral, esthetic or social views, it seems to me we are all beholden to Russia for exposing itself to the hazards of such a radical experiment on a gigantic scale. I am not at all unmindful of the grave complications which such an innovation entails, and from the inimitable satires of contemporary Russian writers one may gather that the new order has its trials and tribulations. Nevertheless, inasmuch as we can observe the outcome from our vantage ground of safety, we must all, in a sense, feel grateful for the heroic efforts put forth on behalf of the new ideology. Russia is now wrestling with the Hegelian doctrine that *what is, is right.* Perhaps it is not for us to say which is the saint and which the dragon. The battle, however, so far as the social organization of the world is concerned, marks a turning-point in history.

The Animal Experiment

I have yet to advert to another instrument employed in the clarification of the sex situation, *viz.*, the animal experiment. This type of investigation has only been recently inaugurated, and a large share of the credit for the perfecting of the technique is due to behaviorism.

The animal experimenter who uses the rat or the monkey in lieu of the human subject, in order to determine from the results the sexual status of man, obviously supposes that what applies to the species *rodens* or *rhesus* will hold of *homo sapiens*. Certainly in the absence of experiments on humans, the results gained from controlled observations on primates and lower animals are not to be sniffed at. Thus far, however, the conclusions as applied to man are either forced or else of no great import. When Morgan [20] discovers that a rodent prevented by severe punishment from participating in sex activity loses weight and becomes emaciated and starved, or that the inhibition built up, thanks to the electrical shock, endured only in the case of one female rat, but not in the other subjects, we are not at all surprised. No experiments are needed to drive home the moral; and yet it is well known that under the sway of sublimation (religion, art, science, finance, politics), the human animal can evade the consequences of such deprivation. Indeed, Flaubert was said to have admonished young artists to lead a life of repression, so as to intensify their creative impulses. The wonderful adjustive mechanism in man, the cultural superstructure fashioned by a steady evolutionary ascent over thousands of years—all this sets at naught the generalizations from animal experiments when applied to human beings.

It is true we are sometimes promised a direct extension of the animal technique to experiments on human beings. In a passage which becomes cryptic toward the end, Morgan opens up the field of inquiry with considerable confidence when he outlines the following program:

"White rats are being used merely to develop experimental technique. When this is done the work will be continued upon dogs. This should enable us later to carry the same procedure over to humans with the restriction that experimentation in this field will have to be limited to the type which will in the end prove beneficial to the

[20] J. J. B. Morgan: *The Measurement of Instincts,* abstracted in Psychological Bulletin, 1923, vol. XX, p. 94. One of the results cited was communicated to me orally.

person undergoing experimentation." But I could find no evidence that the undertaking has been carried out, and the application of results from experiments on the lower animals to the complicated mental life of man still remains in question.

For this reason we shall have to discount one of the purposes of Hamilton's investigation on the sex tendencies of monkeys.[21] It is, to be sure, interesting to learn that the so-called perversions are not confined to man, and that our phyletic cousins are given to masturbation, homosexuality, bestiality (naturally in a reduced sense) and the whole catalogue of sins for which our civilization is blamed. What then? The rational-minded will not have cause to be elated over the fact or to triumph over the sentimental moralist, just because the despised and condemned pervert is in such good company, nor will the conventional philistine feel obliged to change his negative point of view as to the naturalness and normality of perversions under certain conditions, much as they may outrage his finer sensibilities.

It is not necessary to go into any more of the investigations on the sexual behavior of infra-human beings. The bibliography on the mating activities of animals is extensive, although it is only recently that psychologists have turned their attention to that subject; and within the last few years, C. P. Stone has contributed fully a dozen papers on the sex life of rats, rabbits, etc., chiefly in the *Journal of Comparative Psychology* and the *American Journal of Physiology*, while the neat experiments of Wallace Craig have broadened our concept of appetition in the animal world.

The Issue at Stake

We must hasten, however, to resume the theme with which we began this chapter and at the same time to sum up the result of our survey. Our task was to examine what dynamic psychology has to offer in the way of solving the timeless problems of sex conduct. Should sex freedom be vociferously advocated or should the situation take care of itself? We have seen that the psychologist is bound by temperamental and other biases, and even in dynamic psychology we cannot point in any one direction as the goal of our contemplated sex reforms. The dynamic psychologist is earnestly concerned about sex. In fact, this constitutes his chief interest; but he is disinclined

[21] G. V. Hamilton: *Sexual Tendencies in Monkeys*, Journal of Animal Behavior, 1914, vol. IV.

to trespass on the territory of the social reformer, the moralist or the sociologist.

We may distinguish two types of temperamental outlook among dynamic psychologists, the *individualistic*, which leans toward self-expression in sex matters as in everything else, and the socio-moralistic or *tribal Weltanschauung*, which is overawed by the taboo and clings to convention and tradition. Between the two, there are intermediate stages and, perhaps, oscillating phases, leading to mental conflict.

The Eternal Dilemma

If sex indulgence were in the class of anti-social conduct, such as theft, robbery, fraud, and the like, then *cadit quæstio.* No one would venture so much as to lose a word on the subject of its legitimacy, but many a young man and young woman ask themselves constantly, until they are brain-fagged, whether that type of virtue is worth the pains of exercising. Who benefits by the restraint? And can the one who remains chaste because of his or her regard for the rights of the prospective mate be certain that the latter has been guided by similar considerations?

In how many torn minds there resounds the echo of this sorrowful plaint:

> If, as they say, You hold the world
> In the hollow of Your mighty hand,
> And each life that gleams there for a while
> Was fashioned and fated at Your own command,
>
> Then do I come to You—not in prayer
> But only as a weary woman may,
> And this question I fling up to You,
> Why did You put my soul upon this path
> If it was fate that I should lose my way?
>
> How could You never lift a staying hand
> Or still the lilt of my heart's glad song;
> If You placed this passion in my storm-swept soul
> Then, God, why not help me bear the wrong?

On the other hand, we may take it as a mark of character to inhibit a powerful impulse, provided of course this inhibition or repression has its *rationale* and is not merely the imposition of an unthinking herd.

As the Elder Brother in *Comus* exclaims:

> I mean that too, but yet a hidden strength
> Which, if Heaven gave it, may be termed her own.
> 'Tis chastity, my brother, chastity.
> She that has that is clad in complete steel
> And like a quivered nymph, with arrows keen,
> May trace huge forests, and unharbored heaths
> Infamous hills, and sandy perilous wilds,
> Where, through the sacred rays of chastity,
> No savage fierce, bandit, or mountaineer,
> Will dare to soil her virgin purity.

The modern sex radical, living three hundred years later than the Puritanic author of this *mask*, naturally is entitled to ask whether the virgin might not just as well dispense with her maiden purity, and then in greater safety could she "trace huge forests and unharbored heaths," if she fancied making such excursions.

Our conflict between sex expression and sex repression is really grounded in one of these moral (perhaps even cosmic) antinomies which can never be satisfactorily resolved. You unwind your bobbin swiftly and confidently until you are practically at the end, when lo, you have struck a knot and begin winding it up again, but there is an even greater knot to be found at the other end of the thread, and so you keep winding and unwinding without making any real progress.

An Ominous Admission

There is, however, one aspect of the sex situation which the "expressionists," in their sanguine advocacy of freedom from all restriction, do not seem to have considered. It is the *fundamental nature of craving not to be fully gratified.* Freud has dwelt on this point in a tone of puzzled *naïveté.* "However strange it may sound," observes this acute writer, "I think the possibility must be considered that something in the nature of the sexual instinct itself is unfavorable to the achievement of absolute gratification." This *aperçu* calls for a good deal of comment [22] which space restriction, however, would not permit, but at any rate we may take this remark for our starting-point. Assuming that there is no real satisfaction in the most intimate and most varied embraces, then would

[22] If the widely quoted saying *"post coitus triste,"* is well-founded, we ought to ascertain whether the cause is primarily psychological or physiological.

the disappointment be any the less keen, if there were to be no restrictions? Must we cite illustrations from that Persian tyrant, Artaxerxes, who was said to have offered half his kingdom to any one who could invent a new type of pleasure? Or need we hark back to the days of the degenerate Roman emperors, who spent their lives in orgies the contemplation of which would be revolting even to the most sophisticated?

One who is not hide-bound by convention might well agree with the sex radicals, if a definite *terminus ad quem* were kept in mind, but once the ungratifiability of the sex instinct is recognized, it seems clear that the open and unimpeded road would lead to certain destruction. Hence the great store that is laid by chastity. In itself it is perhaps a useless quality, but it constitutes a great barrier to more advanced steps, and therefore serves as a means of protection against future inroads of the whole gamut of desires which lie dormant in the breast of man.

Wanton Deprivation

It is futile to deny that our civilization has fumbled in the ordering of sex relations. I can hardly believe that it is the worst possible world in that connection, but it certainly is not the best conceivable either; and what makes matters worse is that with all the progress in medicine, with all the increase of human comfort, with all the technical improvements of the day, it is doubtful whether the sex act affords an equal amount of gratification among married couples to-day to what it did in past generations. Dyspareunia, to judge from the reports of physicians, is on the increase. The sexual anesthesia and frigidity of women, as well as the impotence of men, are topics that cannot be glossed over. Instead of an enhancement of sexual pleasure, there seems to be a *pro rata* diminution. Surely there is enough material here for sociologists to ponder and analyze.

The pitiful state of those, for the most part women, who, at the behest of society, are deprived of all sex experiences, adds to the poignancy of the *Weltschmerz* which every intellectual person must feel. In a remarkable book by an anonymous writer whose breadth of view, range of relevant information, and logical power stamp him as one of the sages of the last century—and a sort of warrior, to boot, for daring to publish his views—we read:

"It is safe to make the assertion that celibacy is a thousandfold more injurious than prostitution. There is, I should judge, not

more than one open and avowed prostitute in 5,000 of the female sex; while nearly half of the nubile women, that is, counting virgins, widows, and married women whose husbands are more or less absent from their homes, or who are unhappily mated—more than half the women, I say, are denied the regular, legitimate gratification of their sexual cravings. I argue, then, that male celibacy, as affecting so large a number of women, is a far greater evil than prostitution." [23]

The average man and woman will throw up their hands in horror at such an iconoclastic utterance, made by the way at the very zenith of mid-Victorian prudery. Yet we cannot help admitting that there is some point to this protest.

The "Minimum Joy" Plan

Perhaps we ought to plead in favor of a *minimum joy* in the sexual sphere as in the case of the minimum wage in the economic sphere. The two appetites that hold the world together as Goethe expressed it, should be on a par in this respect. As society is now constituted, there are certain classes of individuals (the actors, actresses, prize-fighters, boxers, professional ball players, and in general all those to whom the public would at one time say "*damne-toi, parceque tu m'amuses*") that wallow in sex bounty, while perhaps the majority of respectable people, if not starved, are at any rate decidedly undernourished.

To carry out a constructive policy in this respect would tax the ingenuity of the most efficient social engineer. Changing public opinion is at best a slow and tedious process. Just as laws are made for comparatively honest people, while the crooks often circumvent legislation, so public opinion affects only the people of standing and position, particularly those who have identified their interests with the community. The breath of scandal strikes like a poisoned arrow at the very heart of the man and woman with a purpose in life. The fatal warning *tetigisse periisse* constantly rings in their sensitive ears; and the conflict arising out of the social *veto* and the individual *amo* is in itself an excruciating mental pain [24] which only a suffering humanity knows and feels, finding solace perhaps in the thought that

[23] *The Truth About Love* (1872), p. 99. This seems to be a second somewhat expurgated edition of an earlier publication which had been withdrawn from circulation as "somewhat too frank."

[24] A discussion of conflict will be found in my *Psychology of Character* in the chapter headed "Character and Conflict."

There's naught in this life sweet
If man were wise to see't
But only melancholy
O sweetest melancholy!

Forsooth that is the saving grace of an otherwise unbearable situation—a spiritual compensation for the physical and mental torments of life. It is this conflict which shapes our greatest masterpieces. The lyric depths of every *De Profundis* psalm, from the biblical poet down to Oscar Wilde, are channeled by the dredge-iron of misery.

Superior woes, superior stations bring.

Hope in Coöperation

But it is not a gospel of renunciation that I am preaching here. Even if it should be true that all the great have suffered misery, it does not follow that all the wretched are great. As to compensation in an after-life for the privations in this world, only the religious-minded can be comforted by the thought that they are storing up in the heavenly bank a tidy reward for their asceticism and physical want. The maxim that "virtue is its own reward" will appeal to a small minority, and even then the minor premise (that chastity or sex repression is a virtue) is a contestable proposition. In this search for truth, in this quest of distributing happiness on a more equitable basis [25] than of yore, psychologist, sociologist, anthropologist, biologist, eugenist and legislator will have to work together, together forge the chain of reason, each contributing perhaps one link, until the final result is achieved, and the bond of sham is broken.

[25] That we have progressed considerably in this direction is evident from the eradication of the revolting *jus primæ noctis,* feudalism and other damnable institutions.

SEX CENSORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

BY WALDO FRANK

THREE men, who have not met before, sit in a Pullman smoker and swap smutty stories. A fourth man joins them, a fifth; the stories go on. Now, one more man comes in. Suddenly, without conscious purpose and with no reference to the nature of this last man, the smutty stories cease. The individuals in the small compartment had managed to feel themselves comrades: all at once, they feel themselves a crowd. They are a crowd of strangers. And by some law which they unknowingly obey, they sense that the stories they are telling are out of place in a crowd; they find it impossible, instinctively, to continue telling them as before. The nature of the group has changed.

If we understand what has happened to these good American citizens, we shall be close to the causes of our censorship on sex discussion and sex exhibition, in the American world. There are two fundamental factors. The first is, that we regard *sex* as a private matter. With a crony or two at home or in the smoker, this private matter can be deliciously broached. In a crowd, it must not. And the second factor is, that in a democracy such as ours, the crowd is omnipresent. The prevalent American attitude toward sex is hence the protective one of the individual hiding from ubiquitous scrutiny what he considers private. The more immediate the presence of the crowd, the more strict the restraint. Thus, we tolerate in a privately printed book what we forbid in a common publication. We tolerate in any book (which, after all, can be read alone in one's chair) what we do not allow in a theater. We tolerate in the kind of theater which represents a group (a kind of family—such as the wealthy form, who congregate at ten dollars a head to snack the nakedness of our revues) what we should never permit in a movie.

But this is the mere external of our situation. In a democracy such as ours, the crowd is even personally pervasive. It exists, not

alone outside but within us. Hence, the crowd factor as an inhibition of this "private matter" works also within ourselves, controlling our attitude toward sex.

To blame all this, in the good old way, on that good old scapegoat Puritanism, is far too easy. Puritanism, indeed, is itself a symptom of the cause we seek. Puritanism is itself a democratic movement. At the close of the middle ages, the bonds of social integration broke: the ties of religious fellowship dissolved. (*Religion*, do not forget, means literally a binding-together.) The consequence was the double result which we have isolated as the causes of our sex censorship. The life of instinct, of personal will, of desire became *private*. Sex, that is, became private. Even religion became private: and Puritanism in the last analysis—the essence of Protestantism—is private religion. Like religion, in this disintegrating world, sex activity (and also art) lost communal and social values. Sex, now the expression of the separate ego and of the personal will, became a private matter. But where social ties are loosed (as in the deliquescence of the medieval Catholic Republic) the groups of hierarchy disappear; in their place comes the crowd. Man, now, in his inner consciousness, is possessed of a proud and jealous privacy. And he becomes confronted by a new element which, in a world bound by religion, did not exist: the mass of outsiders—the mob—the crowd of strangers. This mass (the democracy) invades him. He is forced to retreat more and more in order to preserve the complex of his personal will. Since his emotional possessions are now private and apart, he becomes defensive about them: since they stand in opposition to the "outside world," he is insecure about them. And of course, among these emotional possessions, the implications of sex are uppermost. He becomes, then, *in view of the crowd*, insecure and possessive about sex.

Thus, succinctly, are formed the two terms in the syllogism of the American attitude toward sex, whose conclusion is the public sex censor. The American, *as to his feelings*, is a separate, lonely atom. But, *as to his life*, he is a blind, baffled, jostled drop in a sea. He feels in private (that is his Puritanism) : he lives in public (that is his democracy). Infallibly, such a man massed with others like him, will, as a mechanism of defense, evolve the system of sex censorship we are discussing.

To bring out the lines of this American condition (ere we go on to the problems of effect and remedy), it might be well to place

our attitude toward sex against a contrast. The most popular one is to be found in France.

Except for isolate instances to the contrary (such as the trial of Gustave Flaubert *re Madame Bovary*, the suppression in its first years of parts of Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal*, the recent trouble caused by Jacob Epstein's tomb for Oscar Wilde in the *Cimetière du Père Lachaise*), exceptions which reveal a plain political motive and the use of sex censorship as a pretext, it is fair to say that the legal restraint of sex expression, in our meaning, does not obtain among the ruling groups (aristocracy, bourgeoisie, proletariat) of the French people. Sex interest and sex representation, through art, are employed as a candid means of communal as well as personal relaxation. They are employed to strengthen the bonds between persons. Sex (with patriotism) is almost the chief and easiest claim for solidarity: a most accessible means for the establishing of ease, good fellowship, delight in a crowd. Jokes, tales, arts more or less plastic, are devoted widely to sex play and to sex exhibition. They are the visible signs whereby the French folk "get together."

The reason for this is that the French regard sex as an intimate, but *not as a private* matter; and that the Frenchman feels himself in a world which consists not of outsiders but of *groups;* groups integral with him and related to his own.

In the Gothic French cathedrals, details of statuary on the façades and of wood-carvings in the choirs, sometimes on the very stalls, were often openly obscene. Such reminders of our sexuality, of our sex organs, of the dalliant and explosive element of sex, did not invalidate the soaring aspiration of the structure. They conformed into the common upward movement of the church; and by their injection of the personal in the great communal movement, they brought life and personality to religion. Man was enlisted to worship, not alone with head and heart, but as well with his loins. The folk of that day were parts of a vast whole. Pervasive, it touched and enjoined all instinct, all desire. The individual was not lost; he could bring his sex to church and if, in the tide of prayer, he chanced to forget it, the church pricked him with sex reminders. Neither privacy in our modern sense, nor the mob in our modern sense, existed. The private was the mere intimate aspect of the common life: the crowd was the organic fulfilment of the person. The consequence was, that each man felt himself *secure.* He did not have to protect some personal, private possession from

a mob. His sexuality, even his sins, *pardi!* had place in the loved Design. With place assured, he could find ease. The outside world was no invader, since it did actually not exist; he being part of it. Both elements that make for a sex censorship were lacking.

In the rarified form of autumn—a form less fleshed, less dynamic, at once more rational and more instinctive, the modern French folk are the heirs intact of this medieval synthesis of man with men, of flesh with spirit—the synthesis of which the Gothic church with its fusion of the sublime, the grotesque, the obscene, is the most marvelous symbol. Still, to an extent, in France, the intimate feeling can be communally expressed; still, the abstract idea has its personal allocation and its individual form. Two great "piston rods"—as Gorham Munson calls them—of our behavior are religion and sex. In religion, France is bored by Protestantism and Puritanism—the private brands. It is either Catholic or deistic (both being communal forms of worship or of reason). And sex (possibly to the detriment of its end as the biological multiplier of life) is used as an energizer of relations, as a relaxer, as a stimulant of community feeling.

Sex-appeal, being intimate and not private, is employed by the French people to enhance the sense of union between them, the peace of going together, the laughter and sport of play—the proof of their common human lot, not merely as sufferers but as well as delicious and dallying creatures.

Through sex, the person gives himself. To dare to do this, he must be secure and not confronted by strangers. This security the Frenchman has (since he is intuitively part of an inherited whole): whence his power to give himself, to receive unto himself without danger of self-destruction, to enjoy sex vicariously without the sense of separation and of menace to his private integrity.

Sex, we may conclude, in French play, French art, is a ready means whereby individuals touch each other, nourish each other and themselves: it procures to the group that subtle tumescence, in which any organism, personal or social, functions most happily —and hence most well.

Now, let us return to our own state. We find in our country two elements—the person and the mass. The old ethnic groups of immigrants break up. Even the family tends to dissolve. The rhythm of pioneering persists through the vast land, scattering the people—making unstable their physical settling down. In France (which we

have taken as our visible contrast) the person is fixed organically in the group: the group—social, industrial, familial, geographic—is integral with that group of groups: the nation. The French person is therefore never strictly *private:* nor is the nation a mere external mass. There is a constant process of emotional interlocking making the individual, the small group, the nation spiritually one. But where the person is confronted by a huge, shifting, undifferentiate mass, as with us, he will be really private. And that mass, undivided by more accessible groups to which the person is attached, will be spiritually indigestible, incommunicable—veritably external. Such a person will be emotionally starved. For the individual man is not an organism which can live alone: he requires nurture to be *realized as a man:* social nurture, whose terms shall be of the spirit as well as of sex. And such a mass will also be emotionally starved, since it is made up of such persons. Here, then, is our condition: we are a people of private persons: collectively the mass; individually alone. And in consequence of our solitude we are emotionally undernourished, spiritually insecure.

From this fact, a confusing counterpoint is set up in American life. The undifferentiate crowd, being alien to the person's private desire and will, and being—through democratic law—a ubiquitous force, is forever hostilely invading the person. *And yet, this undifferentiate crowd itself consists of persons who feel themselves thus invaded.*

There is, in the American person, a split. He must enact, at one and the same time, his own individual desire defending itself against the crowd; and the function of the crowd to which he belongs, repressing individual desire. As part of the public, there is engendered in him a fear and a restraint of sex expression (since he regards it as a private matter): but as a private creature, there is in him the need and the longing for this same sex expression.

The restraint works within him—but it is literally an *outside* repression; for it is the action of the crowd of which he is part. In each individual there is, then, the "essential crowd"—working against the "essential person." The individual cannot share his sexuality vicariously with the crowd—for he has accepted the privacy of sex. But since the crowd is within him—(he being a part of the democratic world), this is tantamount to an entire inhibition of his sex behavior. He cannot share his sexuality, freely, even with his lover—even freely with himself. He is forced to remain, emo-

tionally, at the infantile level where sex does not require consciousness or an external object.

Thus it comes about that the average American man and woman practice sex censorship on themselves: practice it indeed *in the very marital act*. They delete all but the bare biological function from their sex life: or they deform and disguise the elements which the "crowd" in each of them resists. They are bad lovers; they become neurotic men and women. They become, inevitably, *censorious* men and women.

They *must* be afraid of sex—since they regard sex as private, as terribly private; and since they live in a world where the crowd is omnipotent and omnipresent. Being neither wholly persons nor wholly blind atoms of the mass, they are thwarted creatures. Specifically, they are starved—they starve themselves!—of sex satisfaction. And this fact moves the average American to desire sex censorship for others. A too-joyous, a too-free exhibition in art or play, of what sex is, would arouse painfully in themselves what they labor to suppress, to minimize, even to destroy.

If this is true, it should be clear that sex censorship in America is not a legal problem; that the discussion of Constitutional rights is irrelevant or shallow. Constitutionally, we are a democratic state. Constitutionally, the majority does rule. Censorship of sexual subjects and details, in our arts, is an action of the people. Inhering in the democracy itself, censorious crowd restraint cuts beneath any specific ruling of the Constitution whose virtue inheres in its acceptance by the people.

The prevalence of Comstocks and Sumners, of play juries, of *Watch and Ward* associations, the padlocking of theaters, the shortening of kisses in the movies, etc., etc., are but the outer form of an inner state. They are *true* expressions of that state. To elocute against these expressions is silly. Censorship in a democracy is an adequate act of the democracy. To discuss ways and means either of changing the inner state of the people—or, for that matter, of eliminating the democratic power, would be more to the point.

Let us examine a few instances of our censorship in action, in order to see clearly how this *outward act* exemplifies an inner state: how this repressive behavior indeed expresses a democracy which is at once insecure in its individual components and omnipotent in its pervasive mass.

There are to be found flourishing and undisturbed, each season

on Broadway, musical comedies and *revues* in which appear practically naked women. When, however, photographs of these complacent ladies are publicly displayed outside the lobby, the police are likely to take action. The theater of this sort, through its prohibitive high prices, establishes a kind of *group;* the group achieves a quasi-privacy. It is, to this extent, protected from the crowd and the individuals who have paid the price are able to enjoy a sex exhibition, unconsciously free of the crowd intrusion. The crowd, however, is in the street: when, therefore, the pictures of these nudes are put in the open lobby, the private nature of the show is broken.

In many of such shows, there is a distinct strain—often a stress —of homosexual allusion. Under cover of song, dance, slapstick, farce, acrobatics, the perverse sex element comes freely across the footlights. But if this perverse element, under its own colors, takes the form of a serious dramatic presentation—as in *The Captive*, the censor is brought to bear. Or if, as in a recent experiment of Mae West (*The Pleasure Man*) the presentation is clumsy and palpable, the police Magistrate intervenes. In another shape here, the same law is at work. The disguise of farce or music (which, however direct, is unlabelled with the literal terminology of sex) has permitted each individual in the crowd to take in the allusion to sex, the vicarious enjoyment of sex, *without awareness that he is sharing it with his neighbors.* He believes—or makes believe—that the overt content of song or dance is what the crowd is enjoying. He may even believe that this is what *he* is enjoying. The subtle message of homosexuality, of sadism, etc., comes to him unlabelled and hence (he believes) it comes to him permissibly and alone. For sex, to him, is private; and what he needs, above all, is the comfort of feeling that he is not sharing it with others. But announce the label of sex in a serious discussion, or in a clumsy portrayal, and he must self-protectively rebel. He is forced to be aware that the sex element in his enjoyment is common with the enjoyment of the crowd. And this is intolerable to him.

This is why Shaw, Wedekind, Bourdet, Brieux, Gantillon, etc., find trouble in a theatrical district and in a theatrical season where appeals to sex and displays of sexual degeneration are rampant. Under cover of jazz and farce, a huge matron may pursue a dainty boy for the full two hours across the stage. A candid and direct portrayal of the *gigolo* and his troubles would be suppressed by the very public opinion which delights in the disguise.

The disguise, in some form, must be there. The work of art with sex-appeal must, in the democracy, pretend to be aloof from the crowd or to be not sexual at all. If it is a difficult work, or privately presented or rendered exclusive by the high price of night clubs or revues, the individual—freed from crowd ubiquity—will receive it. If it is blatantly a moral sermon or gaily a song-and-dance, the individual, freed by these permissible screens from the sense of the crowd's sharing in his sexual enjoyment, will receive it.

In the domain of print, the action of the censor is more sporadic, more involved with other factors, since the element of the *crowd* is less clearly stated. Thus, a work privately printed is reasonably safe. If however, by accident, the attention of the general public is attracted, the immunity fades. This explains why recent editions of Petronius, Rabelais, Boccaccio have gotten into trouble. Although made "private" through actual limited editions or through the excluding barrier of being "high-brow" classics, they became involved in the crowd repression through excess publicity. On the other hand, a poet like Mr. E. E. Cummings has, of late years, published in open editions a selection of poems which are purely sexual exhibitions; and he has been immune. The reason is not that these poems are exquisite works of art (which they are). It is, that Mr. Cummings' precious idiom—like jazz or the dance or buffoon laughter—has served as an effective masque, disguising his subject to the many and enabling it to steal, with unchallenged intimacy, into the hearts of the few.

There is another factor which at times almost invalidates the democratic censor from action on the public prints. It is the symbolic virtue of *money*. A newspaper that carries millions in advertisements is sanctified by the mob which reads it. Its commercial seriousness has a social connotation, and justifies its sex-appeal, so as to make it safe for the timid individual to enjoy. The display of sexuality arouses the emotional insecurity of the reader: but the display of Power—the hall-mark of the great daily sheet—counteracts the disturbance. Therefore, a tabloid with a huge circulation can print almost anything. *Not because it can buy immunity directly; but for the far subtler reason, that the mob emotionally allows it.* The reader is protected by the aura of success and solidity which the newspaper discharges through its advertisements, its editorials, its circulation figures. So secure is the reader, that he dares to enjoy himself. He enjoys himself, alone: and yet the

crowd is present—not interfering, not even sharing his enjoyment, but justifying it through the prestige of his paper.

If you were to take a girl in the subway, at ease with the lewd gossip she is absorbing in her *tab;* and were to place her suddenly in a crowd in Union Square and were to have a man on the stump continue in the open air the identical tale she had been reading, she would at once feel the invading mob about her, and blush, and run away; or possibly join with her sisters in silencing the story. She would, in brief, behave as a function in the democratic censor. You would have deprived her of the privacy of form whereby she receives the tale, and of the institutional support of her newspaper whereby her sex pleasure is justified and protected. These special factors almost immunize the *tab* from the censorship we are discussing.

Censorship professes to be legal restraint. It works, actually as a devious disguise. It does not bar at all; it twists and warps. It need not forbid, so long as it *pretends* to forbid. It is the instrument of the confused, self-conflicting will of the public. The democracy, composed of individuals more or less sexually vital, does not wish to repress sexuality nor to forbid its esthetic display. It does wish to render these expressions safe for itself—safe, that is, for each private person within the delusion that he is enjoying his "sport" alone. Therefore, the actual working end of censorship —the end, moreover, which censorship achieves—is so to dilute, disguise, warp and pervert the vicarious sex enjoyment that each man and woman may experience it in the fancy that they are doing so, free of the crowd, unbeknown of the crowd, and in private.

Censorship forbids nothing, but forthright expression. Its aim is to falsify. Its success is its falsification of an instinct which can flower into humane sublimation, only when it is experienced truly and wholly and directly.

The dangers of this kind of censorship to the budding splendor of our young world are wide and deep. The ramifications of these dangers, even concisely pointed out, would exceed the extent of this chapter. But we may group them under a few general heads.

Sex expression, through art and play, is the oldest, the most immediate, the most accessible (although by no means the most evolved or complete) channel whereby the individual enters into creative relation with his fellows. It is a means, of course, readily abused. But to thwart it, externally, is the most fatal of its abuses.

It is an abuse which entails all other abuses. The cure of the abuse of sex expression by censorious restraint is a cure that kills the patient.

Organic restraint—the restraint, that is, which comes of the balance and interplay of the parts of an integrated whole—is an initial of health. Sex censorship, such as exists in our land, has no connection with such an integral process. It works from the outside. Even as it exists within the individual, censoring himself, it is external; since it is a complex of reactions and defenses to the pressure of the crowd *within* him. It is a bar, due to fear, upon the natural outgoing of man to himself and to men.

It is a major menace to group expression, and therefore to the growth of groups. For it devolves upon a false attitude of privacy; no group can exist, if the emotions of its members are regarded as insulate and private. It deprives the group of the energy and nurture whereby it alone can survive. The consequence of censorship is *privation*. The communalty of emotional freedom, of emotional exchange is denied.

An obvious result is the depletion of those highest channels of communal experience, called literature and art. The suppression of already published works is however the paltriest aspect of this danger. The artist who has done his job is likely to find means of getting it before a public. Censorship does its worst, not with unpublished but with unwritten works. The aspirants to art are usually young, usually spiritual adolescents. They belong to that springtime in which sex behavior is dominant and in which sex expression is almost sure to be the immediate means for self-liberation —and hence for growth. The fear of disapproval or suppression acts as a slow poison on such artists. By deforming the natural course of their expression, they deform their spirit, they cheat themselves of the necessity of growth *through the organic stages*. In a society where the artist is sexually restrained there will be found artists who never outgrow a sexual, autoerotic fixation. Spiritual obtuseness is the result of biological repression. Such a society will abound in artists who have never become mature in spirit, simply because they have been balked from living through the normal sexual stages of their artistic evolution.

And, of course, what happens to the artist is the case as well with the sensitive individual, the receptive individual whom the artist expresses: or rather, whom he would express, realize and help to fruition, if he himself were not thwarted.

But the most pernicious aspect of these dangers comes from the denial, implicit in sex censorship, of the communal principle of sex: from the assumption that sex is or can healthily be a private matter. The immature person is an insulated ego; he is autoerotic, he is a wilful, absolutistic atom. In this stage his sexuality is private. To confine his sexuality to this stage is to bar the dynamic energy of man from growth; it is to fixate the individual in immaturity. It is to make maturity almost impossible. Sex censorship in a people stratifies and perpetuates infantility; it is the profoundest imaginable check on the emotional growth which must precede the growth of intelligence and of the spirit.

But, it will surely be said: Does not the fact of sex censorship precisely assume that sex is *not* a private but a public matter? If our society considered sex as private, would it bother about sex at all? Such a question is an instance of the confusion of ideas in which we live. Sex censorship is the voice of the democracy saying: "Sex is private, therefore keep it under cover. Sex is private: any art or word that brings it into communal experience is vicious." And it is the voice of the person, saying: "Sex is all my own—I must keep it away from the mob."

Thus a series of vicious circles is set up—an almost infinite series. Regarding sex as a private behavior the individual does not, by the free use of its esthetic and vicarious expression, come into contact with his fellows (often, he does not come into true contact even with his lover). And the crowd, thus deprived of this flowing energy, continues to be a mass of thwarted, repressed, insulate, repressive creatures. *It* cannot grow; its insecurity turns into aggressive denial, and the individual, having failed to nurture the group, is not nurtured by it.

A democratic world such as ours, in which the old group integrations have dissolved and no new ones formed to replace them, tends toward sex censorship; and yet, above all other societies, needs freedom from it. For in such a mass democracy the individual is emotionally at a disadvantage. The hierarchic steps, whereby the individual in the old social orders came into contact with the whole, mediately through family and group, are wanting. Forced more and more to face the entire crowd, the person in a democracy is lost unless he has at his command great general appeals to make his contact. Such appeals, in America, are patriotism and money and exhibitions of money—the auto, radio, etc. But none of these has the profound life-giving potence, the *spiritual accessibility*

of esthetic sexual play. Freedom to join in a vicarious sex experience with others is the best palliative—the most creative—to the person's dreadful isolation in a democratic mob. And this, sex censorship denies.

Against the natural articulation of such deep causes, the common run of "protests" and of remedies cannot avail. To exclaim about freedom is futile in a world where the democracy is constitutionally free to protect the neurosis of its individual members. To preach the sanctity of art is futile, in a world where sex is considered compulsively *sacred* and where what is *sacred* is furiously hid away as private. All "direct agitation" indeed, against this symptom of democratic rule and of "private selfhood" is futile. And the popularity of rhetorical objurgations against the Sumners and the Canon Chases reveals above all the willingness of our critics to substitute abuse for real thought about the depths of the issue.

Censorship is a mere minor symptom of the maladjustment between the American person and the people; between the American person and the world. It is a symptom of that confusion in our sense of self and of life, which is the mark of the era. To discuss its remedies apart from the organic problem of reëducation which crucially confronts mankind, is to give in to the temptation of magic.

WISDOM FOR PARENTS

BY JUDGE BEN. B. LINDSEY

For over twenty-seven years, through half of which I have had the sympathetic coöperation of my wife, whose desk is next to mine, and who there shares my confidences with youth, it has been my privilege and my delight to work in the midst of eternal childhood. Here, despite moments of blackness, the wind still blows in the willows, Pan still pipes in the springtime, and the very sky takes on a deeper azure from the long, long thoughts of youth.

I think that if the world better knew those thoughts and motives, how guileness and natural they are, how naïve, how holy in their unstudied honesty and simplicity even when they are most unwise, society might recover its sanity, healed as by a touch—such sanity as Christ was thinking of, when out of his fathomless insight into good and evil he said: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Little children! But what about the big ones? There are no big ones. We are a race of children. Childhood lasts from the cradle to the grave; and it was by no will of my own that they were defined by law in my court, as persons under twenty-one. Still, I have this consolation; while they are young they are plastic, divinely plastic. They bend without breaking; they mend with miraculous vitality; and about them still float those "trailing clouds of glory," tenuous yet indestructible, which are the heritage of childhood—and, let us hope, the ultimate inheritance of the human race.

I am going to say some things about certain of our social institutions which will often sound harshly critical, negative and destructive. When I daily saw young people, adolescents, and adults crushed and crippled by the machinery of life as we live it, I find restraint difficult and moderation of statement nearly impossible. And yet I would have the effect of a constructive one. Painful as are the diseases that afflict human society to-day, I have faith that they are really the discomforts of a change now visibly under way; and

part of my purpose in pointing out the facts is the hope that by intelligently understanding the truth we may so hasten our social evolution that swift decades rather than slow, circling centuries will suffice for some of the changes at least.

I am not attempting to offer solutions. I have no panacea. But I believe that if human society can ever be brought to diagnose its own case, and to understand clearly some of the things that are the matter with it, our nation mind—or whatever you choose to call the entity—will work the matter out to a reasonable solution.

As a nation we need to be psychoanalyzed. Modern psychology, within the last quarter of a century, has more and more assumed the aspects of an exact science; and so practical is it becoming that it has begun, slowly but surely, to bring the art of self-knowledge to the American people. I do not see how such knowledge can fail to bear fruit, nor how the truth, once known, can finally fail to make us free.

To foreshadow the future and to forecast the changes it may bring to human society in a time perhaps not far distant, it is of first importance that we should know the truth about society as it is. With the help of such knowledge it is well within our power to hasten the outcome; whereas if we continue fatuously to wallow in our ignorance of the truth, we shall certainly delay our own evolution, and needlessly stretch the span of human misery. Even to know and admit the truth about things is curative. Let us then candidly do that.

But to know and admit the truth, it is needful to look beneath as well as above the surfaces of life. That is what I have tried to do, and I realize with great regret that I have had to tell a story which will be shocking to a great many persons. Of these some will shut their eyes to the facts; others will flatly and angrily deny them; and a saving remnant will look upon them without fear and find good in them. It is for these last that I write.

Shocks are needed now and then to rouse us from our lethargy and complacency. Conservative and conventional people relish them as little as they do the first shock of a cold bath. They want to be comfortable; and if silence and hypocrisy will make them comfortable, then they are for that.

But if the truth hurts most of us so badly that we do not want it told, it hurts even more grievously those who dare to tell it. It is a two-edged sword, often deadly dangerous to the user. I learned this more than ten years ago, when in *The Beast and the Jungle*

I told the truth about politics in the city of Denver and successfully challenged all America to deny that it was the truth about all cities. I am crippled in my work to this day by the bitter enemies aroused through that book; but though it saddens me to have had to pay such a price, yet I do not grudge it. Who am I to complain? Has not that always been the price? Of those who read my story of *The Revolt of Modern Youth* I do not necessarily ask for complete agreement with my views; but I do ask that they will believe in my sincerity.

What I am pleading for is justice, the justice so long denied mankind, particularly the women and children part of it. The injustices I have seen in my long career on the bench have filled me with an indignation that can no longer be silent.

In crying out against these injustices I have found the utmost plainness of speech necessary; and I have resorted to it even though I know it will often create the impression that I have wantonly and unnecessarily flouted many vital standards and conventions. But that interpretation of my attitude, I want, as far as possible, to prevent. Let me say here, then, with the utmost emphasis, that when I criticize many of our present standards and conventions it is not because I do not favor them; because I do favor them. Rather it is because they have become so involved in superstition and ignorance, and have often become so stale and thoroughly second-hand, that they have in a large measure ceased to function. As a race we have lost sight of the ideals and practical purposes that originally inspired them. Having accepted them without putting them to the test of reason and common-sense with a view to their revision, we have misinterpreted them. Consequently we have come to regard them as ends in themselves, as so many formulas in magic; and instead of carrying out the ideals that once lay back of them, we are in a large measure unconsciously frustrating those ideals. Thus many of our most important conventions make to-day for immorality, though their original aim was morality. And by the same token, our social tree bears the bitter fruit of injustice instead of the wholesome fruit of justice.

It is hard to write of these things and at the same time cling firmly to the understatement; but I think I have done it. Also it is hard to write about these wrongs without a mounting indignation which is undesirable because it tends to alienate the reader. This I have tried to avoid also. But if at times I have not succeeded, I hope I have at least made it clear that I am as much in favor of

our necessary traditions and conventions as anybody. I am as much for what is really meant by marriage, virtue, chastity, and so on, as any one could be. It is in that sense that I speak of them; and it is for that reason that I reject many of the shams that are offered us in their place under similar names.

Thus we come first of all to the need for an honest statement of the nature of *Human Society As Is*, and a rejection of those deceiving appearances which we find it comfortable, in our fool's paradise, to accept as the reality. This involves an account of the growing signs of rebellion on the part of modern youth; a rebellion which is youth's instinctive reaction against our system of taboos, tribal suggestions, intolerances and hypocrisies. These things contain within themselves the seeds of their own destruction; and that destruction will finally prove medicinal, bitter to the mouth but sweet to the belly.

Because of my faith in the final outcome of these changes I discuss with charity and sympathy the signs that forecast them. But this does not mean that I necessarily approve of all that is happening, or that I would not have it otherwise if I could. Doubtless there is much lost motion in these changes, and doubtless the application of reason in human affairs can save us much disaster and delay. My plea is for the use of reason about things toward which most of our present reactions are blindly habitual.

For instance, take the institution of marriage, the most fundamental institution in the world, the instrument whose intelligent use can regenerate and save the race. What a world tragedy it is that such an institution should be permitted to grow untended, like a rank weed in a neglected garden! To protest against this neglect of it is surely not to condemn it; but rather to register a profound faith in its possibilities.

The youth of to-day is tampering extensively with the institution of marriage. Some of the tampering is unwise. But what is the remedy? And how can youth be persuaded to caution amid these dangers? Can it be done by assuming toward youth an attitude of pharisaical hostility and fierce intolerance? No,—these are capable of producing nothing but defiance and more intolerance from youth. Or is the remedy rather to discuss in the open, to advise, to counsel, to sympathize? Surely there is no room for a difference here.

Thirty, forty years ago, youth could not have flung such a challenge with the least hope of success. To-day, the day of the

automobile, the telephone, speed, good wages, and an unheard of degree of economic independence for everybody, it can.

I really see no remedy for all this, unless we of the adult generation can bring ourselves to treat these boys and girls with some respect, and as equals. By that I do not mean being "pals" with them. Adults as a rule are not pals with children. Their interests are different from the interests and the point of view of youngsters; and any adult who tries to palm himself off as "young" in that sense too often fails. What I do mean is sympathy and understanding and tolerance, and a complete willingness to let young people order their own lives in the light of the facts. Such a course on the part of any adult instantly wipes out the antagonism, the rudeness, the defiance now so in evidence. It never fails. I have never known it to fail in over twenty-five years of my experience in dealing with youth of all sorts and conditions, save in the case of the feeble-minded.

More than that, young people, when treated in that way, become humble, receptive, eager to learn, and perfectly free from the cocksureness which is traditionally supposed to be an attribute of youth. The cocksureness of youth is nothing but a brave effort to cover up its own doubts and weaknesses from the eyes of an non-understanding, unsympathetic adult world. It vanishes at the first sympathetic touch, and one and all they become little children, pitifully eager for light and guidance, and demanding of you only, "When you say that, *smile!*" And if you cannot say it with a smile, God help you; for savagery, fear, and superstition beget their like, and you have turned them loose to ravage the soul of your own child.

Your own children are intelligent, right minded, and full of fine aspirations and quick sympathies, just as you have always hoped and wanted; and honesty and kindness touch them where they live. Believe this of them, and rejoice in your hearts, on comparing them with yourselves, that they in the days of their youth, at least, are an improvement on the rag-tag and bobtail of adult Puritanism that begot them.

Do not let the stick that has tarred you disfigure them. Throw it away. They need no beating, either with that or any other stick. Mentally, save in experience and knowledge of fact, they are your equals; morally they are often your superiors, particularly in honesty. Treat their minds with respect, therefore; instruct them; and then leave the ordering of their lives to them. They will meet the

responsibility with a more generous idealism than is evident in the lives of most of their elders.

It isn't so very long since one of the administrators of our Denver schools said in a newspaper interview that he did not believe that one per cent of High School students go wrong, and that my estimates, running to much higher figures, are gross exaggerations resulting from my constant contact with delinquent cases. I may add that he evidently believes such things could not go on right under his eyes and he not see them. I find that all too large a portion of the teaching profession has jollied itself into believing that.

But when the boys and girls of High School age get to telling me things, they do not stop with themselves. They tell me about other students who need my help; and I can follow the thread from case to case at any time as far as I may have the time and physical strength to go, and still it travels on and on. I have said many times, and I maintain it now, that from any ordinary cases, selected at random, I can uncover a thousand; and that the rate of increase in the revelations will be in an almost geometrical ratio. The ordinary delinquent generally can tell of at least one to two others whose way of thought has been sympathetic to his. It is the getting found out that is exceptional. They do not get found out, one time in ten. Indeed, I regard this estimate as conservative. It is a mystery to me how more than one in fifty ever gets found out—and for all I know to the contrary that might well be the ratio.

I am in constant touch, confidential touch, with scores of these boys and girls; they tell me things; and when I piece together this patchwork of information, coming in constantly from such diverse sources, none of which knows of the others—information all of which is approximately of the same import—why I get a picture of the whole which I believe is a true picture. And I have yet to see the parent or teacher that had come within a thousand miles of possessing the same information or of having any way of getting it.

To many this will seem a shocking statement—though it is not to be compared for shocking power with certain things I shall say presently. Those who are shocked will, of course, reply in the usual way. They will turn the picture I have drawn to face the wall. They will repeat that my contact with delinquents has warped my vision, and that I know nothing of the wholesome girls and boys because these do not come to my court. In that they are quite wrong. Scores and hundreds of the young people of Denver came to meet

me and to watch the Juvenile Court in action not because they have ever been guilty of delinquencies themselves but because they were interested and wanted to see what it is all about. And then we ran a Juvenile Employment Agency in connection with the court. This brought to us many of the finest and best youth of the city. Many came also to consult me about friends of theirs who have gotten into trouble or who needed guidance or help. Some came with their parents. Some are sent by their parents, who wisely wished them to have some first-hand contact with things as they are. Thus my contact with wholesome boys and girls was quite as extensive as my contact with those who, in the judgment of their adult contemporaries, are not wholesome.

That method of closing the argument, by maligning the character of my young friends, is an old story in Denver. I recall a Denver minister, for instance, who some years ago publicly denounced me and my warped vision, and my "libels on American youth." His eloquence was as great as his indignation, and I do not doubt that many were convinced by his fiery words. As he spoke those words, he no doubt had in mind the vision of his own sweet and beautiful daughter. Perhaps she sat there listening to his words. How unthinkable that she, or that thousands of other pure young girls in Denver, could be considered in the same breath with such preposterous notions. For his premise was that to say or admit that young people make mistakes, particularly in matters of sex contact, is to say that they are *immoral,* a view with which I strongly disagree.

Well, at the time those words were uttered, in denunciation of me, that young girl was under my care, and I was having her treated for an infection by a physician on whose discretion I could rely. Her father did not know it; and he does not know it to this day. He would drop dead if he did. Knowing that he must not be told, she was forced to come to me for the help, tolerance and loving sympathy she should have been able to seek from him. Tell her father? What a pity she cannot! What a pity it is that he would merely mess things up if he knew the truth! What a pity his own intolerance barred her way to his confidence!

That girl was a perfect example of the futility of trying to bring up our young people by methods that have been notoriously ineffective through all the ages, and which to-day, under modern conditions, are more absurd than ever. She had been carefully guarded. She did not dance, she had never seen a motion picture

show; she didn't play cards because card playing was sinful; and her so-called religion was a system of voodoo worship in the service of a wrathful God, whose chief function was to punish the imperfect creatures he had made, and reward the few who might pull through with his approval.

These young people are not bad and they are not as much to blame as some of their elders, themselves the victims of our social system. If society had intended young people to follow such lines of conduct it could hardly have devised a way of treatment more certain to turn them in that direction than that which it follows at present. My justification for bringing these cases so close home to the clergy and the church is that they clearly prove that the church, by its present methods, has been unable to cope with these conditions among modern youth.

And speaking of that "one per cent," I recall another pedagogical authority, who happens to be one of my best friends, a man who has unselfishly devoted a lifetime to the service of youth. In a moment of exasperated frankness he told me to my face that he thought I had gone rabid about sex delinquencies on the part of young people as a result of having so many such cases to deal with, and that my vision was evidently distorted because I never came in contact with the big majority of wholesome girls and boys who are free from such obsessions and mistakes. He added that in all his years of teaching, he had only known personally three or four cases of sex delinquency on the part of girls.

I retorted that he would be interested to know that on that very day I had had precisely four such cases, all of them from Denver High Schools, and one of them from his own school—a girl he thought he knew and understood very well, a girl he never would have suspected of such an offense if he had been given a year to think it out. There was no reason why he should suspect her, of course, I told him, for he was not in her confidence.

He replied that the rule of the School Board was that teachers could not accept from children confidences which they could not at once communicate to their parents. Also that any girl or boy known to be involved in sex delinquencies should at once be expelled —which was, of course, publicly to expose them and destroy their self-respect.

With such rules could any one be surprised that such schools and teachers know nothing about modern youth?

For the present I want to make myself very clear on one point.

Not only is this revolt from old standards of conduct taking place, but it is unlike any revolt that has ever taken place before. Youth has always been rebellious; youth has always shocked the older generation. That is traditional. The "modern girl," wearing skirts that reached only to her shoe tops, was a "problem" in mid-Victorian England. But this is different. It has the whole weight and momentum of a new scientific and economic order behind it. It has come in an age of speed and science; an age when women vote and can make their own living; an age in which the fear of Hell-fire has lost its hold. In the past the revolt of youth always turned out to be a futile gesture. It never brought much change. But now the gun is loaded. These boys and girls can do what boys and girls never were able to do in the past. They can live up to their manifesto, and nothing can prevent them. The external restraints, economic restraints that were once so potent, have gone never to return; and the sole question now is how soon and how effectively will the internal restraints of a voluntarily accepted code, which alone can keep people going straight, take their place. I think this is already happening. I do not think this younger generation is just a blindfolded bull in a china-shop. I think, considering the temptations it is under, and considering the folly of the adult portion of the population, that it is relatively the most moral and the most sane younger generation the world has ever seen.

At least fifty per cent of those who begin with hugging and kissing do not restrict themselves to that, but go further, and indulge in other sex liberties which, by all the conventions, are outrageously improper.

I need not say that this is a difficult and dangerous problem. It is one which cannot be met by denunciation or watchfulness on the part of adults. It can be met only by a voluntarily adopted code of manners—by genuine internal restraints approved and adopted by the young people themselves. Such a code can be called into free and spontaneous action only by education of the frankest and most thorough-going sort. Ignorance and fear are back of the whole melancholy business.

These familiarities, quite apart from the obvious danger that they will lead to other things, are responsible for much nervous trouble among young girls, and for the prevalence of certain physical ailments which are peculiar to them. Of this fact most parents and teachers are completely ignorant. Many parents would not impart this important information to their daughters, even if they

possessed it. And yet ignorance of the truth is what causes girls to allow that kind of thing.

I am told by eminent physicians that so far as the moral and physical results are concerned, the effect of such half-way improprieties on these young girls is just as dangerous as if they yielded themselves completely. So far as I can see few parents are aware of that fact. All of which goes to show how inherited conventions warp our minds. The parents mean well, they would do anything to save their children from folly and misery; anything but enlighten them. Thus, in spite of their greater years of experience, they remain as much at sea as are their children to whom they so carefully bequeath their own ignorance.

The plain fact is that society has taught girls that they must at all costs avoid the social stigma of an illegitimate pregnancy, because that means getting found out, and therefore social ostracism; and so, being badly educated in this matter, they conclude that the moral dereliction involved in the sexual act is greater than the moral dereliction involved in liberties whose only possible justification would be that they sought consummation in that act. Evidently the moral dereliction of such outrages is quite as great as complete, improper yielding to the normal impulses of sex. In the judgment of many physicians, in fact, the effect, mentally and physically, may be even worse.

But how lamentable that our young people are ridden by the inherited tradition that there is something shameful and immoral in the sexual act itself even when prompted by sincere love and emotional exaltation. How unfortunate that they should have been made blind to the fact that the problem here is not one of outwardly imposed *morals*, but rather of voluntary internal restraints on the conduct of individuals that will serve to maintain human society on a workable basis—not a taboo which forbids this or that kind of conduct, but an enlightened freedom which confers, like a crown of life, the liberty and the ability to do right. You can depend upon it that whenever these youngsters have a false and rotten idea, they have probably inherited it as one of the superstitions and traditions that enslaves their elders; and that, as a rule, whenever they have an honest, candid, clear-thinking moment, they have dug that up for themselves.

That a large percentage indulge in half-way sex intimacies that wreck the health and morals alike, instances an example of the effects on human life of false and illogical thinking—or, if you

will, logical thinking based on false premises. Such is the fruit of some of the most stubbornly cherished of our puritan traditions, of our lies, our hypocrisies, our concealments, and our unwillingness to face the facts of sex and to tell the whole world, young and old, the whole truth about it.

No normal girl would ever submit to these outrages if she knew the truth. A few morons and half-wits might; but not normal girls. That such things are happening seems to me one of the very ugliest facts in our social life to-day. And nothing but complete confusion of mind, and a terrible want of honesty about questions of right and wrong, and an unconscious hypocrisy that confuses morality with conventionality, could possibly account for it.

So much for that. A large percentage, perhaps from fifteen to twenty-five, of those who begin with the hugging and kissing eventually "go the limit." This does not, in most cases, mean either promiscuity or frequency, but it happens. To most persons reasonably well acquainted with girls and boys of high school age, that estimate will doubtless appear excessive. Note the case already mentioned of the school-executive who places these figures at one per cent, and who thinks I am rabid on the whole subject.

I can only say that the estimates come from high school students, and that they are the most conservative estimates I have received from that source. If I should name the figures I get from a majority of my informants they would merely excite incredulity and hostility. The accusation that my opinions about sexual delinquency in young people is a libel on the youth of America is an old story with me. I am used to the charge. Still, it is not my purpose to shock anybody more than I have to. Of course I am not libeling the youth of America. I am one of its best friends; it is for this reason that I want to protect it with the truth about itself as told by itself. For more than twenty-five years I have devoted my life to my young friends, and I have had hundreds of them ask me to do what I am here doing.

Many educational authorities who attempt to make estimates in this matter forget that they have long and consistently cut themselves off from the one authentic source of information, the young people themselves; since boys and girls—particularly girls—in our Denver schools who, through bad management or bad luck, get found out in sexual delinquencies, are summarily expelled, on the theory that they are bad, immoral, and a danger to their fellows—like so many lepers running around loose in a community otherwise

free from leprosy! Oh, yes, they really think the community is otherwise free from leprosy!

Some time ago a girl and boy were brought before me. Both of them were twelve years old, and attended a junior high school. They were precocious youngsters and had gone too far; but they were both of them fine, sweet children, and they were not bad by any possible stretch of a sane imagination.

Their teacher insisted that the reform school was the place for both of them. She indignantly informed me so far as the boy was concerned, if I insisted on returning him to the school, she would resign her position.

Such is the point of view by which such teachers cut themselves off from any real knowledge of what is going on right under their noses. But most people are unintelligent about all that concerns conduct, and such teachers are just people. Still—it is too bad.

But are they competent to talk in authoritative percentages on the subject of such delinquency? I think not.

I have at hand certain figures which indicate with certainty that for every case of sex delinquency discovered, a very large number completely escape detection. For instance, out of 495 girls of high school age—though not all of them were in high school—who admitted to me that they had had sex experiences with boys, only about twenty-five became pregnant. That is about five per cent, a ratio of one in twenty. The others avoided pregnancy, some by luck, others because they had a knowledge of more or less effective contraceptive methods—a knowledge, by the way, which I find to be more common among them than is generally supposed.

Now the point is this: First, that three-fourths of that list of nearly five hundred girls came to me of their own accord for one reason or another. Some were pregnant, some were diseased, some were remorseful, some wanted counsel, and so on. Second, the thing that always brought them to me was their acute need for help of some kind. Had they not felt that need, they would not have come. For every girl who came for help, there must have been a great many, a majority, who did not come because they did not want help, and therefore kept their own counsel.

In other words, that 495—covering a period of less than two years—represented a small group, drawn from all levels of society, that did not know the ropes, and got into trouble of one kind or another; but there was certainly a much larger group that did know the ropes, and never came around at all. My own opinion is

that for every girl who comes to me for help because she is pregnant, or diseased, or in need of comfort, there are many more who do not because they escape scot-free of consequences, or else because circumstances are such that they can meet the situation themselves. Hundreds, for instance, resort to the abortionist. I do not guess this. I know it.

Place the conception of children absolutely within the control of the people who are to have them, and the economic difficulty which makes marriage such a tragedy to-day in so many lives would be largely cleared up. Many a young couple could live together happily on a little money if they had no babies; and later, as their income increased, and as their certainty of each other crystallized into a permanent partnership, they could have the babies, and would. As it is they marry on a little; have babies when they cannot afford them; and are dragged down and worn out by a burden too heavy for their shoulders. For these reasons, thousands of them are coming into the domestic relations and divorce courts. The woman becomes a neurotic drudge, and the husband finds life converted into a treadmill. Their dreams have fled, and thereafter they worry along as best as they can—or if they cannot, get a divorce.

Under the one system, they might have had a full and happy life, she retaining her beauty and poise, and he his youthful hope and energy. Under the other they have violated every essential law of life, and must pay the tragic penalty,—a penalty which society shares because it decreases their ability to lead full and productive lives. Marriage would seldom be a failure under right biological and economic conditions; and, by the same token, it can hardly escape failure when it is under the conspicuously wrong biological and economic conditions in which it struggles along at present.

The wonder is that our divorce courts are not twice as busy as they are. Why anybody should be struck with wonder, horror or amazement at our divorce statistics I cannot understand. What we had far better marvel at is the number of human beings who see the arrangement through under such unspeakably idiotic conditions.

Marriage is a feasible enough arrangement if we would but give it a chance. But ignorance, poverty, poor health, and unwanted children, often physically and mentally subnormal, combine to jam the whole works. It is a crime that children should be conceived under such conditions. It is a crime that we should permit ourselves to spawn as if we were a race of frogs.

Ignorance means more than the inability to think straight which is so diligently fostered under our present ways of education. It means also a want of knowledge of the basic facts which people need to think with.

In marriage it means, among other things, a want of knowledge of sex facts. Men and women have, as a rule, only the haziest notion of the part which sex plays in their lives. Most of them think their sex relations will take care of themselves. And so they neglect the whole matter, and shirk the disciplines it imposes, till their lives are like unweeded gardens, and sex itself becomes a byword instead of a sacred responsibility.

No art ever takes care of itself; and love-making is the most vital and important of all the arts because it is the psychological and biological root of all of them.

In this connection André Tridon says in his excellent book *Psychoanalysis and Love:* "Considering the artificial character of the marriage union, and at the same time the psychological importance of its durability as far as the mental health of the off-spring is concerned, one of the most pressing duties of the community (and one which it never performs), should be to devise all the possible ways and means whereby the sex cravings of both mates could be helped to retain their freshness and strength as long as possible."

This writer then goes on to say that personal attractiveness and beauty in men and women are assets of the utmost importance, and that these should be retained and fostered, by artificial means if necessary, to prevent the dying out of erotism as a result of the humdrum and habit of daily life. In this erotic sense, if in no other, beauty and health are a duty to the race.

Poverty does much to make the retention of beauty and health in marriage impossible. The tension of fear which goes with poverty also makes love-making in marriage often impossible—for relaxation, security, and ease are necessary to courtship.

Another factor which makes trouble in marriage is partly the fruit of ignorance and partly the fruit of fear and poverty. I refer to the way in which married persons insist on modifying and changing each other's personalities. In courtship before marriage there is a scrupulous respect shown by the two parties for each other's ego. But after marriage this passes—and love is likely to pass with it.

The usual theory is that in marriage the couple should become slavishly adapted to each other. I deny it. Nobody should in this sense adapt himself or herself to anybody. When people adapt them-

selves they simply cork themselves up. That kind of "adaptation" is an ignoble form of domestic pacifism, wherein peace-at-any-price weaklings of both sexes sell their souls for a mess of pottage. They want comfort, and they get it—for a time. But it is simply a case where one lie and polite concealment leads to another, and where the tyranny of the one with the stronger personality slowly but surely and crushingly asserts itself. For such suppressions of themselves thousands of married persons are paying the penalty of untoward neurotic disturbances. Often the weaker mate in such marriages becomes sexually disabled, the only form of revenge the harried subconscious can resort to; and the consequent cases of chronic illness, the nervous prostrations, and the like that fill the offices of physicians, neurologists and psychologists are legion.

What married people need is not adaptability but rather a sturdy egotism combined with mutual respect and tolerance—and with complete intolerance both of female nagging and of male bullying, an intolerance as complete as it ever is in courtship. Submission to such tyranny is fatal. But so is the heat of anger and resentment. Candid reasoning is the only thing that ever can define the issue in such cases.

Integrity of the personality, which is possible only through independence of thought and action, and through freedom from fear, is of double importance in marriage because it is the only thing that can make a man and a woman permanently attractive to each other in a sexual way.

There are persons who maintain that the permanence of this attraction in marriage is not important, and that it dies out anyway into a platonic relationship in the course of a few humdrum years. Very true. It usually does. And thereby hangs the tale of most divorces.

Under favorable conditions a husband and wife should remain sexually attractive to each other during the whole period of their physical potency; and the rich symbolism of their sex life together should by then be so rooted and permanent that their relationship as sweethearts will remain vigorous and sweet, till their life's end. But the conditions of marriage usually tend to make such a relationship impossible. And this is one of the greatest tragedies of our civilization.

The part which vigor and fearlessness of personality can play in the sex relationship is sufficiently well shown in the charming coquetry and high and mighty independence which young girls

show toward youths who seek their favor. It is also well shown in the liking which women have for the so-called masterful type of man, and for the overworked "cave-man stuff."

If the conditions of marriage were such that they would make possible a continuance of the independence and the freedom from fear which marks courtship, then marital love would have something to build on which it lacks at present. Such independence and freedom from fear would, so to speak, enlarge the personalities of the wife and the husband in each other's eyes, just as it does in courtship. They would thus become worth while to each other, and remain so; and their union would be free from that mutual indifference—the fruit of humdrum contacts—which is more truly an infidelity than adultery itself,—and is, indeed, the chief cause of adultery. Such indifference is an infidelity because it makes impossible these complex psychological conditions which led to sex satisfaction. It thus strikes at the very root of the union.

Independence and freedom from fear are difficult to attain in any relationship where one of the parties is in the position of a dependent, living on such bounty as the whim of the other cares to extend, and perhaps extends grudgingly at that. While such a condition of things exists equality in the partnership is not possible. In fact it is not a partnership; it is merely an arrangement by which the economically dependent party is kept by the other party for reasons which soon begin to dwindle in importance. Some persons have so little self-respect that they do not mind this; and there are men who marry women of fortune, frankly content to subsist on their bounty, just as there are women who marry men merely to exploit them. This is married prostitution.

The economic independence of women in marriage would go far to solve this problem. But it is difficult to conceive of any plan whereby such independence of married women would be practicable or possible under our present social order. Economic independence before marriage is now common enough, and grows more so; and it is true that when a woman has once proved to her own satisfaction her ability to earn a living for herself she will always have a sense of independence that will profoundly affect her relationship to her husband. She can always leave him; and she does not have to accept bed and board as if she were a mistress selling her body for these commodities.

And yet, when all is said and done, the wage earner in the marriage combination has the advantage if he chooses to take it, and

if he chooses to violate the self-evident proposition that when a man marries a woman he does not employ a mistress but enters into a partnership of absolute equality, wherein the woman is quite likely to contribute more than he.

The unfortunate thing about this is that in society as it is now, the bearing and rearing of children places the woman at the husband's mercy. In consenting to have children she "gives hostages to fortune." When Bacon said that the man who marries gives hostages to fortune, he might have added that this was doubly true of the man's wife. It is one reason why so many married women dread—what they naturally most desire—motherhood.

For this there is no specific, made-to-order remedy—for obviously it is a matter of personal conduct based on internal, rather than external, restraints. A trained ethical sense is the natural remedy, and the only remedy.

Legislation of the right sort, it is true, may enable the State to extend alleviation in extreme cases, such as those which come up in my court all the time; but that does not meet the needs of those persons unwilling to resort to law and who prefer to bear their trials in silence.

Some have proposed that the State assure the support of mothers and their children by a system of pensions. But this mother has one standard of living, and that one has another; this one lives in two rooms, and that in twelve. What would be aid to one would not be a drop in the bucket to the other. However, properly understood, there should be no such thing as pensions for mothers. It should be rather, aid for children—as it is in Colorado. The State is as vitally interested in the child as the parent, and should therefore aid the child for its own sake, making of the parents simply trustees of the funds provided. I continually found it necessary to force husbands to support their families, and to require them, on pain of imprisonment, to contribute certain percentages of their incomes. But if the worst comes to the worst, and the husband disobeyed, and I sent him to prison, that leaves his family with nothing at all. If the man could earn something substantial in prison that would help; but there is as yet no such adequate provision in any State. A commendable effort of this kind has recently been undertaken in California; and within another year a similar step is expected to be taken in Colorado.

Legislation of the right sort would improve these conditions; but the only legislation I can conceive of that would really get

permanent results would be the sort providing for the adequate education of everybody, parents as well as children; and that, needless to say, is a long way ahead. I have several times in recent years presented to our Colorado legislature bills providing for the compulsory education of parents, especially in matters pertaining to sex hygiene, and the proper rearing of children. Since the State refuses to educate children for parenthood my idea was that we might at least do something by educating the parents about childhood.

To those of us who believe that we have a clear vision of how things ought to be, these changes seem to come with desperate slowness. Sometimes it is very discouraging. But from another point of view they are not coming slowly. They are coming with almost dizzy speed. It is astounding to consider that most of the changes which I am discussing are a product of the last ten years, though thoughtful persons perceived long before that something of the kind was on the way. For instance an increasing number of married persons are acquiring notions of justice and fair dealing, financial and economic, in the marriage relationship which they never learned in school, and which are an outcropping of the spirit of the times. The old idea that what a husband earns belongs to him, and that whatever he gives his wife and family is a gratuity provided by his lordly bounty and generosity is no longer fashionable. Women no longer tamely accept this view. Women are carrying over into marriage those practical principles of equity and common sense which they learn in business before they get married. An increasing participation in business, and in the world of affairs, had done it; and to the shame of our schools and churches it must be said that they have contributed too little to this change. Once women were ignorant of these matters, and the man determined the economic basis of the marriage. Now the woman is more sophisticated, and insists from the start on terms similar to those of any real partnership. From the start it is made clear that her contribution in marriage is quite as valuable as money. Joint bank accounts are more common than they used to be, and the man who keeps his wife helpless simply by keeping her poor is slowly becoming a back number.

I need not add that men who, after marriage, deliberately make dependents of their wives deprive themselves of the very thing they sought in the days of their courtship, rapport with another free personality. It is also evident that such wives will nag, be jealous,

and do all they can in the way of pettiness to compensate for their own sense of helplessness.

I think it is possible that a considerable portion of the race will soon become educated to this ideal of marriage as a partnership composed of two independent personalities, who must first of all respect each other. I think the revolt in which our younger generation is now engaged clearly tends in that direction. A significant thing I should record here is that in many cases of cohabitation without marriage that have come under my observation, the arrangement has apparently created this condition of mutual independence and respect between persons who might not have maintained it in marriage.

Yet I admit these things not with a sense of despair. How can it be possible, though one spoke like a sword or wrote with a pen of fire, to carry over at second-hand that sense of vivid conviction which comes only through immediate contact with the Fact itself. It is not enough that one's word be written, or that they be printed in a book.

I have tried to be honest and yet to present the truth of recorded fact in a way that would not be needlessly shocking to persons who find such departures from their routine way of thought disturbing; who think there is comfort and security in habit, safety in conservative tradition, and nothing but an unreasonable, foolish, and fruitless peril in the radicalism that, true to its name, digs and explores amid the roots of things. In life as in mathematics, a radical is the root. From it springs other life, luxuriant, spawning rankly abundant in the sun. Yet while it spawns it dreams—and dreams—and dreams of those illimitable things toward which it so awfully and mysteriously reaches. To me the whole meaning of radicalism is these first and last things; and the notion that it is merely a superficial and reckless extremism is itself a superficial reasoning that is unfortunately peculiar to most conservative thought. For conservative thought deals with the surfaces of things, not with their insides. It is interested in preserving the *World As Is*.

Particularly do I hope that my message will put heart and hope and understanding of self into many of our bewildered youth, especially those who have run afoul of certain of our conventions with no clear understanding of how they are and why. To these I say, lose your *conviction of sin*, order your lives sanely and courageously, and fear nothing; finally, try to impart to your children that gift of rational freedom which carries with it its own valid restraints,

its sane and cultured preferences, and legitimate and healthful aspirations. Let them march into the future over your bodies, to the end that your mistakes may be their ladder of ascent, and your darkness a light upon their ways. Thus your lives, in humble imitation of the life of the Master, may become the ransom for many.

SEX AND THE LAW

BY HUNTINGTON CAIRNS

THE VOICE of the priest drifting across the scorching sands surrounding the colossus at the entrance to the Temple of Abu-Simbel, behind which he was concealed, seemed, to the Egyptians of the thirteenth century before Christ, gathered there in prayer, to be issuing directly from the mouth of the god himself. It is true that the words were ordinary words, revealing no secrets of the ultimate nature of things, disclosing no facts concerning the world to which the spirits of good Egyptians emigrated. It was the great god Thoth who was speaking and he was adding merely another clause to the section of the sacred book of laws dealing with the location of the Nile banks during the flood season. More than three thousand years have elapsed since that clause became a part of the Egyptian law, but the great god Thoth is still speaking. Bishop Manning has had a message from him. "The laws of god regarding marriage," wrote the good Bishop recently, "are unalterable and therefore not to be questioned or debated."

The sacredness of law is an idea possessing attractiveness not only to those whose duty it is to obey it and to those whose duty it is to enforce obedience to it, but also to schools of juridical thought whose purpose has been to discover its end and its nature. Thus, the writers of the school of natural law which flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attempted to define a body of ideal legal principles which should be final throughout all time and space. Reason, the god of those centuries, would dictate the rules to which society would give unquestioning obedience. But the universal rules announced by the writers of that school proved to be as multitudinous and disparate as were the respective authors. The advent of the nineteenth century brought with it the historical school whose purpose also was to find universal rules of conduct. Reason, after all, was at best a somewhat clumsy tool, and absolute systems could not be found in the brains of philosophers as

the systems produced by the philosophers ably demonstrated. The real clue was the historical method, to find in the immemorial customs and folkways of the race the pattern sanctified by the behavior and desires of man for countless generations. But when the nineteenth century had but a few more years to run the storm broke and Mr. Justice Holmes, among others, pointed out that the historical school failed to make allowance for social considerations, and that when rules of law were announced confidently because they could be found by implication in the writings of a commentator of the middle ages, the rules were frequently opposed to the best interests of society. The adherents of the historical school fled to the impregnable sanctuary of philosophy, where everything and nothing could be demonstrated, and adopted in various forms the ideas of Kant and Hegel and Comte, to name only a few, as the foundation of their thought. The sterility of the philosophical school, however, soon became apparent, and the sociological school, the school of the present day, slowly emerged.

The task of sociological jurisprudence is the correlation of law with social fact; the method of sociological jurisprudence is the investigation of legal phenomena from the standpoint of the agencies contributing to the scientific study of human society. Sociological jurisprudence proceeds upon the theory that law is a form of social control, a pattern of rules, customs and taboos institutionalized by the workings of the societal process, and that, as a social institution, its concepts are subject to the same scrutiny as are the foundations of other organized forms of social control. The justification of this theory is not difficult for an age immersed in the philosophy of the social sciences. In truth, it appears as platitudinous as did the theory of the historical school to its leading exponents. But its obviousness in no way minimizes the difficulties to be surmounted. An adequate statement of the main principles of the law must be drafted, a machinery for measuring their social worth must be devised, a method of adapting legal principles to social facts when the principles are found to be at variance must be developed. But there must be more than this. The problem of the formulation of a body of social principles as a foundation for social conduct is the main task confronting the social sciences. Neither sociology nor psychology, anthropology nor economics, political science nor ethics, no one of the social sciences in fact, embraces a subject matter so inclusive as to enable it to solve this task alone. Progress is possible only through synthesis, and juris-

prudence is not, cannot be, the sheep outside the fold. The utilization of the conclusions of social study as the basis of legal action is imperative if law is to conform to what experience indicates is wise. The recognition of the principles of law as absolute and apart from the influences shaping society is a theory as untenable as its application is difficult. Future generations are certain to find dogmatism in any form obstructive. The test of validity is experience, not logic, as Kant showed long ago, and law as a rational, effective instrument for social good must find its source in principles socially sound.

The problem of the relation of law and sex is, in the main, an institutional problem. It involves a consideration from three points of view: first, the attitude of law towards the fact that there exists a division of the sexes, that the relation of man and woman can be considered from a biological and cultural standpoint; second, the attitude of the law, a social institution, that is, a mode of activity established for the achievement of certain ends within society, towards institutions which may be characterized as sexual, such as marriage and divorce; third, the attitude of the law towards individual sexual behavior. These three problems are, primarily, aspects of but one problem—institutional adjustment. In so far as the law is concerned with the equality or the inequality of man and woman it is concerned with it principally from the standpoint of its relation to institutions. Thus, because in the eyes of the early common law woman was of lesser quality than man she occupied an inferior position in the legal scale, being classed generally with children and the insane. But law is concerned only with relation and it is not interested in the inferiority of woman in the sense that a biologist might be. It is the relation of an inferior being, woman, to the right to control property, to the ability to make contracts, to the capacity to receive an inheritance, that has been the concern of the law. In the field of individual sexual behavior the law also finds the grounds for its authority in the relation of that behavior to institutions. Adultery, for example, as ground for divorce is but one phase of the question of the concept of the wife as the property of the husband. All of the sexual offenses of the common law, in fact, not classifiable as assault or injury to the person, were considered offenses, as Westermarck has amply shown, largely because of the influence of the institution of religion.

But while the problem of law and sex involves immediately the question of the relationship of one institution to others, it involves

ultimately the wider problem of social good. Institutional adjustment can only be dealt with from the standpoint of action to be taken for the more rational ordering of society. Where friction is found at the contacting points of organized modes of social control the question is not which institution shall be sacrificed but what modifications or adjustments are necessary in order that society may function with the least discord. Social good is the final criterion, not the preservation of institutions simply for their own sake.

"Let there be," wrote Mary Wollstonecraft long ago in the brilliant *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, "let there be, then, no coercion established in society, and the common law of gravity prevailing, the sexes will fall into their proper places." The legal or social coercion of one sex by the other is a phenomenon of such wide occurrence that it appears to be linked inextricably with the division of the sexes themselves. In societies where either sex is dominant the condition seems to members of that society to be based upon biological or cultural superiorities or deficiencies which are peculiarly the possession of a single sex. Nothing, it is perhaps superfluous to say, could be further from the truth. Neither sex exclusively possesses biological or intellectual qualities which give it any natural right of authority over the opposite sex. This idea, it must be confessed, is one which has rarely found favor. It does not mean, of course, that protective measures should not be taken for the welfare of the sexes in society. Men, as well as women, need protection from long hours of fatiguing labor and from unhealthful working conditions. It means, simply, social equality, equal freedom for man and woman in the social organization. The only possible ground for the denial of this freedom to either sex would be that one sex by reason of some infirmity not possessed by the opposite sex was unfit or unable to exercise that freedom. The search for such an infirmity has, from the remote past to the present day, moved some of the wisest of the race to an extraordinary diligence in the collection of favorable material. Aristotle, for example, whose amazing labors in the field of natural science were nothing short of herculean, classified woman as an arrested development, nature's failure to make a man. But speculation is not immune to changing fashions and Sir Almroth Wright declares that woman is the true race type, that man is the sexual variant. Wright's statement is based upon the gynæcocentric theory first advanced by Lester Ward. In the opinion of Ward the female sex was the primary and the male sex the secondary in the organic

scheme. Both Aristotle's theory and Ward's theory have, however, been disproved by modern biology. Darwin, on the other hand, investigated with some thoroughness the idea that the male exhibits a greater variational tendency than does the female. This theory accounts for the fact that genius and idiocy occur unquestionably more frequently among men than among women. The theory, while it is generally attacked by the more ardent feminists, has a degree of scientific support. It is regarded as sound, for example, by Havelock Ellis, who, to say the least, is free from all suspicion of assuming an attitude inimical to the welfare of women. Theories of this type constitute the sole possible ground for a denial of social equality to either sex and they are plainly no ground at all. Society has promulgated laws for the protection of idiots; it may possibly make laws for the protection of genius; but neither genius nor idiocy as it displays itself in the sexes has anything to do with the question of social equality. In any society where social inequality exists, where coercion has been established, it is not the result of a rational planning based upon the capabilities or limitations of one of the sexes, but it is the result of customs and prejudices based upon the grossest superstitions.

The number of factors entering into the determination of the status of the sexes in a given society is so multitudinous that it is impossible to ascribe the result to any single cause. At one extreme, among the Andaman Islanders for example, woman is for all practical purposes the superior of man; at the other extreme woman is regarded, as among the Chinese, as the definite inferior of man. Between the poles of these two concepts lie all manner of gradations. The very fact that these gradations do exist, that both sexes are engaged in different parts of the world in occupations which would be regarded in other parts of the world as beyond their capabilities or as productive of dire calamities if persisted in, is in itself a sufficient refutation of the idea that social equality must be denied to one sex or the other upon biological grounds.

While no single factor is responsible for the relative position of the sexes in a given society, the factors which do determine the status may be grouped generally under the heading of magic or religion. It may seem paradoxical that the same principle can explain the relatively exalted position of women in one society and their degraded condition in another, but once the general concept of woman is understood this will be plain. Woman, from primitive times to the present day, has always been intimately associated,

either as an object of veneration or scorn, with the mysteries of magic and religion. Throughout all primitive cultures the powers of witchcraft are regarded as belonging particularly to women; in the religions of societies in more advanced civilizations the inferior position assigned to women is explained upon the ground of either a direct divine injunction or upon the theory that the processes of evil are related closely to her. It is not difficult for the veneration accorded women, because of the magical qualities they are believed to possess, to be converted into a fear and a scorn which would have the effect upon the social organization of reducing women to a decidedly subordinate status. The step from the idea of woman as an agent of evil to the fact of wife purchase and the concept of woman as a chattel is a small one. It is thus upon the ground of inferiority in the sight of a Supreme Being that women in China are believed to be inferior to men. "Man is the representative of Heaven," wrote Confucius, "and is supreme over all things. Woman yields obedience to the instructions of man, and helps to carry out his principles. On this account she can determine nothing of herself, and is subject to the rule of the three obediences. When young, she must obey her father and elder brother; when married, she must obey her husband; when her husband is dead, she must obey her son." Whenever one sex becomes jealous of the privileges or fearful of the power of the opposite sex the process of rationalization will easily remodel the concepts upon which the privileges or the power are based so that these prerogatives will either partially or entirely cease to be the exclusive rights of that sex.

The idea of woman as the special object or agent of religious influences is naturally reflected in the legal systems of primitive and civilized peoples, and her status from the beginnings of civilization has fluctuated extraordinarily as her identification with religious ideas has been remote or close. According to the code of Hammurabi, the earliest written law we possess, her position among the Babylonians was very high. Her status in the social organization of Egypt was, for the most part, one of complete equality with man. At the very end, when the forces which had infused that civilization for thousands of years with vitality began to disintegrate, her position rose even higher as the race turned, with religious fervency for consolation, to the everlasting conserving power which women seem to possess in the eyes of societies dying from exhaustion. Among the Greeks the position of woman was as debased as it was exalted by the Egyptians. Her education consisted of being

taught to spin, to weave and to cook. She could not inherit property, not even from her husband, and at all times she remained under the guardianship of her father who could, if he chose, force her to leave her husband and return to his home. The status of women in Rome was a peculiar one. On the surface, it was probably the lowest known to history. The doctrine of *patria potestas* of which the Romans were immensely proud gave the husband absolute power over his wife, even to the infliction of death. "If," wrote Cato, "thou findest thy wife in adultery, thou art free to kill her without trial, and canst not be punished. If, on the other hand, thou committest adultery, she durst not, and she has no right to, so much as lay a finger on thee." Women were also forbidden to drink wine, and the Romans were fond of relating the story, perhaps apocryphal, of Egnatius who, upon surprising his wife in the very act of tasting the forbidden liquid, beat her to death. But legal theory and custom did not in Rome as elsewhere always go hand in hand. Actually, the position of woman was one of the highest, if not the highest, she has ever achieved. She received the identical education the man received and she was treated in all respects as an equal. This enlightened conception of woman persisted for some time after the decline of the Roman Empire, but the rise of Christianity, with its degraded view of woman, eventually destroyed this concept and replaced it with the idea of woman as a being inherently vile. Tertullian, one of the greatest of the early Christian fathers, if perhaps the most erratic, addressed women thus: "Do you know that each one of you is an Eve? The sentence of God on this sex of yours lives in this age: the guilt must of necessity live too. You are the devil's gateway; you are the unsealer of that forbidden tree; you are the first deserter of the divine law; you are she who persuaded him whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God's image, man. On account of your desert, that is, death, even the Son of God had to die." It was upon this idea of woman, influenced to some extent by the early Teutonic conception of her as a chattel, that the foundations of her status in English law were laid. It was to be centuries before any voice was raised to challenge this concept; it will be years before the last traces of its effects have been obliterated.

In the year 1632 one of the first books devoted exclusively to a consideration of the laws affecting women was published. It is a curious work, anonymously written, as was proper considering the doubtful nature of its theme. For hundreds of years the influences

which had debased the Roman conception of woman had been at work and had conquered even the liberalizing ideas of the great renaissance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when Roman law was rediscovered. At the close of the sixteenth century the position of a married woman was one of complete subjection to her husband. She could not make a will and during her lifetime was unable to dispose of her landed property, even with her husband's consent, without resorting to legal trickery. The husband was allowed to chastise his wife, *solea pulsare nates*, if he thought fit, "for," wrote Blackstone, "as he is to answer for her misbehavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her, by domestic chastisement, in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his apprentices or children." The wife, however, if she retaliated, and overstepped the bounds of moderation, might be tried for petit treason and burnt at the stake. Such was the condition of English law when *The Lawes Resolutions of Women's Rights* was published in 1632. The author, not blind to the discrepancies in the privileges accorded men and women, inquired why this was so. His answer might have been written by Tertullian. "Returne a little to Genesis, in the 3. Chap.," he wrote, "whereof is declared our first parents transgression in eating the forbidden fruit: for which Adam, Eve, the serpent first, and lastly, the earth it self is cursed: and besides, the participation of Adams punishment, which was subjection to mortality, exiled from the garden of Eden, injoyned to labor, Eve because shee had helped to seduce her husband hath inflicted on her, an especiall bane. In sorrow shalt thou bring forth thy children, thy desires shall bee subjecc to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee. See here the reason of that which I touched before, that Women have no voyce in Parliament, They make no Lawes, they consent to none, they abrogate none. All of them are understood either married or to bee married and their desires or [are] subject to their husband, I know no remedy though some women can shift it well enough. The common Law here shaketh hand with Divinitie." Centuries were to elapse before the law even saw there might be a remedy, and women had to shift, though perhaps not well enough.

The legal conception of woman as inferior to man prevailed long after the seventeenth century had passed and long after its theological foundation had ceased to possess persuasive validity. To the Encyclopædists of the latter half of the eighteenth century belongs the credit for having prepared the way for its destruction.

They were the first to concern themselves with immediate social problems. Descartes, Leibnitz, all the writers and thinkers that preceded them, had been occupied with the problems of a world that existed only in the imagination. "One consideration especially that we ought never to lose from sight," wrote Diderot, "is that, if we ever banish a man, or the thinking and contemplative being, from above the surface of the earth, this pathetic and sublime spectacle of nature becomes no more than a scent of melancholy and silence. . . . It is the presence of man that gives its interest to the existence of other beings. Why should we not make him a common center? . . . Man is the single term from which we ought to set out." And Condorcet, his fellow worker who had declared that women should have the same rights as men, added that the Encyclopædists were less occupied in enlarging the bounds of knowledge than in spreading the light and making war on prejudice. While the influence exerted by this group on contemporary mores, and particularly the mores relating to women, was weak, it was nevertheless positive in its effect upon subsequent writers. In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft published the *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, a brave and startling book for its time, not the first, it is true, of the books devoted to its theme, but unquestionably the most important. Seventy-seven years later the ideas of Mary Wollstonecraft, and the writers that followed her, were buttressed and organized by John Stuart Mill so that their validity was beyond dispute. A decade after the publication of *The Subjection of Women* the concepts that Mill stood for were forced upon the attention of the world by Ibsen, who professed to dislike Mill's book, when Nora, in *A Doll's House*, shut the most famous door in history. The battle that was fought around these ideas that seem so obvious to us to-day made eventually its mark upon the law and there began that long series of ameliorative measures which undid the work of the ecclesiastics and the common law, placing woman upon the footing she now occupies. It was less than twenty years ago that a great student of the law, Albert Dicey, could declare that the franchise should be denied women because they were unable to assist in time of war in the defense of the government under whose protection they voted. But the example of the part played by women in the World War, in the munition factories and at the front, was not necessary to dispel the force of arguments denying equality to women once those arguments were stripped of theological support. So long as the position of women was dependent upon theories whose

premises were not open to analysis, so long was she denied equality; the day those premises were first challenged, that day she began her march towards freedom.

Up to this point we have been considering the attitude of the law toward the sexes. This attitude, as we have seen, is a reflection of the opinion formed as a result of the relative position occupied by the sexes in society. After the legal attitude is determined it becomes one of the forms of social control which direct that opinion for varying lengths of time. The tendency of the law is to preserve the status to which it gave legal recognition. The fact that the position of woman has progressed from virtual slavery to almost complete freedom is due, not to humanizing elements within the law, but to the great force of opinion outside the law. The changes that have occurred in the legal attitude have happened only in the face of great opposition from the law. It is plain that this must be so, for law must be made to conform in matters of custom to custom or else its value as an instrument for the preservation of order diminishes. This does not mean, of course, that the law should be utilized to perpetuate ideas of groups which cling fast to old customs and beliefs long after those customs and beliefs have ceased to possess social verity. Nor does it mean, on the other hand, that the law should accept eagerly and write into its structure the never ending stream of panaceas for social betterment. It means simply that the law must always, in its social legislation, stand on middle ground, that the cultural lag, the length of time which elapses between the formulation of new concepts and their adoption, must always in the law be appreciably greater than in any of the other social sciences.

The sexual institutions with which the law is concerned may be divided into two classes: those which have the apparent sanction of society and those which have not. Of the former class, the most important is the matrimonial institution; of the latter, prostitution. These two institutions are separated one from the other by the fact that in the first, society professes to find the realization of its noblest ideals and in the second, the epitome of all that it holds to be base. To one, society gives its utmost sanction; upon the other it concentrates the vast destructive powers at its command. Plainly, however, institutions exist only because of a strong desire or need on the part of society, and in that sense, no matter with what repugnance society on the surface may regard it, prostitution, as well as the matrimonial institution, has the sanction of society. These two institutions

belong ultimately then to the same class: both are institutions which have the sanction of society, both are institutions whose problems society feels are urgent, both are institutions which demand above all an approach to their problems based upon social facts. What has been the attitude of the law in the face of the problems presented by the adaptation of the major sexual institutions to a changing culture? Has it been unduly acceptive of the seeming permanence of the sexual order? The answer is that it has. Long ago de Tocqueville warned us not to confound the institutions to which we are accustomed with the necessary foundations of society. The law, in the sexual realm at least, has ignored that warning.

The legal philosophy of marriage, if there may be said to be one, is simple. In dealing with marriage the law must face two problems: it must first of all preserve the institution of marriage in society; it must, secondly, justify or preserve the numerous institutions, customs and rules which flow from and are dependent upon the legal concept of marriage. The method adopted by the law in meeting these problems is an old one; every theological system the world has known has been based upon it; it is the only method, in fact, with which society until recent times has been able to solve, or rather quiet, its problems. The method is, briefly, to assert that the thing with which you are concerned is, if you wish it continued, unparalleled in its excellence, a great blessing to humanity and probably of divine origin; if you wish it eliminated to assert that it is evil, that it is destroying the foundation of society, and that it is contrary to divine law. It is upon the basis of this method that the law has erected its concept of marriage. Marriage, wrote Kent at the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, "has its foundation in nature, and is the only lawful relation by which Providence has permitted the continuance of the human race. In every age it has had a propitious influence on the moral improvement and happiness of mankind. It is one of the chief foundations of social order. We may justly place to the credit of the institution of marriage a great share of the blessings which flow from refinement of manners, the education of children, the sense of justice, and the cultivation of the liberal arts." In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Supreme Court declared that "it [marriage] is an institution in the maintenance of which in its purity the public is deeply interested, for it is the foundation of the family and of society, without which there would be neither civilization nor progress." And the author of the latest study of the law of marriage and

divorce writes, "it is the source of the family, the safeguard of public and private morals, the strength of the nation."

Such is the legal concept of marriage. Is it true, and what are its effects, are the only questions with which we need concern ourselves. At this late date it need hardly be said that the legal conception of marriage is not in accord with social facts or with the conclusions of anthropology. To justify the particular form of marriage we have legalized by attributing to it the outstanding virtues of our civilization partakes too much of wishful thinking. The mere fact that other civilizations, some of them of a higher order than ours in important respects, the Chinese, for example, have the same or superior virtues with radically different forms of marriage is enough to demonstrate the unsoundness of this particular point of view. Even the establishment of the family is not dependent upon marriage. "Marriage and divorce," writes Ernest Mowrer in his study of family disorganization, "do not make or dissolve the family in any fundamental sense." The theory, once widely held, that marriage was biological in its origin we now no longer regard as true. "Marriage is not a biological but a social product," says Briffault at the conclusion of his notable study of social origins. "It is a compromise and an adaptation of biological facts." Marriage is nothing more nor less than a social institution. It exhibits all the imperfections and defects which other institutions exhibit and it is no more the source of the qualities which make for progress in civilization than is the institution of private property. It is a mode of ordering sexual relations which at different times and places has assumed different forms. The form we know to-day, as the divorce statistics testify, is not the ideal and final form the law would have us believe it to be.

It is the distinguishing mark of a large class of social ideas that about them are clustered some of the most fierce prejudices of the race. The task of sociology is to deal with these ideas stripped of the significance of their religious or economic associations. By no other method can we hope to determine the true value of the social ideas which guide our conduct. The law, by basing its concept of marriage, not upon the actual facts of marriage and a rational study of its objects, but upon a theory which ascribes extravagant qualities to it and does not explain it, makes the task of adjusting it to the demands of an evolving civilization difficult, if not impossible. If the law adopted the sociological view of marriage, with its emphasis upon the factual method, the disorder and the suffering

which are so much a part of the marriage system to-day could be, to a large extent, minimized. The changes which occur in all social institutions as society progresses will occur, are occurring, in the institution of marriage. The legal concept of marriage is not one that will permit the law to take cognizance of those changes willingly. The law must necessarily, if it is to be true to its own principles, abide by the institution it has judged to be ideal. "Law," Pound has written, "must be stable and yet it cannot stand still." When the law defines its principles in absolutistic terms it can meet only one-half of that requirement, it has no other choice than to be stable until its principles become as antiquated as the now forgotten offense of contempt of an archbishop and are no longer a part of the living body of rules by which it functions. The effect of the legal philosophy of marriage is thus to hinder instead of to aid the growth of marriage and to defeat instead of to accomplish its end as an instrument of social order.

The American colonists, at the time of their separation from England, adopted the English common law as the basis of their system of jurisprudence. They did not, however, because of Protestant influences, adopt the English ecclesiastical law, of which the divorce law was a part, and divorce is thus in the United States statutory in its origin. From the twelfth century the ecclesiastical courts in England had undisputed jurisdiction of matrimonial causes and the immense body of precedent they have erected has had, notwithstanding the statutory origin of the American law, an immense effect on the administration of the divorce law in America. Judges have, consciously or unconsciously, written into the American law, in the majority of cases without any legislative sanction whatsoever, a great many of the leading principles of the Canon law. The heterogeneous origin of the American law is responsible for the fact that there exists no comprehensive and rational legal approach to the subject of divorce. No guiding and harmonious principle has fused the divorce law of the United States into a compact and socially sound system of jurisprudence. It is as diversified and illogical in its principles as are the fundamental points of view of the forty-eight legislatures which originally defined them.

The courts and the legislatures have, however, been forced to recognize one principle: if the community denies the right of divorce to its members, or if it surrounds the procuring of a divorce with intolerable hardships, concubinage, adultery and illicit relations will

increase tremendously. "The truth is," writes Bishop, "that either divorces or illicit connections will prevail in every community, and it is for the legislature to choose between the two." Intelligent judges have from time to time revolted against the harsh rules surrounding divorce, recognizing the conditions resulting from them. Thus, Holdsworth quotes the address of an English judge, at a time when divorce was the privilege of the very rich, to a prisoner who had been convicted of bigamy after his wife had committed adultery and deserted him. "Prisoner at the bar," he said, "you have been convicted of the offense of bigamy, that is to say, of marrying a woman while your wife is still alive, though it is true she has deserted you, and is still living in adultery with another man. You have, therefore, committed a crime against the laws of your country, and you have also acted under a very serious misapprehension of the course which you ought to have pursued. You should have gone to the ecclesiastical court and there obtained against your wife a decree *a mensa et thoro*. You should then have brought an action in the courts of common law and recovered, as no doubt you would have recovered, damages against your wife's paramour. Armed with these decrees you should have approached the legislature, and obtained an Act of Parliament, which would have rendered you free, and legally competent to marry the person whom you have taken on yourself to marry with no such sanction. It is quite true that these proceedings would have cost you many hundreds of pounds, whereas you probably have not as many pence. But the law makes no distinction between rich and poor.[1] The sentence of the court upon you, therefore, is that you be imprisoned for one day, which period has already been exceeded, as you have been in custody since the commencements of the assizes." But such wisdom on the part of judges is rare. Even where the law clearly permits the granting of a divorce judges are sometimes loath to give it. Thus, in a case in Tennessee, one of the justices of the Supreme Court dissented from the majority opinion granting the divorce, the grounds of which were plainly within the statute, upon the theory that the law of God was superior to the law of the state. The statute under which the action was brought allowed divorce upon the ground of desertion, whereas according to the New Testament divorce should only be granted for adultery. "Every lawyer in the land," wrote the dissenting justice, "has been

[1] Many years later Anatole France was to write the oft quoted sentence "The law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal their bread."

taught not only that the Bible is law, but that it is the source of law. . . . In this authority, from which every well defined right of person and property is derived, we find the law of divorce . . . Now, I must elect between a statutory regulation demoralizing in its every influence and tendency, encouraging a system of kin to free-loveism, and an express divine law. I do not hesitate to disregard the one and observe the other." It is inevitable, with one state permitting divorce on fourteen grounds, with the majority of states allowing divorces on seven or eight conflicting grounds, and with one state refusing to permit divorce on any ground, that the divorce law should breed confusion and hardship. It is in the field of divorce that law exhibits one of its greatest weaknesses as an institution with the capacity for directing and originating the forces which make for progress.

In dealing with prostitution the law is dealing with an institution which is as old as civilization, and no older, for it is practically unknown among savages. Where prostitution is found to exist among primitive people it is also generally discovered that they have been exposed to the influences of civilization. It was thus not until 1879, according to the Rev. Owen Dorsey, when the Omaha Indians were Christian farmers sending their children to Sunday school, that we find the institution of *minckeda* among them, and even then there were only two or three women who could be classed as prostitutes. Prostitution seems to have had its origin in religious custom. The sacred prostitute or hierodule formed an integral part of the religious practices of early people, and Herodotus wrote that "nearly all people, except the Egyptians and Greeks, have intercourse with women in sacred places." As late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries prostitution had the special sanction of religious authority. A brothel in the papal city of Avignon, under the patronage of Queen Joanna of Naples, was regulated by the strict rules governing religious houses. "None but good Christians," says Briffault, "were admitted, Jews and infidels being excluded; it was closed on Good Friday and Easter day." Secular prostitution first arose among the Greeks in the seacoast towns frequented by strangers and sailors. It was there that the priestess in the temple first turned from offering herself to procure the favors of a god, to offering herself to secure monetary rewards. Ulpian, excerpts from whose writings constitute over a third of Justinian's digest, defined a prostitute as "one who openly abandons her body to a number of men without choice for money." The problem, in all its implications,

which Ulpian faced, is the identical problem the law is concerned with to-day.

Attempts to suppress prostitution by the promulgation of harsh and sumptuary laws have always failed. Even the French and German attempt to combat it by police regulation is entirely unsatisfactory as Flexner in his study of European prostitution points out. Not only does police regulation fail as an hygienic measure, and become contemptible as a system of espionage, but the very evil it sets out to destroy flourishes more than ever under its supervision. The direct part that law can play in dealing with prostitution is very small. The factors contributing to the prevalence of prostitution are not of the type that can be combated by direct legislation. The problem must be attacked indirectly and at sources far removed from the main stream. Havelock Ellis employs Herbert Spencer's illustration of the bent iron plate to make this all important point clear. The bent iron plate cannot be made smooth, Spencer pointed out, by hammering directly on the buckled up part. "If we do so we merely find that we have made matters worse; our hammering, to be effective, must be around and not directly on, the offensive elevation we wish to reduce; only so can the iron plate be hammered smooth." And it is so with the problem of prostitution; no amount of force applied to the evil itself will affect it save only to make matters worse. The rôle assumed by the law in this field must be largely passive.

The problem of law and morality is the most vexatious with which jurists have had to deal. Simply stated, the problem is, What ideas of right and wrong shall be enacted into law? What characteristics or qualities must customs and practices possess before the law should impose a penalty for failing to observe them or for indulging in them? By what standards should the law judge acts in framing legislation to suppress or encourage them? These are but a few of the questions that have remained unanswered since the Greeks first speculated about them.

The difficulty in the way of framing tests to determine whether or not legal action should be taken in regard to a particular practice is not so much the difficulty of framing tests, but the difficulty of formulating tests that will advance our knowledge of the problem. Thus, most of the workmen's compensation laws enacted by the various states contain a provision to the effect that the injury for which the workman is claiming compensation must have arisen out of and in the course of his employment or compensation will be

denied him. This test exhibits the weakness of most legal standards. A workman is injured by the folly of a fellow workman engaging in horseplay with a compressed air hose. Did the injury arise out of and in the course of the injured workman's employment? Some courts have held that it did; others, that it did not. It very well may be that the nature of the law demands that it frame its tests generally, or else it would be hampered in the administration of justice, and its ability to adapt itself to changing conditions would be restricted. These functions of the law must be preserved at the sacrifice, perhaps, of lesser benefits. Two tests by which to measure customs or practices have been suggested: one, is the custom or practice anti-social, and, two, if legal action is taken in regard to the custom or practice will the law receive the support of a sufficient number of people to make it enforceable. The second test is plain enough, though it is frequently overlooked by zealous reformers. As Spinoza saw long ago, those who try to determine everything by law foment crime rather than lessen it. Laws cannot be enforced if public opinion does not support them. All this is common experience; the difficulty lies in determining what acts are anti-social. Systematic military instruction in the colleges, for example, is regarded by some as distinctly anti-social upon the ground that it is instruction in the art of murdering one's fellow beings. Others regard early military instruction as one of the foundations of the nation and feel that to forbid it would render the nation a prey to the first predatory government that wished to possess it. The free circulation of literature of all classes is held by some to be of the very essence of the factors which sustain civilization; the suppression of literature of certain classes is regarded by others as essential if civilization is to continue. The test of whether or not an act is anti-social clearly does not offer much assistance if emotional beliefs must be taken into account. To reduce an act to its essentials does not, on the other hand, insure a correct view of it from the social standpoint. The law, realizing the essentials, must adapt its rules to a fiction, to the *as if* of Vaihinger, to, in a word, a concept that is not true but that is not too false.

The attitude of the law to-day towards sexual morality is an attitude derived in the main from the conception and practices of the ecclesiastical courts. Some sexual practices were regarded with disfavor by the Anglo-Saxon and other old Germanic laws, but it was the ecclesiastical law which developed the concepts we now possess of the criminal nature of certain sexual acts. The offense which the

law books generally speak of as the crime against nature was, for example, as Pollock and Maitland point out, so closely connected with the crime of heresy that there was at one time but one name for both. The legal tables of consanguinity were based upon a rule of Innocent III, announced at the Lateran council of 1215, forbidding marriage within the fourth degree of consanguinity. The Church, having developed an attitude of hostility towards marriage, could hardly do less than make fornication a mortal sin. To account for the genesis of particular classes of ideas is important if we wish wholly to understand them; but to determine what significance the ideas shall possess after their origin is explained is the real task of social thought. The idea of the law that the grosser forms of sexual behavior are criminal is thus opposed to rational and humanitarian standards if we examine it not in the light of the concept that sex is sinful, but from the point of view that sex is merely a fact no different from other facts. By pronouncing gross sexual conduct a crime the law does not prevent it, which is its first object, nor does it cure it in the individual with whom it is dealing. Such matters so intimately connected with biological temperament, which may be the result of a structural defect similar to color blindness and stammering, are best left to the operation of social feeling and not incorporated in a form of social control as rigid as the law. "The other day I was looking over Bradford's history," said Mr. Justice Holmes in an address before the New York State Bar Association, "and I was struck to see recounted the execution of a man with horrible solemnities for an offense which still, to be sure, stands on the statute books as a serious crime, but which no longer is often heard of in court, which many would regard as best punished simply by the disgust of normal men, and which a few think of only as a physiological aberration, of interest mainly to the pathologist." As theological considerations less and less cease to influence judges and legislators, the legal attitude towards sex is slowly adjusting itself to the public opinion which regards legal inquiry into sexual behavior as an execrable affront to the most personal of relationships. A number of states have no statutes penalizing fornication and convictions in states where it is held to be a crime are rare. Convictions for adultery are equally rare, though the aid of statutes forbidding it is sometimes invoked to satisfy personal motives of revenge. Thus, in a recent New York divorce action, after a witness for the husband, who was the plaintiff in the cause, had testified to relations with the husband's wife, counsel for the wife sought his arrest for admit-

tingly violating the adultery statute. A New York Federal court the other day also denied citizenship to an alien upon the ground that as adultery was regarded as immoral in the United States, the fact that he had committed adultery made him an immoral person and therefore ineligible for citizenship. Not all states, however, regard it with such gravity. In Maryland, for example, it is punishable by a maximum fine of ten dollars. If sexual conduct is examined from the standpoint of whether or not it is anti-social the practices of which the law would have to take cognizance would be few and even then social wisdom might find it expedient to adopt other methods of control. When foolish legislation is adopted in regard to any form of sexual behavior public opinion refuses to support it. Thus, when the age of consent is raised to a high level it is almost impossible to obtain a conviction for rape. The path of the law must be guided by experience and reason; prejudice and emotion never lead to ends socially beneficial in the long run.

Henri Poincaré once observed that while physical scientists are busy solving their problems, social scientists are busy debating their methods. This, alas, is true, but it may be said in extenuation that very nearly the whole problem of the social sciences is methodological. When you have found the method with which to attack a social problem, that problem rarely presents any difficulty. The task of the law, in common with the other social sciences, is to develop a methodology that will admit of a scientific approach to social facts. The instruments that direct the order of life must parallel the stream of life. The function of law in the modern state is to so order human relationships that friction will be minimized. This demands above all the correct interpretation of human experience, for it is ultimately by experience that the law must be guided. The part the law has played in the field of sex has made this unmistakably clear. By basing its concepts upon principles entirely unrelated to experience and social facts the law has fostered almost as much misery and disorder as it has alleviated. In the future, as Laski says, either we have to make a world by deliberate plan, or we court disaster. It is, as he also says, a grim alternative; but it is an alternative that may prove the pathway to salvation.

THE SEXUAL FACTOR IN DIVORCE

BY ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

The sexual factor in divorce raises two questions: (1) To what extent are matters directly associated with sex the cause of divorce; (2) to what extent are they recognized in law as grounds of divorce?

There is a story of an old negro who came shambling into court. "I wants a divorce," said he to the judge. "On what ground?" inquired His Honor. "Well," drawled Sam, "I just done lost my 'taste' for that woman." Whether or not it would be wise from a social point of view to grant Sam a divorce under the circumstances, might be an open question, but certainly one would have to look far for a better reason. The anecdote usually receives the laugh of recognition, not merely at its age but at its truth, for any rational individual whose mind is not befogged by dogma or convention, realizes that the fundamental requisite to successful marriage is a "taste" for the other party. It matters not what the ground of distaste may be or where the fault lies. Possibly the parties to a marriage have developed at a different rate of speed. Perhaps the husband's mentality or spirits remained vibrant while those of the wife became stale, or *vice versa*. It is coincidental when two human beings remain in pace and this is particularly so on the sexual side.

It is quite possible that centuries of suppression of sex considerations has magnified its importance as a biological and physical factor. We take it for granted that the emotions, desires and ideals of to-day are inherent in the human animal. We have forgotten that even romantic love is to a large extent a convention developed by society. We assume that chastity in women has always been regarded as a virtue by man and that monogamy has always been a social desideratum. We seem to assume that human institutions are sound in proportion to the permanence of marriage. Accepting these dicta we are inclined to regard divorce as a relief to be permitted only when marriage becomes intolerable. Some knowledge of history

would dissipate most of these illusions. There have been societies where chastity was regarded as a vice; where fertility was socially more respectable than virginity; where a woman was not even considered desirable by males until she was ripe and experienced. The suggestion is made that this is true merely of primitive uncivilized races, but presumably we can more easily determine what is natural from their customs, than from those of civilized man. Biologically speaking, the permanence of marriage is related to the length of time it takes to give offspring a start. Probably those races would tend to survive that observe permanence at least to this degree, and monogamy for such a time would be natural to human beings.[1]

In the early days of the Christian church marriage itself was regarded as evil. In Roman days divorce by consent was recognized. But Christianity developed the marriage system on the words of Jesus: "What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder." Marriage became a sacrament; an institution divine and sacred. Desire was subordinated to religious dogma. Thus, in a Christian world, divorce, whatever the reason, is discredited by "good" people. The assumption seems to be that it was intended by divine command that people once married should remain so. And South Carolina to-day represents that doctrine in its failure to permit divorce. Yet I dare say that permanence of marriage or soundness of the family system does not depend upon the difficulty of divorce or the strictness of the laws nearly to the extent that is ordinarily supposed. Family ties even from early times have been markedly strong with the Jews and yet divorce under the old system was a simple proposition. Even in old Russia there were various grounds for Jews to obtain civil divorce that did not apply to others. Such conduct on the wife's part as raised a reasonable suspicion of her adultery, and even the cursing by the wife of her father-in-law in the husband's presence, would have been sufficient to warrant the dissolution of the marriage tie.

Monogamy is largely a consequence of economic factors. Rooted

[1] Westermarck says: "If we ask why in certain animal species male and female remain together not only during the pairing season but till after the birth of offspring, I think there can be no doubt as regards the true answer. They are induced to do so by an instinct which has been acquired through the process of natural selection because it has a tendency to preserve the next generation and thereby the species. This is shown by the fact that in such cases the male not only stays with the female and young but also takes care of them. Marital and paternal instincts, like maternal affection, are necessary for the existence of certain species." *History of Human Marriage,* vol. I, p. 35.

in the social system for centuries, it has become the moral system, ordained by Providence. As was said by Frederick Engels:[2]

> With the preponderance of private property over collective property and with the interest for inheritance, paternal law and monogamy assumed the supremacy. . . .

Thus the stress laid on adultery, for it complicates the family unit in which property centers. Adultery of the wife is more serious. An illegitimate child might intrude. Thus economics and the church are responsible for our morals. Divorce runs counter to tradition. One can hardly expect that such an individual question as sex related to the parties would be regarded as of consequence.

Most rationalists will agree that while marriage may not always be successful if sex relations are satisfactory, yet it will certainly be a failure if they are not. A writer speaks of "the reconciling power resident in sexual intercourse, adequately consummated."[3] The illusion that satisfactory sex expression is instinctive, requiring merely male, female and opportunity, has become dissipated.

Count Keyserling says, "Marriage is in its very nature a conflict," and John Haynes Holmes adds, "It is a conflict because it involves two unlike parties seeking to join a like existence." One might pile one triviality upon another as to the cause; one might use the patience of a psychoanalyst at fifty dollars an hour to assess the blame, and the fact remains that no marriage can be a success where the parties have lost their "taste" for each other. It is useless to endeavor to cure the situation by law or by the church. Esthetics are not so influenced. People can be persuaded by preachers or compelled by social pressure to live together, but when it comes to the emotions on which a successful marriage must be based, society and its rules are helpless. With many people sex relations are impossible in the absence of emotion. Nature responds to desire but is stone deaf to appeal.

No doubt the psychologist or psychoanalyst will find the root of most matrimonial troubles in the sex factor as between the husband and wife. Yet this is never the alleged ground for divorce. If it is the real ground, it is sought to be covered as a phase of incompatibility or as related to cruelty, or is included in one of the recognized legal categories. Inquiry into the love life would be far more rational than the usual investigation of the hate life.

[2] *The Origin of the Family,* p. 95.
[3] *Why We Misbehave,* by Samuel D. Schmalhausen.

Yet the courts are not oblivious of the fact that the expectation of satisfactory sexual relations is a material inducement to marriage, as is clear from the breach of promise cases which hold that one is not obliged to fulfill a marriage contract if he learns before marriage that the woman is incapable of intercourse. In *Gring v. Lerch*, 112 Pa. St. 244, the court said:

> He has a right to presume that her physical condition is such that she is capable of giving him the intercourse between the sexes which is usual in the marriage state. He has a right to presume so because the defect, if it exists at all, is a concealed one, and not open to his observation. To conceal such a thing from him until after marriage would be a fraud. It would be a fraud to sell a cow with such a defect without making it known to the purchaser. . . .
>
> A man does not court and marry a woman for the mere pleasure of paying for her board and washing.

The court pointed out:

> It is a mistake to suppose . . . that the impediment must be of such a nature as would be a ground for divorce after marriage. We are not now dealing with a question of divorce.

To any rational person an impediment in a wife is quite as serious as in a girl one is about to marry.

Again in *Grover v. Zook*, 44 Wash. 489, another breach of promise case, the court said:

> The usual, and we may say legitimate, objects sought to be attained by such agreements to marry, are, the comfort of association, the *consortium vitae*, as it is called in the books, the gratification of the natural passions rendered lawful by the union of the parties; and the procreation of children.

One has only to consider the diverse laws of various countries to observe how the sexual factor is ordinarily left out of consideration —at least so far as frank expression is concerned. Adultery is usually a ground, particularly where the wife is involved. In many cases, particularly among Latin peoples, the husband's adultery is unimportant unless in some way his act discredits the wife or casts indignity upon her, such as having his mistress in the home. On the other hand, among Anglo-Saxons, as represented by English law, the adultery of the man must be coupled with cruelty or desertion. In France the grounds include not only adultery and cruelty, but like-

wise a series of insults by acts, words or writings by which one party reflects on the good name of the other. In Italy divorce is not recognized. In Germany, among other grounds, are included such "grave breach of marital duty" or "such dishonest or immoral conduct" that it tends to disturb conjugal relations so that the petitioner cannot reasonably be expected to continue. In some parts of old Russia an unjustified refusal to perform marital duty for a year or willful prevention of conception were grounds of divorce. Japan includes sterility, jealousy, loquacity, disobedience to father-in-law or mother-in-law, and ill-treatment or insult so that a united life is impracticable. China adds talkativeness and wantonness. In some of the Eastern countries a husband may divorce his wife without misbehavior on her part and without assigning any cause. A wife may divorce her husband if he has fulfilled a vow not to have intercourse with her for as long as four months.

The states which permit divorce by consent or at the request of either party come nearest, it seems to me, to a recognition of the importance of the sexual factor. In Austria divorce is granted where there is an invincible mutual aversion, or where one of the parties evinces aversion for a continued period during which the parties live apart. In Denmark and the Scandinavian countries a divorce may be granted if there is separation by mutual consent for a period of time and the facts show that domestic peace and well-being are not promoted by the marital relationship. In Mexico mutual consent alone warrants a divorce, although as a matter of practice, either party can obtain judgment with facility. The recognized grounds in various of the United States, besides adultery, include abandonment; physical incapacity—which does of course recognize the sexual factor; crimes against nature; felonies; insanity; neglect to provide; pregnancy and unchastity of wife before marriage; disappearance for a protracted period of time; habitual drunkenness, and cruelty and violence, the meaning of which depend upon the interpretation of courts.[4] In this vast variety of causes can be found the answer to the query as to the extent to which the sexual factor is recognized in law as the ground of divorce.

It will be seen that legislators avoid the direct question of sexual

[4] In Kansas, refusal to cohabit is regarded as "gross neglect of duty," Leach vs. Leach (46 Kansas 724); In Washington and Michigan as "cruel treatment"—Norlund vs. Norlund (97 Washington 574). The contrary has been held in Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, West Virginia and Wisconsin—This list is not exhaustive—In California, refusal to intercourse is regarded as "desertion" by statute. (Cal. Civil Code section 96.)

relations between husband and wife. Yet laws are framed and interpreted, at least in the more liberal states, so that mismated couples are able to come within their terms. In Nevada, for instance, the grounds are willful desertion, conviction of felony or infamous crime, habitual gross drunkenness (as though a former drunkard would not make just as bad a husband); impotency at the time of marriage continuing to the time of divorce, extreme cruelty, neglect to provide for one year, insanity for two years. The law does not specifically provide for divorce on the ground of incompatibility; certainly not on the ground of sexual dissatisfaction. Yet extreme cruelty covers a host of dissatisfactions.

Not long ago in conference with an elderly cynical judge, reference was made to a divorce case tried before him where the bonds of matrimony had been severed because the defendant husband had vilified his wife to the exact extent required to bring the case within the statutory requirement of cruelty. "I do not inquire too carefully," said the judge. "I do my best to keep 'em together, but if this can't be done, I help all I can. I would not exactly admit this in public, but I had rather tell it to the lawyers than have them think I do not see through their frantic efforts to build up a case." The judge as a human being recognizes the crucial importance of sex but judicially, the subject of intercourse is avoided.

While direct inquiry in case of divorce does not concern sex, yet it does concern acts which may there find their source. The law could not well determine its judgments either on emotions or on conduct so private that no evidence could be given by a disinterested party. Incompatibility or cruelty is proved by what the parties have done and said, usually in the presence of a witness. The maid may testify that the husband threw the "God Bless Our Home" sign at his wife. The psychologist, psychoanalyst or wise judge knows that the indignity was the effect rather than the cause. The law quixotically endeavors to find fault or blame and render judgments accordingly. Solomon himself, with all his wisdom, would find it impossible to find the primal cause of any matrimonial difficulty. As a matter of fact, the difficulty may be and often is in nature. Probably sexual differences are bound to manifest themselves through acts which may be observed or through the expressed attitude of the parties toward each other. Since sex is often the determining factor, there is practically no difficulty in basing the legal action on superficial grounds which express fundamental reactions.

In Wisconsin the law provides that whenever the husband and

wife shall have "voluntarily lived entirely separate for the space of five years, divorce may be granted at the suit of either party." Five years may be too long a time, but the principle underlying the law would seem to be sound. It is not too much for society to ask that unsatisfactory relations be expressed by voluntary separation. The relations themselves are not the ground of divorce, but the judgment is based on the action of the parties resulting from the basic cause. In Russia, under the new system, divorce is granted automatically at the request of either party. If there be any merit, as I think there is, in stability in human life, then the requirement of a cooling period after parties have determined to live apart, would seem to be wise. Free as one would care to make divorce to respond to individual needs, yet obviously, life is less complicated if conclusions, which may have permanent effects, are not formed upon every burst of temper. The Wisconsin principle, as we have seen, represents a solution adopted in many other countries.

When we consider that adultery is recognized in all but one state of the Union as a ground for divorce, we seem at first sight to have come to a cause that presents the sexual factor. But again this is indirect. Adultery concerns a spouse's relations with a third party. Divorce is granted not because the husband or wife finds the other sexually incompatible, but because the unfaithful one finds some one else compatible. In other words, instead of a determination based on the relations of husband and wife toward each other, the conclusion results from the relations of either with some one else. Of course, from another angle this may appear to be the same thing, but it is not necessarily the same thing. The inquiry is not at all as to whether the parties have a "taste" for each other, but as to whether either of them has a "taste" for any one else. If they both have, and have manifested it adulterously, a divorce will be denied—if the court knows it. A *Bar Association* has even laid down a canon of ethics to the effect that a lawyer has no right to pursue a divorce case where he knows that his client has been unfaithful to marriage vows; that is, unless he informs the court. So far as adultery affects the sexual relations of married people—and it often does so emotionally and esthetically—it is a factor in a divorce. What effect it actually has is questionable or, at any rate, varied. It may mean a great deal; it may mean nothing. A romantic emotion toward a third person may be of far greater consequence than a physical act, yet the courts are concerned only with the latter. This also may be so because the only recognized method of

approximating justice is to draw conclusions from acts; yet more intelligent judgment might be drawn from the question of whether or not the husband and wife cohabit together, than from the question of whether either of them has ever cohabited with anyone else. For instance, Judge Lindsey cites the case of a man, agreeable, courteous, attentive to his wife, with very deep affection, if not love, for her. Occasionally he "stepped out." Lindsey was not sure whether the wife knew about it. If she did, she was too intelligent to appear to know. As opposed to this is the record of a case of a mean, brutal, conventionally virtuous and church-going husband, thoroughly disagreeable to his wife and family. While neither was an ideal husband, yet it would not be difficult to make a preference. In the former case the law would allow a divorce, but not in the latter.

Of course, there are those who hold that were sexual relations satisfactory in marriage, a lapse of virtue would be impossible, but I am inclined to think that this is a representation of church or conventional morals. Biologically, there is no reason why human beings who, perhaps, because of strong sexual impulse, are gratified in their relations with each other, should not likewise have strong desires elsewhere. They may avoid the expression for a variety of reasons. They may be influenced by fear or by a sense of loyalty. But one can hardly say that a sexual episode outside of marriage necessarily proves that marital relations are unsatisfactory. The emphasis in our statutes upon adultery as ground for divorce is, as we have noted, a theological conception. It has nothing whatever to do with the question of the sexual relations between husband and wife.

In fact, the only direct recognition in the lawbooks of the importance of satisfactory sex relations in marriage seems to be in connection with the question of impotency or physical incapacity.[5] This is ground either for divorce or annulment in most of the states. In the absence of statute a case for annulment may ordinarily be based on fraud. The recognition of impotency as ground for divorce seems to favor the woman. On the other hand, in most states lack of chastity on the part of the woman before marriage, and certainly where progeny is involved, may be ground for divorce on the part of the husband, on the theory of fraud.[6] This question of chastity prior to marriage (and likewise adultery, after marriage, as we have

[5] But note 4, *supra*.

[6] In one case in New York State a marriage was annulled after consummation for lack of chastity in the husband, the alleged ground having been fraud.

noted above) might, under our conventional moral system, affect sexual relations between husband and wife, since sexual impulses have to do largely with the nervous system, and it is quite natural that those with definite prejudice or resentment should be unable to function normally. Yet the absurdity, from a rational standpoint, is illustrated by the fact that widows and even divorcées are not wholly out of demand. Rationally and biologically, it would make no difference in the domestic sex life whether prior sexual experience occurred within or without the bonds of marriage.

Some time ago in a case in Massachusetts [7] it appeared that one Frances Cowles refused to have sexual intercourse with her husband; wherefore he, quite naturally, "prayed that the bonds of matrimony between them might be dissolved." Also, quite naturally, the lady did not defend the case, no doubt recognizing that a divorce would be the best solution of this matrimonial tragedy. *Wells*, J. refused to grant either a divorce or a decree of nullity on the ground "that the utter denial of sexual intercourse was not a cause from which such a decree could be made by the court." On appeal, *Colt*, J. promulgated the following:

> This libel for divorce alleges cruel and abusive treatment only. . . . Such conduct is not to be regarded . . . as cruel and abusive treatment. . . . It has been held that the cruelty charged must appear to be such 'as shall cause injury to life, limb, or health, or create a danger of such injury, or a reasonable apprehension of such danger.'

On the other hand, in a recent case in New Jersey, the Vice-Chancellor held otherwise in an extremely interesting opinion:

> Backes, V.C. This petition is for annulment of marriage on the ground of incurable impotency. The couple, young persons, have cohabited for five years, and the wife is still a virgin. She is physically and mentally normal and capable of copulating. Her virginity and aptness are established beyond question by three physicians who examined her recently. She testified that her husband never tried to function; that he made no effort at penetration. He vigorously protested his virility, but admitted the non-consummation of the marriage because, as he says, his efforts at sexual intercourse were painful and distressing to her. He submitted to an examination by one of his wife's physicians, who testified that he was structurally a male, normal in all parts, and to all appearances capable of coition. In build, carriage, voice, and deportment, as I observed him in court, he appeared to be up to the standard.

[7] *Cowles v. Cowles* (1873), 112 Mass. 298.

If there is a genital impairment, it is latent and scientifically undiscoverable; or the lapse may be due to a psychosis, well recognized by the medical science, and discussed in some of the divorce cases in England—a mental condition rendering him physically impotent as to his wife, though potent as to all other women. Were it necessary for the judgment to pronounce the cause of impotency, I would not be unwilling to ascribe the *impasse* between this couple to this peculiar phenomenon.

In approaching a decision of the issue raised by the pleadings—the impotency of the husband, which is bitterly controverted by sharply conflicting and recriminating testimony—I shall apply the rule of the English courts taken from the civil law as modified by Justinian, called the *Doctrine of Triennial Cohabitation.* The essence of that doctrine is that, if the wife be a virgin and apt after three years' cohabitation, the husband will be presumed to be impotent, and the burden will be upon him to overcome the presumption by proof that he is not at fault. It is applied as a hard and fast rule in England.

The burden then being shifted to the husband to excuse or justify the plight of his wife, the question comes to one of belief in his story of forbearance for five years, under most trying circumstances, simply because sexual intercourse was painful and distressing to her. I have misgivings. The husband's plea does not inspire confidence. Common experience discredits it.

The presumption of impotency has not been overcome, and a decree of nullity will be advised.

This case seems to stand alone in American jurisprudence. The learning and frankness displayed on sexual matters is not common in judicial pronouncements. Yet, even here it was necessary for the court to place the fault or blame. Sexual relations were admittedly unsatisfactory. The court granted the petition of the wife since she made out a case of incurable impotency on the part of the husband, an imputation which he bitterly resented. The court tried to take the sting from his infirmity by suggesting that possibly he was impotent only as regards his wife. But, wanting a clear bill of health as a virile male, the husband took the position that even under most trying circumstances he had forborne to press his wife because relations were distressing to her, a suggestion of gentle courtesy of which the court was naturally skeptical.

The case does suggest, however, that even when questions of impotency are involved, judgment for divorce is not so much dependent upon the question of the sex relation as on considerations of fraud, fault or blame. That sexual intercourse fails is secondary. Were this not so, then discussion of the responsibility for failure

would have been unnecessary. Why this avoidance of the basic question?

Probably the answer is that from a legal point of view marriage is a social institution, a status, an arrangement not primarily to conserve the happiness of human beings, but rather to insure stability and the continuance of the race. Connected with this is a vast distrust of human nature,—rather an absurd feeling that almost the only thing that holds human beings together is the law, and that if divorce laws were simple and easy, society would fall apart. This is a great misconception. The divorces in liberal countries like France, Austria and Norway do not compare in number to those in New York.

Almost the last thing that keeps people together is the law. An illustration should make this clear. There is no law compelling men and women to live together if they are unhappy. So long as a man supports his family the law lets him alone; he is not obliged to live with his wife; and, on the other hand, the wife can leave her husband without even the obligation to support the family. Yet people who are incompatible live together for years. Often they have common interests; often both make sacrifices to avoid separation from the children. Often there are questions of convention. Sometimes there is the pressure of the church. Usually there are economic considerations. Invariably there are the habits of life which tend to become fixed. I have known people to continue living together merely because they had a long-term lease on an apartment. Human inertia is a tremendous brake on human activity.

The assumption that liberal divorce laws would have a catastrophic effect on marriage assumes that people live together only because of compulsion. It is an admission of the failure of marriage as a social institution. Those who so argue are more cynical than the partisans of liberal divorce who, because of their faith in the stability of human beings, do not fear such disastrous consequences. Can there rationally be anything more absurd than a system which recognizes the right to permanent separation but denies divorce? Certainly the distinction cannot be founded on the welfare of children. If they are denied association with either parent, it can make little difference what the legal status may be. Rare are the instances where divorce appeals either to man or woman. Even when involved in marital difficulties, they ordinarily sincerely regret the situation. No one likes to fail in anything, and with our system of romantic marriage, there are likely to be memories to heighten the regret.

Perhaps wrongfully we often determine the success or failure in marriage not by its content while it lasts, but by the length of time it endures. Most people are moved by a desire not to complicate life, an attribute that fights effectively against the spirit of adventure which often leads people astray.

I respectfully suggest that most men and women deplore the situation which tends toward divorce. Most men who are unfaithful to their wives have very definite regrets that they cannot find their romance or enjoyment at home. Likewise with women. Most human beings would prefer that his or her sexual impulses were directed wholly to the spouse.

Few would gainsay the conclusion that matters directly associated with sex are usually the basic cause for divorce and that although they are not recognized as grounds for divorce, yet in many states the law in its interpretations of general categories, recognizes the sex factor.[8] This is done indirectly by basing judgments upon acts which are readily attributable to sex frustration. Of course, where the law permits divorce after separation for a certain period of time, the parties have it in their own hands, by recognizing sexual incompatibility, to compel the courts to act upon their resulting behavior.

On the other hand, at least in the United States, there is no recognition of the fact that circumstances sometimes arise where a party is rationally entitled to a divorce, but cannot get it over the opposition of his spouse, particularly where he or she is unable or unwilling to place the fault or blame. It is quite conceivable that sex relations may be wholly unsatisfactory to one or even both parties, and yet one of them, for religious, conventional or economic reasons, would prefer that the marriage continue. The dissatisfied party is helpless, and the more so if the distaste is based upon esthetic, spiritual or other intangible grounds.

Consider the appalling case of a man married to an insane woman, unable to sever the bonds of matrimony. He could not take advantage of the laws of a liberal state because there is no way for the foreign state to obtain jurisdiction over the incompetent.

It may be that liberal laws do lead to an increase of divorce. The figures of the last generation show such a marked increase that it is not difficult to deduce therefrom a change in social attitude and custom. As opposed to the figures of 1890 when there were 33,197 divorces to 548,779 marriages in the United States, or a ratio of

[8] See note 4, *supra*.

about one to sixteen, the figures of 1925 show 175,449 divorces to 1,182,005 marriages, or a ratio of about one to less than seven. Add to this the cases where people do not concern themselves much about the law; cases of desertion, said to be the poor man's method of divorce, or voluntary separation. One may easily come to the conclusion that permanence of marriage as a social institution is threatened. Yet I am not ready to concede that this is necessarily an evil.

In fact, marriage though not as permanent, may be quite as successful as heretofore. The increasing number of divorces may be due to the greater independence of women, morally, socially and mentally, as well as economically. The more liberal modern laws may express the attitude of the community long suppressed by the prohibitions of convention, law and the church. One would have to hazard a guess as to whether the figures mean that the institution of marriage itself is less successful than heretofore.

Of course, one's views about divorce are colored by what he conceives to be the purpose of marriage, if any. It is useless to expect rationality from those who find some divine end in keeping together people who hate each other, or even in enslaving one at the demand of the other. After all, it takes only one to make a quarrel; two to make peace. Those who argue from the point of view of a divine purpose, who regard marriage as a sacrament, defend a faith. Even there, if one has patience enough, or pull enough, or money enough, he can usually find a way to annulment by the church. Divorce? Of course not! There just wasn't any marriage.

To-day the family is regarded as the cornerstone of society and marriage as the cornerstone of the family. Thus Keyserling, regarding marriage as a duty, resents the thought that one should expect to get happiness out of it. Duty to whom? Presumably to society. And what is society? Himself and herself, others like them, and their children. If there is a duty to society to stay married, then logically all men should be compelled to wed, and women to have children. Of course, this duty-to-society theory assumes that the state is better off if people are compelled to live together by law. Perhaps Keyserling is right. There is philosophy in his suggestion that a *slave* is more contented with his lot if he knows he cannot get out of it. But, after all, an individual should have some rights, one of which should be a refusal to live in an intolerable relationship.

Those opposed to divorce regard sex as nature's trap—once caught, there is no release. We have referred above to the different

attitude of courts in cases of breach of promise to marry. In the early case of *Atchinson v. Baker*, 2 Peake (N.P.) 103, Lord Kenyon said: "It would be most mischievous to compel parties to marry who could never live happily together." But why isn't it just as mischievous to compel parties to continue in marriage who cannot live happily together? The sexual act creates the artificial distinction. Marriage expiates the "sin." The Lindsey proposal that childless couples should be permitted freely to determine whether or not marriage should be permanent, is met with condemnation. Even those who have not assumed the obligations of a family life are not to be permitted freedom!

The interest of the state concerns economic questions and the welfare of children. Children are better off in a united happy household, even with one parent missing. The discord of difficult relations or of changing custody are the elements which cause nervous havoc. Calm and regularity are more important than the persons in any particular background so far as affects the psychology of children.

It is quite possible that freedom without stigma, to dissolve an unhappy alliance, would take from marriage a part of the strain which often makes it a difficult relationship. Marriage itself is made more difficult by the natural human resentment at compulsion.

All this may be an interesting subject of reflection, but after all, no one can foresee the effects of social changes. We see hazard in social conditions with which we are not familiar, yet changes in society come about gradually,—we adapt ourselves to new conditions. Each generation complains of the demoralization of the next and scorns the retrogression of the last. Whatever may be the social experiment of the future, one's rationality naturally disapproves of judgments determined by tradition and dogma. To recognize human beings as they are, frankly to take count of the factors which affect their lives, to make law the expression of their civilization, to chance the dangers of freedom—all this at least means motion and ferment as opposed to vegetation and decay.

SEX JEALOUSY AND CIVILIZATION

BY J. WILLIAM LLOYD

To-day we do not expect to take up our morning newspaper and fail to find our daily murder because of jealousy. And how many of us really resent it? Jealous ourselves, we vindicate in our hearts "the unwritten law" and would likely vindicate it in the jury box. Too many of us would do the same as the prisoner, under the same temptation. Anyway we feel jealous murder the most excusable of crimes, perhaps hardly a crime at all, or really a form of justice. And the spirit of all this, traveling from mind to mind, from heart to heart, bears inevitably its bloody fruit. How far does it go—and is this civilization?

It is common to hear it said that jealousy is a vice and to hear it condemned, but when we analyze this pretended condemnation we find that the only jealousy that is condemned is the jealousy that is considered morbidly suspicious, the jealousy that is baseless. But our whole sexual system is based on approval of a jealousy that is, we think, justified. And in fact all our jealousy is, in a manner, justified. Probably none of it is really baseless—for jealousy is very wise, with an almost clairvoyant vision, for its own. What jealousy demands is exclusive love. So long as unmistakable signs prove that love is coming toward the self, jealousy sleeps, but the moment equally unmistakable signs show that love has ceased to exist, jealousy wakes in ferocious, tortured vigilance. It may be mistaken as to why love left, or where it has gone, or as to its new object, or its relations with that new object, but it is *not* mistaken as to its departure, or withdrawal, which is the fundamental offense.

All our emotions are finally one emotion—self-love—and our jealousy roots in selfishness.

Our self-love has two forms—the *self-relative*, that is, our self-love rightly regarding our own needs and in normal relation to the rights of other selves—and the *selfish*, which is self-love seeking to gain by exploiting other selves and incidentally obstructing its own

higher evolution. Just so, all our emotions have a normal and legitimate form, and a selfish, invasive form. Jealousy with the rest.

In its proper form and degree jealousy is intense appreciation of something precious and legitimately possessed and defense of that precious thing and its possession. In its worst form, jealousy is conquest of something desired and refused, and its selfish monopoly. Sexual jealousy, as we commonly know it, is just this—the desired love, with its favors, has been withdrawn, and jealousy endeavors by rape to take these favors (for to take the favors of love without loving consent *is* rape and the whole of it) and by monopoly to prevent their free bestowal elsewhere.

But it bases its action on a plea of legitimacy and this claim we must now examine.

Animal marriage meant that the female had invited, accepted, consented. No law held her if she used her legs to depart, if she gave her favors to one more preferred. Jealousy then, among males, meant a struggle to prove more worthy of her. When animal became man, man soon became warrior, and the warrior took slaves. Took female slaves, and used his force to rape and defend his monopoly of rape against all comers. His jealousy now was that of slave-master. The next step was a slave-masters' agreement to recognize and ratify each other in this relation. Marriage became the *might* to rape, legalized by a rite (and enforced by the clan) into a "*right.*"

Woman became property, to be bred like a domestic animal, captured like booty, purchased as a chattel, bestowed as a gift, treated as a slave. Jealousy defended it all.

In later evolution, as the woman acquired some portion of individual self-hood, her consent was usually required, but this, once given and ratified by the rite, was construed as a consent to permit rape (that is, to embrace even if she were unwilling) and to be a voluntary slave for life. From this later concept of marriage we are only beginning to break away to-day, and its spirit, still with us, only modified by the greater or less *right* of the woman to equally enslave the man, explains all our modern excesses and crimes of jealousy. Still we would take by force or fraud what is refused; still we feel a slave-master's privilege in the premises; still we construe consent, once given, as for life; still we are wont to defend our monopoly by wounds or death. Our accepted religion condemns selfishness, but we have enthroned, deified, justified selfishness as a supreme virtue in our sex life, and because sex life is the fundamen-

tal of social life, all our institutions, actions and reactions, necessarily operate selfishly. Conquest, deception, selfishness, monopoly in sex life, work out as conquest, deception, selfishness, monopoly in business life, in statesmanship. The stream cannot over-top its source. A man who will selfishly take and jealously defend *rights* over a woman's sex, which are no rights, will selfishly take and jealously defend all the legal privileges he can get over his neighbor, and his nation's right to unequal advantage over other nations. Our sex life stultifies our religious life, and all our social and political protestations of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Civilization—that is a large word. We like to call ourselves "civilized," but are we? What is civilization and what barbarism? Is not barbarism that state of society in which men struggle against each other for private profit, and civilization that state of society in which men coöperate sincerely for mutual benefit? Can a society on a selfish and predatory basis ever be civilized? Have not the watchwords of barbarism always been *conquest* and *monopoly?* And must not the watchwords of civilization manifestly be *liberation* and *service?*

To-day the nations watch each other jealously. Each knows the other is predatory, that its statesmen are trained in deceit, that it will take advantage if it can. In almost all cases there are bitter memories of advantages already taken. There is smoldering hatred, deep distrust. And at home each man watches and distrusts his neighbor; no one can afford to feel safe. Can there be a civilization on that basis? But where does this come from? Where is the origin? Where is the origin of everything in human life except in sex?

"Sex," said Walt Whitman, "contains all." In sex we were all begotten and born. Sex is seed, soil and climate of our infancy, and all psychologists now know the deep significance of the impressions of our earliest life. How can the child begotten against consent of its mother be well born, not surrounded by the atmosphere of her welcoming love? The atmosphere of the parents' home is the most constant and powerful of early educational influences, barring none. If one of the parents is a tyrant, and the other a slave; if there is malignant jealousy; if there is deceit, servility, hypocrisy, brutal or sneaking advantage, hatred, fear, lust, bitter quarrelling, how can all this fail to register on the sensitive plate of the child's soul? But if the mother wanted the embrace that begot the child, and wanted the child that was begotten, and surrounded it every instant in her womb with the radioactive force of her cherishing, welcoming

tenderness; if in the home there was always an atmosphere of the certainty of sincere love between the parents; nothing held by law between them; nothing except liberty and sincerity demanded as a right; no lies, no fear, no quarrels; each spontaneously working to benefit the other—how could that also fail to register? And when these children went out in the world to be grown-up children among grown-up children, which child would the most surely create civilization?

In the spirit of the sex life, civilization must begin, if it is ever to begin, and the spirit of the civilized life, we must remember, is liberation and service. Civilization must exist to create beautiful and healthful human beings and promote their highest happiness always, and observation shows that men are not happy unless free and safe and kindly served by those about them, which finally means mutuality in freedom, safety and kindness.

The sex life of to-day is based on an ideal, and our laws and public opinion center on maintaining that ideal *in form.* The ideal is that one lover is to be chosen and adhered to through life in sincere, constant, undeviating love. This is the ideal, and where *sincerely* realized is it not one of the most beautiful of human relationships?

But unfortunately the *sincerity* part of the program has never been emphasized. Realizing that insistence on sincerity would very frequently dissolve the relationship, society and its laws have insisted on maintaining that relationship in form, even if the content of sincerity had quite departed. Therefore socially and legally jealousy has become the spirit of the racial sex life and sincerity has been flouted, balked, discredited.

Love is glad mutual service, but to hold people in a service to which they do not willingly consent is slavery, and on all other planes but that of the sex life has been so recognized. Those nations nearest civilization to-day admit that political slavery cannot be included in a true civilization, nevertheless the essential spirit of slavery constantly works out, in a usually veiled form, in efforts to force unwilling service and to create and maintain monopolies. On one pretext or another, by direct force or economic exploitation, backward peoples are conquered and harnessed, by a process pretending to "civilize" them, but to the vehicles of profit of their masters. As far as possible the same tactics are applied to the weaker, more backward, less shrewd individuals at home—and the effort made to hold all advantages of nature or human skill as monopolies, drawing

tribute from all. If you look into all this you will see that the spirit and process are exactly the same as that which has for ages been used in the sex life and home life, and may discern that it is there that it all began. Just as it produced misery, hatred, fear, disease, quarrels, in the home, so it inevitably produces fear, suspicion, hatred, disease, civil and international wars in the life of nations. Our shibboleths of religion and democracy are all hollow because some essential spirit is lacking. Go back to the hypocrisy of our sex life and you will know why.

To be happy, individuals and nations must as far as possible be *free* to pursue and attain that happiness according to the law of their own instinctive genius. And their gratitude and love inevitably flow out to those about them who sympathize with and aid their genius. To set free and then assist, is to attain mutual harmony, is the law and secret of practical happiness; and a society based on mutual harmony and practical happiness is civilization. Liberation is the first step.

And let it be noted that jealousy, as we have it to-day, and liberation, are at opposite poles. Where one is the other does not exist.

Jealousy began in the animal-like battles of the first human males over the sex of the females. Biologically it was to the advantage of the race that the strongest, bravest male should propagate and the weaker be held back until he also became a champion—for these battles without weapons were probably seldom fatal. Biologically it was advantageous that the female should choose and permit the best available male, and by this method the choice was almost automatically pointed out to her with scientific precision.

It is still biologically just as necessary that the female should choose the best available male as the father of each of her children, but conditions have changed. The requirements are more complex and no longer only on the physical plane. Battle can no longer decide, because, to-day, by dagger stab or pistol shot, some syphilitic weakling may defeat the finest, brainiest man living. And the jealousy which once held off rivals until they were strong enough to turn the tables, is now artificially aided by the law to enable the unfit to keep the fit at a distance permanently. Jealousy of to-day is not a jealousy of fitness decided in fair competition but a jealousy of monopoly, attained and maintained by legal privilege. It now is anti-biological, for it prevents the female from seeking a better male when she has discovered the present one is unfit.

Long ago it became the custom for men to make conquests of women by any available force or fraud, law or defiance of law, and the woman, thus captured, purchased, wooed or deceived into consent, had the locks of law snapped on her and became the man's slave, a condition only mitigated, as time went on, by the gradual acquisition on her part of an equally unfair, but only partial, power to enslave him. This was historical "marriage"; at the worst complete slavery for the woman, at the best mutual slavery. Jealousy became the passion in both that affirmed, confirmed, this slavery as a sacred right, the corner-stone of civilization. Indeed our whole society has been founded on this and with reference to its maintenance—a fact rather boasted of than denied.

Can we wonder then, knowing our sex life and home life is rooted in slavery and our children started under its influence, that the essential conditions of slavery—conquest, monopoly, servility, smoldering or open hatred and agony, characterize all human relationships? From the fountain comes the stream.

In life no extreme can stand alone. We must have liberty but we must have order—a discipline of a sort is always necessary to balance our liberty. But our order must not be rigid—it must be reconciled to our liberty, flexible, adaptable, growing with and fitted to our growth—that is the order of civilization, but the *order* of barbarism is a fossil fruit that cannot be digested, or a strait-jacket for the sane, or a bull-pen for slaves. Our order must be common-sense for the present and prevision for the future.

When we have become civilized we shall have the common-sense to see that love is not a chattel that we can steal, buy, devise, define or possess by law, but an *emotion*, perfectly real and unspeakably powerful, but mysterious to infinity and utterly untamable. Often, like all emotions, very volatile, no matter how originally strong and authentic. We shall have the common sense to see that loves are as different as characters and faces. Then we shall have the common sense to keep hands off, knowing that law can do nothing in the premises but to assure that hands are kept off.

For there are flowers that are called annuals and flowers called perennials—the annuals for a season and the perennials to endure. Just so in the loves of humans there are loves brief and loves immortal. But it does not follow that a love is weak, insincere, impure, deserving of censure, because brief. Our annuals are among our most beautiful of flowers, and choice—as glowing, delightful, fruitful, fragrant as any. And a very brief, episodal love may be the most

thrilling, memorable event in our whole lives. How crazy would be a law that annuals must be perennial! Equally crazy is a law that says that because a man and woman mistake a brief love for an eternal one they must remain tied together to make it eternal—turning all its brief beauty into long loathing and hate.

Marriage is the love companionship of a man and a woman—just that and only that. We all know that it has no necessary connection with children, with housekeeping, with business-sharing, even with living in the same house. We all know that there can be those truly married who are sterile, or whose children are by others, or whose children are reared by foster parents. We all know that children can be begotten outside of marriage, without love, by rape, by eugenic experiment. We all know that those can be truly married who have separate apartments, separate occupations and incomes, are served by servants, living in hotels, or are traveling a thousand miles apart. But we also all know that there is and can be no true marriage where love has become supplanted by dislike. Why then all this hypocrisy and stultification of fact? Why? Because it is a hold-over from ancient slavery, still idealized in our present barbarism.

Our basis for hope is that almost unconsciously our modern thought and instinctive action is revolting and breaking down this old concept of marriage and demanding something more scientific and sincere. But still we are prone to cling to the old jealousy—a jealousy, personal and legal, a jealousy to monopolize what would leave us, to hold what does not consent, to maintain a form from which meaning has departed. Working out in all our life to all injustice and shams. We are satisfied with a shell—yet no, we are *dissatisfied* at heart, like hell and death.

I affirm unhesitatingly that we must reform the spirit of our sex life or civilization will never be attained. We must establish a new jealousy—a jealousy for sincerity in every thought, word and motion of our sex life, based on absolute love liberty; for a love that holds only by being too lovely to let go, and by always, itself, releasing. A jealousy for children begotten always by consent and desire, and in eugenic wisdom, reared in homes of harmony. Cost what it may, we must do this or remain barbarous forever.

If sincere love is known to constitute marriage, then the withdrawal of that love, by either, will automatically constitute divorce.

If sincerity becomes the ideal in marriage, instead of an enforced permanency, then lovers will recognize that they can demand from

each other nothing but *the truth of the moment*, that they have no "marital rights" aside from this, and that they cannot be sincere in mortgaging their future by any vows of obedience or devotion. Their love, their marriage, is a matter of constant and free consent, renewed every moment, or else non-existent. Children born of their freedom, love and harmony will carry the same spirit out into the world and all relations with it. Here is the root, the center, the secret of true civilization.

If *sincerity* becomes the law and proof of marriage, the *form* will no longer be important or legislated about. Who will care if two lovers are absorbed in monogamy; or if two women love the same man, and each other, and each other's children; or if two or more men love the same woman? If there is love, freedom and goodwill all around, if everybody really concerned is satisfied, who has any business, any *right* to interfere just because the two later relations are scientifically named polygamy and polyandry? In freedom, if the relations are not satisfactory they will at once end themselves. If sincere and good they should be allowed, and if not sincere and good they will not allow themselves. Perhaps a few points require more careful explication:

Because our basic love, psychologically, is self-love, when as we say, we love another, we are really trying to enlarge the self. Love is the uniting element and when we love another we feel that that other is a part of our self—this is true whether we feel we are taking that other as an addition to the self, or giving our self as an addition to that other self. This is the basis of that curious sense of possession that always springs up in every relation of love. Nothing is more instinctive than to feel we possess ourselves, and by extension of this idea, if the loved one is a part of self, the loved one is also possessed. Love therefore, in its primitive form, is the antithesis of liberty. Love in its primitive form is pure jealousy. A man is jealous of the woman he loves just as he is jealous of his body and life, and all valued possessions. Even when we really believe we are giving the self wholly to another self, we are secretly carrying on a subtle piece of self-deception, we are simply trying to possess that other self by a reverse method to that of open capture. Just as the savage who gives himself devotedly to his tribe and chief feels himself as one with and *possessing* the tribe and chief, and therefore just that much larger than the savage who has no tribe and chief.

Man was first purely instinctive and emotional, like an animal, and reason was evolved to control this original animal endowment

in the interests of personal prudence and social success. From this evolved the *mores*, the ideas and customs that we call moral or ethical, and the morals of any given time in history represent the conclusions of social leaders of that time as to what customs best secure the desired ends. Morals therefore are variable and progressive, and bound to change as the race changes and grows in larger, wiser perception. But always morals have disciplined the primitive instincts and emotions and often, in action, require their complete reversal.

Except where nature intervened for the benefit of the species, the primitive emotions seem to have been entirely self-relative or even selfish. Food was to be fought over and obtained by the stronger, sex was to be fought over and obtained by the stronger. The instinct was predatory, everything was to be seized and held by force, nothing was to be shared, selfishness was the supreme law. The first moral step was probably the perception that courage was better than cowardice, and therefore the control and reversal was necessary of the instinct that urged to submission or flight. Courage is the oldest virtue.

Then the perception that in association and team-work was greater safety, power and success—starting first in the family, probably with the mother and her children, enlarging gradually into the tribe. Loyalty and coöperation evolved as moral virtues and required the control and reversal of a vast amount of original selfishness. In just this way, by just this method, have all our moral virtues been discovered and developed, and only by this moral growth can the race evolve and grow from animalism and savagery, barbarism, into civilization.

Liberty as a moral idea was one of the latest to evolve, the perception that it was better for the general good and individual happiness if *each* individual should have possession of his own person and faculties, and opportunity to enjoy these to the greatest degree consistent with the general safety and success—that the realization of civilization imperatively required this. The reason for this late arrival is easy to see. The primitive man used liberty only in a selfish and predatory way and toward all others it was a weapon. Only after the virtues of justice and sympathy had evolved could liberty be safely recognized, justice which required equality in benefit, and sympathy which suffered with others pain.

The admission of mutual liberty as a moral necessity has not yet been made by the mass of mankind, because it requires reversal

of a more ancient moral that all goods are only for the strong and the greatest good comes from conquest and slavery of the weak. But liberty is generally admitted in theory, generally ignored and reversed in practice. Particularly so in the love realm, because here ancient and revered moral customs have idealized, enjoined, legalized, required *power* over and possession of the loved one. Only very recently has there been any moral advance at all here. Selfishness has not only entrenched itself here as nowhere else, but has even claimed for itself, its ideals, "rights," laws, precepts, customs, the exclusive right to the term *morality* in the extreme and peculiar sense. An old psychological trick, this, to claim exclusive and peculiar possession of the very virtue being outraged. It only needs open-eyed perception, however, to distinguish *jealousy* as the supreme motive back of and through all our conventionally accepted and approved love life; that it everywhere contradicts the new moral of the liberty of the individual, especially of the woman.

So full of this idea of jealousy are our homes, our laws, our manners, our churches, our literature, music, drama, daily actions and speech, is it any wonder that even those who call themselves "free lovers" so often, almost unconsciously and self-deceptively manifest it themselves? They have overcome cowardice and may be heroes in peril; overcome greediness and are hospitable and generous; overcome predacity and are meticulously honest in dollars and cents; recognize usual slavery as criminal; yet to grant, in utter sincerity, complete liberty to the loved one, as an unquestionable right, still seems to them monstrous, unthinkable, innately wrong, the opening of chaos. Jealousy is builded on all the ages of the past, and has itself built most of the institutions of the past, and it will certainly take a long period of education and moral growth before humanity generally will rise above it and condemn it as cowardice, greediness, dishonesty, (and it contains all these) are now condemned.

The time is coming when the ability to set the loved one sincerely free, as a matter of course, and all the time, will be the standard of moral character, the acid test and proof of love, but let no one expect this moral altitude to be immediately realized. A few are large enough, just and sympathetic enough now, but we must expect centuries to elapse before the victory over jealousy will be a part of the practical life of the people in general. Therefore civilization must wait.

But life is paradoxical, builded of opposites necessary to each

other, and all our instincts and emotions that our moral evolution require us to reverse, are not to be exterminated but only sublimated to a more legitimate function. The legitimate function of jealousy is to hold precious, cherish and defend the love which the loved one has freely given, but to recognize that it legitimately possesses only what *is* freely given, in the time and moment of its giving, and not one moment after the free gift ceases. And the new jealousy will include a jealousy for this precious liberty of the loved one and its defense also.

In usual present manifestation jealousy has two forms, the jealousy of *pain* and the jealousy of *attack*. The jealousy of pain is always present, probably. The jealousy of attack needs no explication except to state that it usually excuses itself as defense, for jealousy is perhaps the most deceptive, and especially *self-deceptive* emotion we possess. But the jealousy of pain exists where the jealousy of attack may be abhorred and utterly put away. It is analogous to the pain felt when the loved one dies—something precious has gone out of the life, leaving a void—only it is more acute, because it may be believed that even death does not end love, while here it is the love itself that has died. Such pain is one of the unavoidable tragedies of life. But it may be mitigated by reflecting that the love that has gone had a right to go; that a sincerely generous love would be glad that the love has gone where it may be happier; that the same justice that would require us to pay a debt, even though painful to spare the money, and that no matter how much we needed money we had no right to expect it as a gift from the unwilling, requires us here to vindicate the liberty of this person to stop all gifts of love to us and bestow them elsewhere. When two men woo the same girl and one is rejected, no one nowadays feels that this gives the rejected one any right to claim damages from the accepted one, or to kill him, no matter how much pain the rejection may cause him. The pain is held inevitable and to be endured as a good sport, and nobody to blame. The same logic will some day be applied where mated lovers part, love is withdrawn, and the loser suffers. The suffering must be endured, for nobody is to blame. And finally, were it understood and always known that love might stop coming, and had a recognized and socially justified right to thus stop, we would be prepared, and certainly suffer less; whereas now, it is considered an assured and guaranteed possession for life and a wrong has been done to withdraw it.

Does the jealousy of woman differ from that of man? Probably not in essence. Woman is usually more emotional than man, and the more emotional the life is the nearer it is to the primitive; therefore woman is often more swiftly and shamelessly jealous than man, for man has more cultivated the reason that puts moral restraints on the emotions and endeavors more consistently to vindicate such restraints. He is more ashamed of blind subjection to or expression of emotion. Therefore the moral perceptions of justice and liberty are stronger in man than woman, and more vindicated and through these, more men than women have arrived at some idea of the injustice of conventional jealousy and are more likely to be ashamed of its expression. The more reasonable the man the less his jealousy usually; the same with races. But on the other hand the sense of property rights is often more active in man than in woman, and may make a man sternly jealous of what he considers his property in the woman's person and favors. In some women gentleness or sympathy makes the jealousy less, or less cruel, than it would be in a man in the same case. The jealousy of pain is probably keener, usually, in women. Women often feel, too, that they have more to lose in a lost love than a man, that their handicaps are more, their opportunities less. Probably where all other things are equal, jealousy is the same in both sexes.

But what about the children? That is the final argument of those who would force permanency in mating. They first assume that if liberty were granted no unions would be monogamous or permanent, which is far from true. True love will certainly not die out, and if, as they claim, monogamy is the only form true love can take, then monogamy, being based on nature, will always automatically manifest where true love is. Where true love unites a couple, while that true love exists, nothing can affect the permanency of their relation. *Liberty cannot change love, but it reveals where true love and where sham love exist; it is a fire that separates the gold of true love from the dross of sham love,* for the latter immediately breaks away, and is always better away. Is it not so? When the question is fairly put, who dare defend shams?

Next they assert that the permanency of all unions is necessary for the sake of the children; lumping sterile unions, childless unions, and unions where the children are undesired, or boiling in a hell of family discord, with those where the embraces are fertile, the parents really mated and the children fortunate.

And institutions, they say, are worse than homes for the chil-

dren, however bad those homes may be, because there is no love there. Is this necessarily true?

In the military ages the woman not defended by some warrior was liable to promiscuous rape and her children would have no one but herself to defend them. No warrior was likely to defend her unless he possessed her. So she was glad to become the sex slave of some fighting man, as the least of inevitable evils. The home then was the best place for the children, no matter how unfit the parents, and the mother was always there with them. But to-day things have widely changed. All our women are educated and a great many taking up "careers." It is now common for both father and mother to be normally away from the home for a large part of the time. Motherhood may mean sacrifice of a career, or the turning over of the children to hired, unreliable servants. The life of the adult and the child grow further apart, and in all cases the child and the adult live in different worlds and have always done so, though less apart in savage times. More and more it is being recognized that the relation of the community to the child is a parental one and that all adults are in a measure parents to all children—and this is the attitude of civilization. And more and more it is seen that the child requires in all its relations the vigilance and service of experts, and the parent is almost never such an expert. The sick used to be cared for at home, but now, more and more, we put them in hospitals to receive the constant attention of doctors and nurses. Yet far more than the usual invalid does the usual child need the constant vigilance and service of an expert—to intelligently, kindly, answer his incessant, but perfectly reasonable and justifiable questions, if for no other reason. To do that alone the average parent has neither the knowledge nor the time, to say nothing of the patience.

The logical solution is the creation of an institution where parents may at any time, for longer or shorter periods of time, or altogether, place the child while they are occupied elsewhere, knowing that it will be welcomed and lovingly and expertly cared for in whatever need of nursing, education, training. An institution not in the least a charity, no more than a parent's care for a child is a charity, but the love-gift of the entire community to its beloved children, supported equally by all, and furnishing far better and pleasanter conditions for those children than any home, even of wealth, can usually afford. The objection to institutions, that they are destitute of love, can be easily overcome if it be made the first requirement, and insisted upon, that no nurse, teacher, or employee of any sort

shall ever be permitted there unless a born lover of children, preferring their care, and expertly trained for it—*a professional child-lover*—and in every community there are always many who would leap joyously to such a profession.

If woman is to be really free, equally with man, she must have this. In the past the husband discovered that in no other way could he so bind the wife to him as to get her with child. With every fresh birth she became more dependent. But if free from children she can be his equal. This institution, then, would be the greatest practical step in the liberation of woman, while still permitting her to have the fulfillment of motherhood. For no normal, capable mother should ever be *compelled* to place her child there, and, if placed there, she should always be free, at any moment to withdraw it, and, if she preferred, care for it herself in her own way. It must only safeguard, not infringe her liberty, nor infringe the old-time home where that is preferred. But it might well be made a place of refuge for the mistreated child to flee to.

In this institution, let it be noted, there would be no marital jealousy, or family discords, to poison the growing, receptive, imitative mind of the child, and all influences could easily be coördinated to unconsciously and constantly inculcate a love of courtesy, fairness, mutual justice, liberation. The child learns more from what those about it *are* than from what they *say*.

Here then is the center and secret of all: when our sex-jealousy ceases to be a jealousy for the rape of and holding of the unwilling, and becomes a jealousy for utter sincerity in love, *established on the only possible basis of every moment's freedom of consent or refusal*, our whole life, social, educational, political, will grow sincere and marvelously free.

III—SEX AND PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGY

The outstanding defect in the human sciences is the overweighting of one factor to the exclusion of the other vital factors in a given human situation. For example: psychoanalysis—like psychology in general—overstresses personality and practically ignores the social situation. Economics and sociology overemphasize the environing conditions and disregard the internal drives and mechanisms of human nature, as of minor importance. Logic ignores life. History is indifferent to psychopathology. Anthropology makes a fetich of the cultural milieu, assigning small significance to economics, class cleavage, the psychology of original differences. Eugenics and biology and neurology go to absurd extremes in their devotion to the "internal" environment and their blindness to the "external" environment. Philosophy is neither here nor there, suspended in mid-air, strangely detached at one time from social context, and at another time, from specific human nature.

The human sciences still suffer from the absolutistic way of thinking; the static logic of *either—or.* What they need for true growth and unfoldment is the dynamic logic of *both—and;* the psychological (and relativistic) way of thought; the vitalizing principle of inter-relation, of correlation.

This section of Sex in Civilization illustrates the newer, more fertile approach to human nature problems—in which John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen are our great pioneers. The "psycho-sociological" method of analysis—and synthesis—promises to open up a brilliant new chapter in intellectual history.

SEX AND SOCIAL STRUGGLE

BY V. F. CALVERTON

Sex is very seldom thought of in terms of social struggle, and, in fact, it might even be said, that the consideration of it in that aspect may seem to many an intrusion of one concept upon another. Nevertheless, an understanding that the growth of civilization—which has certainly given, with its conventions and customs, different turns to sexual behavior—has been continuously bound up with social struggle, should be sufficiently striking evidence that the two are interlinked rather than exclusive. Even in our modern day, however, we have not yet adopted what may be called an integrated concept, and forces and factors that seem obviously separate we never think of in terms of a subtle union. It is the purpose of this essay to point out the intimacy of this union, and elucidate and emphasize its various manifestations in life and literature.

In the very nature of this approach, several attitudes, it is important to note by way of exordium, are immediately implicit. It should be obvious, for example, in line with our logic, that sex attitudes are not independent of social and economic milieu; they are not an expression of an abstract intelligence either on the part of a people or of an individual; but are conjoined with the conditions of life and the circumstances of environment, and are shaped by the controls instituted by the classes that are dominant in society. The realization of these facts is significant if that clarity of analysis necessary to revolutionary thought is to be attained.

Historical Conceptions of Sex

Sex has always been an important element in the life of man. Many have interpreted it as the most fundamental. Institutions and customs have been explained in terms of their connection with the sexual life. Alterations in social structure have been associated with sexual revolutions. Human progress and aspiration have been accounted for as results of the sexual urge.

Our own age is one in which this sex monism has become prominent. Sex has become an obsession. This is partly a result of the suppression of all considerations of sex during the last few centuries and primarily the result of the changes in objective institutions which have accomplished this emancipation from these earlier silences.

While sex has been one of the most profound forces in human life, it has not determined social change or economic progress. While its potency may have remained a constant down through the æons and ages, its influence upon group advance has been secondary rather than primary, negative rather than positive. To many in the contemporary world who are ardent advocates of sex emancipation this observation may appear disappointingly conservative. Our zeal for change, however, should not cause us to lose our sense of equilibrium. We must not challenge sex stupidities by sex exaggerations. Through climatic changes and economic revolutions man has advanced, and his sex life has altered with the variations in existence which have resulted. His sexual customs have oscillated with the movement of external conditions. They have not determined this movement; this movement, on the other hand, has determined them, their form and expression. Sexual ethics, therefore, are more of an effect than a cause in the progress of social relations. They reflect rather than determine the nature of advance.

Although the variations in custom and convention have been intricate and numerous, and sex attitudes have topsied this way and that as conditions and circumstances altered, the sexual impulse itself has been a factor in the determination of their observance and continuity. In other words a convention that utterly disregarded the nature of the sexual impulse could not long endure. A custom, for instance, which endeavored to enforce celibacy upon men as a necessary form of ethical behavior could only induce its own destruction. Either it would modify itself so that adaptation could be made to it, or it would become so evaded in action that its existence would become merely nominal. We can see then, that change in moral custom, while enormous in potentiality, is still limited within a certain radius. The clash between economics and impulse, which we have hitherto pointed out as inescapable in our own system of ethics, had sown within its very substance the seeds of revolt. This revolt, nevertheless, could only have grown to the proportions of a revolution with the changes in conditions that have given it an increasingly wide chance for expression.

If we succeed in nothing else, in these concluding pages, than in stressing the impermanence of sex attitudes, we shall be content. Men have always been deluded by the fiction that whatever is has always been or is the best that could be. This condition of psychological inertia, disturbed only at moments of immediate and commanding crisis, dynamited into action only when life has become insufferable, has impeded all intellectual and moral advance. The morality of our age, or rather the old morality of the past age, which many of us have known, had once seemed a lasting attribute of a great civilization. We have in our own day seen this morality change and decay. The fear which many experience of witnessing the rise of a new morality and a new moral structure is as ever grounded upon individual rationalization and historical ignorance.

With primitive man sex was a superstition, with ancient man it was a religious cult. The primeval attitude toward sex was free of pruriency and secretiveness. The sex organs were symbols of potency and objects of adoration. Even the exanimate world was endowed with sexual attributes. In the primitive concept of the gods was embodied the sexual origin of the world. Uranus (*sky*), for example, was the male in unending sexual congress with Gea (*earth*), the female; in this embrace humanity was conceived as in a constant state of propagation. With the Biblical Jews the phallus was a sacred symbol,[1] sworn by in oath, and worn by the women as a charm of fertility. Phallic worship among the Greeks and Romans was a widespread and accepted custom. In all these attitudes sex has a social aspect. It is translated into every form of life. In art its manifestations are arresting and signal. The comedy, for instance, as Aristotle observed, originated in the Phallic performances, in honor of Phales himself. Greek religion is saturated with sex. Judaism likewise embodies the concrete evidences of phallicism. Not only did the Jews swear by the phallus,[2] according to Biblical testimony, but their sacred oath of calling on Asher, or Baal, as witness, was another unmistakable trace of phallic worship.[3] Christianity utilized the same phallic technique. Early architecture which had symbolized the male and female organs in its form and structure was employed by Christianity in the design of its churches and cathedrals. The Trinitarian Conception, in ecclesiastical schemata and architectural design, grew into the male and female triangle, forms of which still linger in the symbol used by the Y. M.

[1] Inman, *Ancient, Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism.* [2] *Ibid.*
[3] O. A. Wall, *Sex and Sex Worship,* page 384.

C. A. and Y. W. C. A. In a hundred forms Christianity continues, in deviations that fail to disguise their origin, this early influence of the sex motif upon its structure.

As late as 1620 we have upon the English stage vestiges of ancient sex worship. In a masque of the time, published in 1620 by Edward Wright, and entitled *A Courtly Masque: The Deuice called the World Tost at Tennis*, we discover the people flocking to see a child whose genitalia were excessive if not monstrous in development, and in *Henry VIII* we discover Shakespeare referring to an Indian abnormally large in his sex organs.[4] All through the Restoration period, likewise, this candor in things sexual reigned.

It has only been since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the rise of the bourgeois class and its narrow-bound morality, as we saw in earlier chapters, that sex became discussion-gagged by the censor. The stork now became the errand boy of the doctor, and ignorance was sweetly cherished as innocence. Candor became a vice, and hypocrisy a virtue. Art in the nude was draped, legs suddenly became limbs, and passion became a sin of the pagans. The difference between the clean attitude of ancient man toward sex and the unclean attitude of modern man is well illustrated in the controversy that arose about the Greek play *Lysistrata*. In this play, when it was originally staged in Greece, the actors wore artificial phalli, and no one was either shocked, surprised or bewildered. When Aubrey Beardsley, however, illustrated this Greek play according to its original form, with its phallicism manifest, he horrified the bourgeois world, and was scorned and attacked with unmitigated vigor.

To primitive and ancient man, it is clear, sex was a significant phenomenon, which he approached with reverence and candor. He did not allow the element of shame to intrude into his conception of it. He did not attempt to obscure or deny its realities. He spoke of the organs of procreation with affection and with a clean respect for their potency. To him sex embodied the mysterious source of creation and he idealized it in art and religion. Modern man, on the contrary, has been taught either to look upon sex as a sin, or as something unclean and unbeautiful except in its stupid sentimentalities and childish bathos. He has endeavored to hide it, and confine it to the unspoken. He has encouraged ignorance of it as an ideal. Pruriency and smugness grew up as characteristic manifestations of this ostrich-like attitude. An unclean and unhealthy "refinement" was the consequence. It was not until our present

[4] For further details cf. the author's book *Sex Expression in Literature*.

generation that this "refinement" was recognized as a form of hypocrisy, a spurious virtue that brought only ignorance and pain, and a sense of sickening impotency with its realization.

This morality of the modern age, prior to the developments in the new generation, revolved about a certain set of ideas embedded in the concept of monogamy. Its ideals of chastity, monogamous fidelity, and a subjection of the sex life to the demands of the economic order, were not of long duration. A great number of people imagine that these sex ideals are the creation of civilized man, and that all other sex attitudes were the outgrowths of barbarous and pagan cultures. They conceive of their approach to sex as something ultimately pure, the acme of moral achievement. This belief, of course, is ridiculous, nay risible. It has no foundation other than the desire to justify that which one has known and in which one has faith.

The Social Background of Sex Attitudes

That attitudes toward sex have been determined invariably and inevitably by the nature of society, and contingent upon the status of social struggle underlying it, becomes increasingly obvious as soon as one adopts the method of historical analysis and comparison. There are two ways in which to trace a morality to its social origins. The first way is concerned with a general consideration of its moral practices, and their dependence upon the economic and social environment; and the second is concerned with its attitude toward, and laws regarding, women. In a fundamental sense, of course, both of these ways fall within the same category, and yet in considering them separately, for a moment, a certain convenience of clarity can be more readily secured.

If we consider morality, to begin with, in terms of moderation, we shall at once be able to observe that deviations always occur wherever groups or classes can afford them. Ruling classes, for instance, in the past, when not harassed by danger or deprivation, have been inveterately immoral. The prevalence of prosperity on the part of a group or class inevitably tends toward economic extravagance and sexual excess, and since the ruling classes in historic record have been the only ones that have ever gotten an opportunity to be prosperous, it has been their history which has been dashingly replete with this extravagance and excess. This was as true in the days of Crœsus and Belshazzar as in the days of Charles II or Louis XV. The under classes have not been essen-

tially more moral. Their morality, or moderation, at basis has been economic in character. It was as much forced upon them by their environment as immorality was forced, in the real sense of the word, upon the upper classes. The contrast is not a problem in good and evil but in respective economics. That other factors are secondary in this analysis, however contributory they may be in other ways, is clearly brought out in the history of English morality in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both the upper class, and the middle class, in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I, subscribed to the same religion, prayed to the same God, read the same Bible, and accepted the same Christian ethics, sought the same heaven and feared the same hell, and yet lived as if in two different worlds. The same, in fact, was true in the Restoration era. The upper classes, despite their religion, were licentious, and the middle classes, on account of their economics, were Puritanical. This same contrast is to be found all through primitive and ancient life as well as modern. In countries in which marriage may be either polygamous or monogamous we discover this contrast in signal and arresting form. In polygamous countries it is a well-known fact that the great mass of the population practices monogamy.[5] Certainly this is not because the under classes are intrinsically more "virtuous" or by nature more measured in their morality. That is obviously not true, for it is an observed fact that whenever a man in such countries advances in wealth he adds another wife to his household. In India, for example, the *sondras* and poorer folk are almost uniformly monogamous, while the wealthy classes are polygamous.[6] Even among the Turks, prior to the revolution, where the sultan could marry seven women and have dozens of concubines and slaves, and the harem was a sanctified institution, the vast majority of the population was forced to live in a state of monogamy. In Egypt the men of the lower classes usually had but one wife who often was their own sister or close relative.[7] The force was not legal, for polygamy was part of the prevailing culture, but economic. Only the wealthy classes were, or could be, polygamous. Differences in moral habit, here again we see, were differences in class distinction and economic competency.

In primitive society, before the introduction of private property, such distinctions, since there were no classes, could not exist.[8]

[5] *Women Under Polygamy,* by Walter M. Gallachin.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria,* by J. Maspero.
[8] *The Mothers,* by Robert Briffault.

Polygamy marks the appearance of class-distinction, and can develop only in a society in which private property is an institution. Polygamy necessarily signified the end of that primitive equality which prevailed among so many early groups. In matriarchal times, for example, when women worked at tasks that were economically productive, the male supremacy implicit in the practice of polygamy could never become a part of the existing mores.[8] In fact, in those days the right of divorce rested primarily with the woman.[9] It was only with the reversal of this situation, when the economic independence of the primitive woman disappeared, that we find woman converted into a form of private property, and polygamy arising as a moral institution. Even monogamy, with the development of the property-concept, assumes the same economic character. With primitive monogamy, for instance, before the evolution of property possession, "marital relations exhibit all degrees of duration." [10] Divorce was as free to the woman in many instances as to the man, and could be secured upon the simple basis of mutual consent. As soon as woman becomes a piece of property, however, the privilege of divorce upon the ground of mutual consent is denied. It is at this time that marriage becomes an economic contract, binding because of its propertied aspects. An interesting example of this change is to be seen in the history of the ancient Jews whose morals have been elevated into a religious ethic in many parts of the world. The marriage contract with them was always an economic expedient. Wives were forms of property over which the husbands had complete control. The husband's authority was autocratic. He did not have to state a cause for divorcing his wife or wives—"When a man taketh a wife and marrieth her, then it shall be, if she find favor in his eyes, because he hath found some unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house." But the woman, being the form of property, had no right of divorce whatsoever. Furthermore, polygamy under the Jews, despite its religious sanction, followed the same line of economic development, and effected the same distinctions, that it did with other peoples.

Monogamy, it is easy to note, had its human origins among the poor.[11]

One of the most startling revelations of the devastating influence

[9] *Folkways,* by Sumner.
[10] Lichtenberger: *Divorce: A Study in Social Causation.*
[11] *Social History of the American Family,* by A. W. Calhoun.

of class-distinctions upon moral practice, is to be found in the ancient habit of excluding all plebeians and slaves from the exercise of the right of marriage. Marriage, which to-day is often considered such a sacred rite, a divine form, was then a class privilege. Whatever was divine about it found its inspiration in economic distinctions. Slaves from distant antiquity were always forbidden to marry. They were allowed to cohabit only at the owner's whim. The female slave was valuable to her owner as a reproductive animal. Her children became his property and thus augmented his wealth. Frequently, for reproductive purposes, a male and female slave were forced to live together, but their children were never theirs, since they could have no legitimate rights, but always the property of the master.[12] It was not only the slave, however, who was thus fettered. The poor freedmen fell beneath the same yoke. No marriage was allowed among the poor.[13] All search through ancient law does not disclose a single statute permitting legal marriage among the poor.[14] The poor man often lived with a woman but she could not be his wife, and their children were illegitimate. Even in the days of Isaiah this was true.[15] Among the Romans this discrimination was rigidly enforced. Special laws were passed in order to prevent marriage among the poor, whether slaves or freedmen. Slave women, for instance, could not marry even after they had been freed. When we realize that in Athens in 300 B.C., among a population of 515,000, only 9,000 possessed the right to marry, we can appreciate the fact that marriage at basis was a class-institution, reflecting a certain condition of economic life and social struggle.

Perhaps the most sweeping illustration of the historic influence of social struggle and class conflict upon sex-attitudes and sexual philosophy is to be discovered in the clash between paganism and Christianity during the first five centuries of the Christian era. The consequences of this clash linger with us yet. In the loose morality of the upper classes in Rome there were those excesses born of idleness and wealth. At one time in the latter days of the Republic, this loose morality took on a marvelously intelligent character, within its own group, when it replaced *manus* marriage by *free* marriage, thereby turning marriage into a private affair, with divorce a private matter which the woman was as privileged to

[12] *Woman: Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome and Among Early Christians.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Ward's *Ancient Lowly;* and Briffault's *The Mothers.*
[15] *Ibid.*

utilize as the man. On the whole, however, its own extravagances, increasing with the advancing economic chaos, led to its own destruction. The conditions of the rest of society, particularly of the lower classes, were characterized by deprivations so terrifying that they drove men either to protest or despair. The failure of the Spartacan revolt lessened the protest and deepened the despair. The conditions of slavery emphasized it. The aching spread of poverty made it even more cancerous among the poor. Life soon could offer neither palliative nor aspiration. And men of the lower classes, slaves and freedmen, perforce, turned to another world with the gesture of a falling warrior. It was their only escape. It fed them with a promise of a paradise, an other-worldly utopia. A spiritual mania was created. It swept from city to city, and province to province, winging itself upon the wild enthusiasms of men and women suddenly seized by the mad prophecies of a delirious dream. Persecution only made it thrive. At length it became a movement of the poor and outcast. It became a social movement with a religious cast. At length straggling members of the upper classes, sick with the decay of their own life, came within its spell. The end of the world was at hand. A new world, fresh with eternal peace, was about to dawn. It was a world beyond the skies, a paradise of light. Men believed these things. They became part of their life. They were willing to die for them. Everything for the new world became their cry. This world was of but a moment; but that world was of eternity. Martyrdom became an obsession. The lion's roar could not frighten souls dedicated to the destruction of flesh.

And out of all this madness came the Christian attitude toward sex. Sex was a sin. Sex perpetuated this world—it was, therefore, a device of evil. Castration sects grew up. Men made themselves into eunuchs for Christ's sake. Men must consecrate themselves to the hereafter and not to what is. And so the phallus became for Paul a thorn in the flesh, and for Tertullian woman became the "gateway to the devil." Clement of Alexandria declared that "every woman ought to be filled with shame at the thought that she is a woman." Woman became unmitigatedly despised because of her reproductive function and her tendencies to worldly temptation. While Plato had classified women along with "children and servants," it was the early Christians who condemned her to perdition. In their eyes she was the incarnation of evil, because she was "sex." Sex was an intrusion in a world that was about to end. Men must prepare themselves for higher things. And so continence became a virtue, and

celibacy was exalted into a way of life. Sex was unclean in its worldliness. It lacked the purity of a heavenly vision. It was a joy of the body instead of the soul. The body now was an unclean sheath that enclosed an immortal soul. The body was to be despised, the soul cherished. The body died, but the soul lived on forever. Nakedness, because it emphasized the body and magnified its temptations, became sinful, and sexual intercourse, because it fed upon the body for its ecstasy and tended to reproduce its forms, was scorned as a craving borne of the evil of the flesh. The saintly would never surrender to it. Even those, as Paul said, who could not constrain themselves, must never come to look upon their act as sweet and sinless.

It was through women, and sex, that Adam had fallen.

These early attitudes of the Christian fathers had been modified but never removed from Christian doctrine. Sex continued to remain an unclean necessity. The institution of marriage was soon adapted to include the poor and the enslaved, and to give a kind of divine sanction to what was so undivinely pagan. Wherever Christianity has swept, it has carried this influence—this Christian attitude toward sex and the moral life. It has become ingrained in western culture.

In the conflict between the Christian attitude and the pagan, the presence of social struggle is immediately patent. The contrast between the attitudes and personalities of Petronius and Paul brings it out in sharp relief. Christianity was the religion of the oppressed masses, the swarming multitudes for whom the enchantment of another world became a magnetic incentive. It was the religion of the underdog. Its wild manias, its asceticisms, its burning denunciations of the flesh and the devil, were the contributions of the Pauline creed. They captured the movement of the masses as completely as the slogans of Lenin captured the Russian masses in 1917. Paul, a reactionary in earthly vision, nevertheless, in his ability to meet the demands of the millions, was the Lenin of his day. Petronius, on the other hand, an exemplar of the best that was in the upper class culture of his period, disdained the Pauline ideas, as the obscene gesturings of the mob. Petronius was a pagan. He viewed Christianity with the curious contempt of the intellectual. It was a religion for the plebeians and slaves. Why should he advocate asceticism when the world offered him wealth? Why should he seek pain when life offered him the pleasant anodynes of beauty and loveliness? In this contrast between Paul and Petronius we find the contrast not of two

men, but of two cultures, of two philosophies, arising from two different sides in the social struggle of their era.

In later centuries when Christianity became the religion of the ruling classes, it became as changeable as a chameleon. As the conditions of life altered, the seemingly inexorable basis of its philosophy had to modify. That has been the vast contradiction involved in the history of the Christian Church. Beginning as a religion of the lower classes, it has since become a religion of the upper classes, and has stultified its meaning by trying to reconcile its upper class practices with its lower class convictions. In addition, the conditions of life which encouraged the rise of Christianity from the fanaticism of a sect into the movement of a hemisphere have disappeared, and the attempt to harmonize doctrines that grew out of that period with the drives and demands of modern life is no more successful than the attempt of the Chinese to prevent the spread of railroads by maintaining that their noise would disturb the sleep of the dead. The sexual ethic of Christianity, of course, rapidly lost something of its annihilating ascetism as soon as the belief that the end of the world might be delayed for more than a few generations was accepted. Nevertheless, it struggled to effect a number of hopeless reconciliations, and succeeded, despite contradictions in life and deviations in living, in keeping alive the idea of sex as a sin, and shame as an attribute of saintliness.

The sexual attitudes expressed by Christianity are an illuminating index to many of the problems involved in the relationship of sex and social struggle. In the lives of the aristocratic ruling classes of the past the influence of the Christian asceticisms and moralities has been nugatory. They have adopted Christian doctrines in theory but invariably denied them in practice. Their form of life made such denial inevitable. Their acceptance of Christianity was nothing more than a fiction, forced upon them by a tradition they could not avoid. It has been in the lives of the middle classes, before their rise to power, the Puritans and Huguenots, for instance, that the doctrines of Christianity, in a sexual if not in an economic sense, could find a more consistent application.

Let us turn to the literature of England of several hundred years ago in order to illustrate in a more extensive way, the influence of social struggle upon sex attitudes and group-morals. It was the rise of middle class culture for example, scarred with the ashes of asceticism, that brought to an abrupt and dismal conclusion the splendor of Elizabethan art. Treatises have been written trying

to show how the decline of morality and the degeneracy of impulse were the causes of the death of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. Rupert Brooke, for instance, in his entertaining but sentimental way, averred that it was in a "sinking to prettiness and to absence of seriousness that the degeneracy of the later Elizabethan drama lay." The real fact of the matter has been largely missed or neglected. The fall of the Elizabethan drama marked the transient fall of a social class. The cause of its fall had been its conflict with another class: the bourgeoisie. Feudalism had begun to sway and bend; the system was unable to support an aristocratic class in the fashion that earlier centuries had made possible, and this class came to depend more and more upon the rising bourgeois groups in the nation. The economic roots of English society were hastening the evolution of a bourgeois class and diminishing the influence and potency of an aristocracy. Such a condition inevitably signifies the existence of class decay and dissolution. It was not a "sinking to prettiness" or a "degeneracy of sentiment" that was the fundamental cause of the collapse of early seventeenth century drama in England, but the economic struggle that intensified the conflict of the two social classes, antithetic in both purpose and esthetic, the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. The sex attitudes, their freedom and liberty of utterance, that we have traced in this analysis are manifestations of a class psychology of aristocratic type, specifically expressing the economic conditions of England and Europe that gave this class its shape and tendency. The opposition to this psychology was the Puritanic psychology of the English bourgeoisie which not only fought against the mention of sex in literature, but also tried to ostracize its entire expression to the privacy of the sanctified canons of an ascetic religion. It was the clash of these classes with their antipodal psychologies that precipitated the temporary decadence of a literature.

Feudalism, with its basis in an agrarian system of production, had its castes and its fixities of organization, its static economics and rigid metaphysics, but about its philosophy was a sociality of attitude that gave unity to life and coöperation to endeavor. The Christian hierophants of the middle ages, reflecting the ethical outlook of the feudal order, were opposed to avarice and competition. In other words, to paraphrase the ethics of St. Antonino, riches exist for man, not man for riches. The ideal system of life, wrote Gratian, is communism. Usury was condemned and private gain at the expense of public benefit declared a social sacrilege. Gratian's state-

ment: "The man who buys (something) that he may gain by selling it again unchanged and as he bought it, that man is of the buyers and sellers who are cast forth from God's temple" is illustrative of the feudal attitude toward cupidity and exploitation. The "lust of gain" was invariably scourged. A schoolman of the fourteenth century expresses the same attitude in even more illuminating detail:

> He who has enough to satisfy his wants, and nevertheless ceaselessly labors to acquire riches, either in order to obtain a higher social position, or that subsequently he may have enough to live without labor, or that his sons may become men of wealth and importance—all such are incited by a damnable avarice, sensuality or pride.

The common need was paramount. Usury was categorized with the unpardonable sins and no usurer "could become mayor, councillor or master of the gild." The relief of the poor was one of the fundamental duties of those who had escaped poverty. In brief, it was the social character of wealth that was at the basis of the medieval doctrine of society and feudal religion.

The expansion of commerce and the rise of the bourgeoisie slowly undermined feudal economics and the rule of aristocracy. A new economic world was hatching itself out of the shell of the old. A new life was being created. Feudalism and feudal ethics were inadequate to meet the demands of the nascent society. With the enhancement of enterprise, the development of exchange, and the accumulation of wealth, a new ethics and a new philosophy crystallized out of the chaos. The disappearance of sociality and the rise of individuality, the evanescence of caste-communism and the rise of class individualism, marked the change from the old society to the new. The spirit of mutual aid was crucified by the spirit of private gain.

The ethics of feudalism had condemned the usurer, attacked and restricted the merchant, and discouraged the extension of competitive enterprise. The Church had been unmitigated in its opposition to the catastrophic consequences of cupidity and competition. "Merchants who organize a ring, or money-lenders who grind the poor, it regards, not as business strategists, but as *nefaudæ belluæ*, monsters of iniquity."

As for those "who buy up corn, meat, and wine . . . to amass money at the cost of others," the Church denounced "as no better than common criminals." With the new social order of commercialism this ethic could not survive. The bourgeoisie could never have

risen with such a morality as a fetter to its undertakings in the commercial world. The old morality had to be broken and buried. Succumbing to sacrilege and simony, thriving upon bribe and plunder, the Catholic Church weakened, but philosophically it clung closer to the old order than its rebellious opponents. Money was already becoming a mania. It was Columbus, in the fifteenth century, who declared:

> Gold constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all the needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from Purgatory, and restoring them to the enjoyment of Paradise.

It should not be thought that the new economics and the new morality were accepted without protest. Luther, exposing the growing individualism of his time in his revolt against authority, nevertheless, opposed the usurious tendencies of the bourgeoisie, and Zwingli denounced the possession of private property in social life. The protests, however, were impotent. Moral declamations are futile in the clash of economic change. The new economics, with its individualistic ethics, soon had its defendants and promoters. Calvin justified both the practice of profits and the wisdom of usury, and thus gave a religious sanction to commercial pursuits.

"What reason is there," asked he, "why the income from business should not be larger than that from land-owning? Whence do the merchant's profits come, except from his own diligence and industry?"

Money making, we see, is now defended as a virtue, and profit-seeking becomes an attribute of the good life. The economic virtues have become predominant. Prudence and piety are now considered "the best of friends." And the "discharge of the duties of business" becomes "the loftiest of religious and moral virtues." Religion becomes an anodyne of capitalism. Success in business, according to the preacher, Richard Steele, becomes "a proof that a man has labored faithfully in his vocation, and that God has blessed his Trade."

And thus religion hallowed the new order, defended the bourgeoisie, justified the exploitation of the many by the few, sanctified wars and prepared itself for the blessing of industrial plutocracy.

From this social background it is not difficult to understand the triumph of the economic virtues of the bourgeoisie and to trace their extension into other phases of life. Let us, however, examine the

causes that created the virtues before we determine their effects upon the moral and esthetic life of the period.

There is often confusion as to what is meant by the classification "bourgeois" or the concept "bourgeois class," and in order to forestall misunderstanding we shall consider the origin and meaning of the term. The word "bourgeois" can be traced to the word *bourg*, meaning town, and its connection with the words "burgess" and "burgher" can be easily recognized; literally it means one of the shop-keeping or merchant class, individuals whose main livelihood has depended upon trade, the exchange of commodities that have been produced by another class. Of course, there are often times when a bourgeois group is so situated in a society that it actually produces as well as attends to the administration of exchange. In primitive times when division of labor had not developed, the occasion for exchange was slight, and even with the early beginnings of this division what exchange evolved was carried on largely by means of barter, and for considerable time necessitated no special class to regulate its execution. The desire for the exchange of commodities naturally is determined by the stage of production of the community, and the increase or intensification of this desire depends upon changes in the productive forces. When these changes had occurred, with the progress from primitive communism to an incipient individualism based upon a private property conception, exchange obviously increased and the need for a merchant group was created. The size of this group was determined by the intensity of the need for exchange. Until society developed beyond the primitive system of barter such a merchant class could not become very definitized or significant. Once this evolution had taken place, however, and a merchant class was found that was able to subsist upon the labors of other groups, a bourgeois psychology was in the embryo. The invention of money as a substitute for barter was a revolutionary change in social relations. It made possible the expedition of exchange and consequently the augmentation of desires, and the more distinct separation of classes.

The bourgeois class, depending originally upon exchange as its medium of livelihood, developed from its very beginning the social characteristics of thrift and caution. Its life for centuries was one of unending difficulty and struggle. To survive it had to equip and protect itself with a psychology adapted to the society in which it existed. The extravagance of the lord could never be part of its habit, nor the liberty and license of behavior and morality. Shrewd-

ness, a growing sense of property-possession, and untender tenacity for social gain, steadily developed as salient features in the solidifying bourgeois philosphy of life. As a result of its struggle against an upper class, a nobility that was contemptuous of all lower orders and disrespectful of any privileges to which they might make protest and claim, the bourgeoisie speedily created a defense metaphysic that attempted to establish the inalienable rights of property prerogative and individual freedom. The demand for liberty of utterance, emancipation from heavy taxation, representation in the government, the *habeas corpus* act, freedom from religious coercion, exemption from interference in economic enterprise, all grew out of this inevitable class conflict between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. According to the doctrine of the new economists, persecution and prosperity were incompatible, and the belief that trade and tolerance flourished together became widespread. Intolerance interfered with individualism.

Group struggles, like struggles between species, are always at basis problems of adaptation to conditions. The group or class that is finally victorious is always the one that is capable of making the best adjustment to the existing environment. Had the economics of feudal society been sufficiently sustaining, aristocracies would never have weakened, receded and slid from significance. The bourgeois class survived the nobility because it was better able to adapt itself to the demands of the new social order that arose from the crumbling ruins of feudalism. The aristocratic psychology was unable to adjust itself to the changing conditions of the new economic system that was born from the ashes of the old.

Along with the social characteristics that we have already described as peculiar to the bourgeois class would necessarily flow a strictness of morality and severity of religion that would but foster the growth and progress of the economic life of the class. Thriftiness of habit and looseness of morality are social incongruities, philosophically incompatible elements. To avoid annihilation the class had to live close-guarded, almost ascetic lives. Monogamy, a fiction with the aristocracy, became a religious reality with the bourgeoisie. Indulgence with the aristocracy became self-denial with the bourgeoisie. Bastardy, a trifling mishap with the aristocracy, became a heinous sin with the bourgeoisie. The theater, a source of delight for the aristocracy, became a source of sin for the bourgeoisie. Expressed in terms of economics, what the aristocracy could afford, loose morality, indulgence of desire, merry mistresses, bastards, gay

performances, the gilded pageantry of heathen tragedy, the bourgeoisie could not afford. Opposition was inevitable. Class psychologies clashed with excruciating bitterness and vigor.

The most striking example of this strife is to be found in England during the seventeenth century with the rise of the Puritans and the fall of the Stuarts. In the Latin countries the effect of the climate, and of a tradition that had resulted from sundry telluric conditions, produced a sex reaction even among the bourgeoisie of a less ascetic type than that of England, and hence the line of demarcation is not so sharp and distinct as in England. That the psychology was very marked, nevertheless, in distinction from that of the aristocracy, is easily to be seen in consideration of the life of the Huguenots, or to skip even to the nineteenth century in the prosecution of Flaubert for the publication of *Madame Bovary*. In England, it was, however, that Puritanism attained its apex of expression.

"In the age's conception of the passion of love we have, as it were, a gauge by which we can measure with extreme accuracy the force, the nature, the temperature of its whole emotional life." In this sentence of Brandes we have a vivid analysis of the importance of an ethical attitude in understanding the spirit of an age. In understanding the Puritan's attitude toward love or sex, we can understand the social basis of his life. If we would know why he could not and did not indulge in the sentiments of the aristocracy, why his poetry was chastened, his churches bared of ornament and filigree, his theaters banned, his music subdued, we must turn to the economics of his existence. If we would know why his life was ascetic, his family strictly monogamous, his sex impulse religiously repressed, his simplicity severely cultivated, we must turn again to the same source.

"Pure art was the banner of the rising bourgeoisie," wrote Trotsky in his study of the Formalist School in Russia. In that sentence Trotsky caught a phase of bourgeois esthetics that is too seldom emphasized and practically never related to its social basis. "Pure" art is symbolic of bourgeois sentiment and psychology. It means an art that is purged of sensuality and emotional extravagance, an art that exemplifies and defends the virtues of a class that has been forced to certain habits of life and philosophy by the material conditions which created and fostered it. It is an art that stands out in sharp contrast to the art of an aristocracy. The different types of life of the two classes make this contrast inevitable. In

art, then, the Puritan expressed the sterile attitude of the moralist. Didacticism became a vital element in his esthetic. Sex carnality, since it was contrary to his ethic, to the very economic basis of his life, evoked his unmitigated condemnation. Virtues like religiosity, honesty and chastity marked his prose and poetry. Religion, too, as we saw in the beginning of this chapter, did not escape the influence of his economics. For years in America, for instance, the Puritans opposed the control and ceremonization of marriage by the church. Marriage, as Calhoun in *A Social History of the American Family* has pointed out, was viewed as an economic and not a clerical institution, a matter of bargaining and certainly not a romantic transaction. Just as the ring, still accompanying the marital ceremony even under ecclesiastical auspices, was an indication of purchase, so the whole procedure in accordance with the private property conception of the bourgeoisie, which reduced its women to a status of property possession, was a commercial, and not esthetic proposition. It was this private property ideal of the bourgeoisie, this zeal for individual acquisition, that narrowed its morality to a rigid system, that converted its religion into an unecstatic formula, and gave to its life those virtues so artificial and uninspiring that we describe as puritan.

Plato's argument against poetry, Plutarch's attack upon poetic substance, Agrippa's declaration that "the best and wisest of men have always despised poesy as the parent of lies"—all these were pagan rationalizations of different times and conditions. Chrysostom's diatribes against the heathen stage, against the theater and its promoters, Tertullian's salvos, the opposition of Lactantius, the impassioned attacks of Augustine, all were in defense of an attitude grounded in a different economics and a different psychology from that of the Puritan. In the case of the early Christian hierophants, the venom of attack was occasioned by the active competition between Christianity and the pagan religions. With the Puritan, however, the psychological attitude was based on a different fundament. The periods of slavery and feudalism had passed, the classical concepts had begun to wane, a new economics as we have described, had come into creation. The theater represented a feudal ethic. It had about it the substance and trappings of an aristocratic morality, or immorality, and an aristocratic esthetic. The bourgeois class at the time was a teasing target for ridicule. The dramatists and actors, playing to their patrons, scorned the puritan virtues and caricatured them with mischievous gusto and skill. The bourgeoisie from the

very prevalence of attack, was driven to the defensive. It founded its opposition to the theater, nevertheless, upon sound economic grounds which in reality were the origin of its moral objections. The Puritan preacher declared "that the plays drew people from worship and labor, and wheedled them of their earning" and deplored "the waste on plays of money which (they) grudged to spend in paying ther rente and ther dette." In Leicester, payment of the mummers either to play in the town hall or leave town without playing had become a serious financial burden, and the city of Norwich, after the system of individual fees had begun, requested that all players "who deprived the needy of their earnings, should be excluded from the city." Then followed vigorous condemnation of the vices that the drama cultivated and encouraged, the degenerating influence of lust and profanity, the desecration of the Sabbath by the players, the spread of vagabondage and criminality, the menace of the plague which the actors often carried with them across the country, from hamlet to town and from town to city. The last two of these moral condemnations were not peculiarly Puritan. At times even the feudal class, when vagabondage became a dangerous evil, and the plague a devastating reality, or the play an inspiration to sedition and violence, legislated against the drama. The legislation of the nobility, however, was merely a temporary expedient, not an enduring prejudice as it was with the Puritans. It is interesting in this reference to note that the clergy in the Established Church, men like Latimer, Archbishop Sandys, Becon, Hutchinson, Tyndal, and Ridley, expressing the sentiment of the ruling class, upbraided the people for their vices but left the stage unassailed. Puritan pastors however, became redundant and vicious in their attacks. In 1572 Edward Dering in his *Brief and Necessarie Catechisme or Introduction* [16] led an attack upon "lewd song or unchast fables, and tragedies, and such like sorceries." Grindel, the archbishop removed by Elizabeth for his Puritan inclinations, went so far as to declare not only that the plague was a result of the players, but that all plays should be stopped for a year, preferably forever. Harrison, chronicling the year 1572, exclaimed: "Would to God these common plaies were exiled for altogether, as semenaries of impiety and their theatres pulled downe, as no better than houses of baudrie." In such manner, then, did the hostile groups clash.

It is important to observe that the Puritan's approval or disap-

[16] *The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage,* E. N. S. Thompson (1903), p. 33.

probation of anything was governed entirely by the existence or absence in the object of those virtues or qualities that were conducive to the ways of his life. It is so with all classes. For instance, there was nothing about the intrinsic character of the stage to which the Puritans should have objected; during several of the centuries preceding Shakespeare the play was entirely religious and sacrosanct; it was later that the development of the drama as an expression of the aristocracy incurred the Puritan revolt. Of course, the stage tradition, with its laughter and contumely for things Christian, lingering from the heart-searing tortures of Roman days, had not been completely swallowed up by the accumulating years. Yet the fact that the Puritan was not, in any profound sense, inherently opposed to the stage, per se, except as it reflected antithetic mores, is evinced by his use of the stage as an instrument for the propagation of his sentiments and attitudes when conditions were auspicious for their expression. There had been miracles and moralities written that defended the new religious order. In the reign of Henry VIII a few interludes with similar motive had originated. Both Bale and Grimald exploited the theater in support of Puritan conceptions. Bale's animosity to the regular drama, the unpuritanic play, can be appreciated by his declaration in regard to the laws against anti-Catholic plays, and the differences of morality between the classes can readily be noted: "So long as they (the players) played lyes and sang baudy songs, blasphemed God, and corrupted men's consciences, ye never blamed them, but were very well contented. But sins they pursuaded the people to worship theyr lorde God aryght without your lowsie legerdemains, ye never were pleased with them."

It is illuminating to recall the Puritan play *Lusty Juventus* with its vigorous opposition to gayety and dancing—"There is no such passing the time (that is, dancing) appointed in the Scripture." It is strikingly apropos to compare the attitude toward sex, toward such an art as dancing, in this play with the attitude toward sex, or toward dancing, in the plays of those Elizabethans that voiced the feudal or aristocratic psychology. The contrast in class philosophies is revealed with remarkable clarity and emphasis. The freedom of sexual description and allusion so arrestingly intimate a part of aristocratic drama, and the presence of spicy remnants of ancient phallic worship, are almost superstitiously taboo in the substance of the Puritan play.

The catastrophic contrast between the two class moralities at the time, the aristocratic and the bourgeois, is illustrated with force and

clarity in Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* of her husband, one of the leading Puritans of the era:

> Every great house . . . became a sty of uncleanliness. To keep the people in their deplorable security, till vengeance overtook them, they were entertained with masks, stage plays and sorts of ruder sports. Then began murder, incest, adultery, drunkedness, swearing, fornication and all sorts of ribaldry, to be concealed but countenanced vices, because they held such conformity with the court example.

The court had not yet sanctioned the plays, but fostered them. Yielding to the Puritan phase of public opinion in forbidding their being staged on Sunday, it, nevertheless, defended its ethic by having the *Book of Sports* read in the churches and *The Declaration of Lawful Sports* made authoritative in the realm. Because they expressed the attitude of the aristocracy, the dramatists reduced the Puritan to a microcosm of ridicule. As we indicated in the previous paragraphs, few dramatists left the Puritan unmentioned or unscathed. Lyly in *The Woman in the Moone* and *Mucedorus*, Chapman in *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, Beaumont and Fletcher in *The Puritan, or Widow of Watling Street*, Ben Jonson in *The Silent Woman* and *Cynthia's Revels*, Jasper Mayne in *The City Match*, Dekker in *The Honest Whore*, Shirley in *A Bird in Cage*, Middleton in *Mayor of Quinborough*, and *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, Randolph in *Muses' Looking Glass*, Strode in his *Floating Island* presented before King Charles himself, Brome and Cartwright in many of their plays, all scorned and satirized the habits and lives of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie in turn fought the art that opposed and ridiculed its life. Finally, when victory smiled with bloody gesture upon its revolt, this art was annihilated. The theater was closed, the dramatist ostracized. The pageantry of Elizabethan art was superseded by the pallor of Puritan esthetics. A total transvaluation of values was effected.

The free flowing sex expression in cavalier literature was blotted into a forbidden memory. Maypole processions and horse-racing were driven to precocious flight. Tobacco-smoking became a sinful practice. Gaudiness of attire was outlawed and extravagance of domestic decoration eclipsed. Profanity was translated from custom into eccentricity, a sanctioned rule into a culpable exception. Chastity became a salient virtue. Man prepared himself for the Kingdom

of God on Earth. The dreams of the Millennarians promised realization. Milton postponed the composition of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* in order to expedite the arrival of this kingdom. God became the avatar of liberation in the historical process. The existence of things carnal was relegated to a nether consciousness, unconversant with one's finer personality. Sexual intercourse was regarded only as a procreative function, a clandestine episode taboo to the tongue. In Puritan art, as a consequence, sex expression is seldom discovered. Whenever themes pertaining to sex were approached description became restricted, evasive and covert. Spiritual pleasures replaced sensual. Religious realities supplanted material. Scenes of sexual conflict could have no fascination for a people firm in the faith that the Fifth Monarchy, the triumphant coming of Christ on earth, was at hand. In place of the rich and effulgent poetry of the Elizabethans, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster, crept in the serious and somber verse of the metaphysical poets, the infantile regrets of Crashaw and Vaughn, the sober odes of Cowley, the cold beauty and the strained lyricism of the poetry of Marvell and Herbert. The chill mystery and magic of the verse of Donne, the religious firmamental imagery of Milton, superseded the free-swinging, glowing poetry of the Elizabethan era with its insurpassable spontaneity of impulse and its loose, wide-flying sympathies and predilections.

In the words of Taine, in the days of Milton, "we are a thousand miles from Shakespeare; and in this Protestant eulogy (*Paradise Lost*) of the family tie, of lawful love, of domestic sweets, of orderly piety and of home, we perceive a new literature and an altered time." Taine was correct. Unfortunately, however, Taine did not realize that the transformation was economic at basis, and that the Puritan revolt marked the rise of the bourgeoisie in England and the decline of feudal politics and economy. It is this social transformation that caused the transformation in esthetics that we have described in these foregoing paragraphs. It was a revolution in economic forces that provoked the moral and esthetic changes of the period. The idealogy of the Puritan sprang from his bourgeois origins. Puritanism, an expression of the bourgeois attitude before the Industrial Revolution, revealed an emphatic phase of this new psychology with its sweeping aims and revolutionary implications. The theology and esthetics that this class developed were rationalizations of its type of economic life. Puritan ethics and religion, we must recall, classified "money making" as the most "God-given" of occupations. Like the

preacher Steele, Richard Baxter argued that any man who did not endeavor to derive the utmost pecuniary profit from his enterprise failed to be "God's steward." Even in reference to the Pnritan attitude toward the theater, Farley complained of the expenditure of money on the stage more because he thought it lessened the contributions for the repair of St. Paul's steeple than for any more pious reason.

The contrast in sex expression that we have noted was inevitable. The social milieu of the aristocracy encouraged freedom of sex impulse; the economic life of the bourgeoisie encouraged repression, or at least rigid restriction, of the sex impulse. In the literature and art of the aristocracy, therefore, we discover in matters of sex description a candor and ofttimes an extravagance of expression; in the literature and art of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, we find a denial of things sexual, an avoidance of sex description and a condemnation of episode or diction, of statue or painting, suggestive of sex reality.

This sex attitude of the bourgeoisie, in this instance of the Puritans, is but an outgrowth of the social economy of its life. It is but a rationalization of the economics of its existence. It is but a defense mechanism unconsciously designed to protect the private property concept upon which it has thrived.

Woman And Economic Struggle

While the status of women does not reflect the prevailing intelligence of a society, since very progressive groups have held woman in deep disesteem, it does indicate the nature of the economic life of the community and woman's position within it. *Wherever we find woman economically dependent we find her position inferior and subordinate,* and *wherever we find her economically independent we find her position elevated and advanced.* The industrious primitive woman in matriarchal society, for instance, was completely autonomous in her habits and attitudes. Her labors were volitional. She owed obedience to no one, and masculine dominance was a pure chimera. So long as she remained economically productive, the menace of masculine dominancy, which came with patriarchal society, had no existence at all. America provided an engaging illustration of this independence in the lives of the Indian squaws. While the squaw, sharing with the men the labors of society, toiled sometimes from sun-up to sundown, it was toil that she accepted of her own persuasion, and which did not in any way rob her of her fundamental rights of freedom. In

marriage, for example, she was far more free than the women in nineteenth century England. She had a perfect right to her own freedom, and could leave her husband at her own desire and pleasure. She was subject to no masculine coercion. As soon, however, as woman ceased to work, and be economically productive and independent, patriarchal society began and her inferiority was enforced. Economic independence thus is a clue to sexual status and the nature of social struggle.

In Greece, for example, a civilization which has become renowned for its intellectual genius and progressive tendency, the position of woman was a tragic spectacle. Being economically dependent, she was regarded as a form of property with rights no more exalted than those of a slave. Hesiod regarded women as "a necessary deduction from the happiness of life"; Simonides in a satirical poem compared woman successively with a hog, a fox, a dog, mud, sea water, an ass, a weasel, a mare, an ape and a bee; Hipponax declared that "a woman gives two days of happiness to a man, her bridal day and her burial." [17] She was treated with open contempt in the works of Plato, Pindar, Lucian, Thucydides, Antiphanes, Menander, Isomachus, and Aristophanes. Among the Andaman Islanders, on the other hand, where nothing of an advanced civilization is known, woman, because she is economically independent, is an equal of man. Assyrian women of the lower classes, who were economically independent, were free of the fetters which bound the women of the upper classes who were economically dependent upon men for their subsistence.[18]

Wherever women have been economically dependent, morality has taken on a masculine cast. In ancient and modern civilizations, for example, with the exceptions of a few intervals in the career of the Roman and medieval world, the history of morality has been the history of male supremacy. Women have been ruthlessly ground beneath this Juggernaut of masculine morality. If men did not always consciously endeavor to subordinate woman, the effects of their mores were none the less conducive to that end. In many cases the intention is obvious by the very deceptions employed to frighten and terrify the women. A multitude of devices were actually designed for the perpetuation of feminine submission. These ceremonies were ingenious. At the time of initiation, for instance, the boys were introduced to the mystery of *Tundun's roar*. Tundun's

[17] John Addington Symonds: *The Greek Poets.*
[18] J. Maspero: *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria.*

roar [19] is then seen to be nothing other than an artifice of deception. It is not the roar of Tundun, but the noise of bull-roarers made by men. The women are never initiated into this mystery. They continue to be cowed by it until death. In such ways are women subordinated in primitive society by men. In later society, as with the Greeks, for instance, custom had already subjected her to an enslaved position. The relative advantages which she had under Hammurabi, for example, or even under the Egyptians, are eclipsed by the civilized man of later centuries. Christianity, as we have seen, only tightened her fetters. The priesthood associated her with the devil, and her ways with those of wickedness. While among the Jews she had been placed in the same category with a man's ox, ass, and other private property, it was with the Christian ecclesiastics, we recall, that she became a temptress and curse.

Even in more modern societies, her position was not greatly improved. As culture advanced, the subjection of woman was not relaxed. Even such a revolutionary as Rousseau conceived of woman as a being made for no other purpose than to be pleasing and agreeable to man. The English frowned upon women who sought education as an ideal. Ignorance and innocence went better with the sweet submissiveness desired in women than knowledge and sophistication. Women were nothing other than forms of chattel, even in highly moral England. They were virtually in the position of slaves to their husbands.[20]

Few countries have treated women worse, or degraded them as completely as modern England. Women in the days of Hammurabi had more freedom and privilege than in the days of George Eliot. Let us begin with the time of Ethelred for an introduction into the nature of the English ethic.

Ethelred's attitude toward women is unmistakable. To him she was a piece of property to be bought or sold at the caprice of the owner. If a man seduced the wife of another, Ethelred required that the guilty pay the husband a fine and provide him another wife. The exact wording of the law is interesting and curious: "If a freeman have been familiar with a freeman's wife, let him pay for it with his wergild and provide another wife with his own money and bring her home to the other." In other words, the seduction of a wife was far more serious as a violation of property than of person. The

[19] *A Short History of Women,* Langdon-Davies.

[20] *Cf.* the author's *Sex Expression in Literature,* pp. 222, 223; J. S. Mill's *The Subjection of Women.*

sexual violation in itself was a matter of light consequence. It could be easily paid for and the provision of another wife was only a further fortification of the propertied aspect of the entire matter. At this time extra-marital relations between men and women were exceptionally popular.[21] Wife-sale and wife-purchase were part of the general business of the community. The number of such sales multiplied no doubt high into the hundreds of thousands, if not millions. This traffic was in no sense incompatible with the attitude toward women and the nature of morality that existed at the time. Women were valued at specific prices according to their respective qualifications. One of the factors that determined her value was her economic position in society. A widow, for example, was worth half as much as a virgin. In order to distinguish degrees of value in widowhood, four classes were denoted: those in the first class cost fifty shillings; in the second, twenty; in the third, twelve; in the fourth, six. The poorer classes, therefore, very often had to accept a widow instead of a virgin. Fathers were often ranked according to the number of daughters that they possessed, because their daughters represented potential capital.[22] Every woman at this time had to be under the guardianship of some man who was called her *mundbora* or guard. The father was, of course, the *guard* of his unmarried daughters. At his death his brother replaced him; then in the event of the brother's death came the next relative, and in one way or another, women were subject to some man, or men. The subordination of women was unquestionable.

The purchase-marriage had become universal in England at the time that Christianity was introduced and it did not by any means cease with the coming of this new religion. Ethelred's law was an evidence of its continuance. As late as 1884, twenty cases of wife-purchase, with the names, details of prices, some of them varying between twenty-five guineas and a half pint of beer, are recorded. Accounts of such marriages are extraordinarily frequent, and a number of them startle by their very candor. Jeaffreson tells of avaricious fathers who often sold their handsome daughter to three or four suitors, and after having received payments for her, later sold her to another purchaser for a still higher sum. Sometimes daughters were sold while still children, and thus subterfuge was even easier. Women were often offered for sale in the newspapers.

[21] Wright, *Domestic Manners.*

[22] F. S. Merryweather, *Glimmerings in the Dark or Lights and Shadows of the Olden Times,* London, 1850.

In a Dublin paper, for instance, women were frequently offered for sale under the inviting caption:

A BARGAIN TO BE SOLD

Women were usually led by their husbands with a rope about the neck, to the market-place where they were sold along with cattle with the proper witnesses to sanction the bargain. A court clerk would determine the tax which seldom amounted to more than several shillings. Women thus led about the market-place by a rope became a common sight. Smithfield Market became famous for such sales.

In connection with these sales, a very edifying note appeared in the Times on July 22nd, 1797: "The increasing value of the fair sex is regarded by many writers as the certain index of a growing civilization. Smithfield may for this reason claim to be a contributor to particular progress in finesse, for in the market the price was again raised from one half a guinea to three-and-one-half." This comment pictures the position of woman without equivocation. She was certainly nothing other than a bargain for bidders, an economic asset that fluctuated with changing conditions. In several English newspapers, interesting expressions of this attitude are to be discovered. In one London paper, for instance, a man advertised on one day the loss of a horse, offering a reward of five guineas for its return; on the next day, by a strange freak of the fortuitous, his wife ran away, and he inserted in the same paper an advertisement offering a reward of four shillings for her recovery.[23] The church was not at all immune from such traffic. In February, 1790, for instance, a wife, who had been deserted by her husband and had become a burden upon the parish, which had been supporting her, was sold at the market-place by the parishioners for two shillings. In the account of the transaction, even the cost of the rope was included. Such cases were familiar throughout England. In Nottingham during the year 1790, the cheapest woman sold was for three pence. One case is of particular interest. A peasant who sold his wife at one time without formality, was informed that the sale was not legal; he thereupon went seven miles for his former wife, tied her with a rope, and again sold her, this time with due legal formality for one-half a crown. He was taxed by the state four pence duty —as he would have been for the sale of cattle.

[23] *Das Geschlechtsleben in England,* E. Duhren.

The prevalence of *fleet marriages* and the romantic marriages of Gretna Green also sheds light upon the attitude toward marriage that was then extant. Three thousand of such *fleet marriages*—deriving their name from the Fleet jail in the district of Fleet Ditch in which these marriages were performed—occurred in four months during the year of 1704.[24] These *fleet marriages* were perpetrated often in a most low and vile fashion. The Gretna Green marriages increased and were not finally stopped by law until 1856. Matrimonial advertisements were also a popular device in England. Many of the agencies that were active in such advertising were based upon pure swindle. In one way or another woman was exploited, as is always the case with moralities that are made for men.

In Soviet Russia, for the first time in the history of the modern world, this inequality has been ended. With the economic independence that has been acquired by the woman in the New Russia, the inferior position of the female sex has been destroyed. In no other place in the civilized world is the welfare of women given primary consideration. It may be accurately said that in all relations that come within the category of morality, legal statute has been invariably designed for the protection of women rather than men. This in itself constitutes a revolution in moral life and ethical theory and practice. The attitude of Western nations, in its criticisms of morality in Soviet Russia, presents us with a farcical contradiction. These moral minds of the West who have branded Soviet Russia as the country in which women are nationalized and the wife has become the prostitute, are among the clowns of the era. From England, for instance, comes a host of moral philippics. The fulminations of these Anglo-Saxon virtuosi of virtue are brimful of hatred and ignorance.

Soviet Russia has not nationalized women; it has not bought and sold women; it has not bound them by law; it has not enslaved them by custom; it has not trafficked in their domestic relations and profited upon taxes thereby derived—in other words, it has freed and not fettered women.

Now let us see in just what ways this freedom has been achieved. In the first place, woman is protected against the predatory tendencies of men. The laws that have been passed in reference to women have been laws which have aimed to endow women with legal prerogatives greater often than those of men. Lenin's own words on this point are signal:

[24] *England and Scotland,* by Fanny Lewald. Berlin, 1864.

It is a fact that in the course of the past ten years not a single democratic party in the world, not one among the leaders of the bourgeois republics, has undertaken for the emancipation of women the hundredth part of what has been realized by Russia in one year. All the humiliating laws prejudicial to the rights of women have been abolished: for example, those which made divorce difficult, the repugnant rules for inquiring into paternity, and other regulations, relating to illegitimate children. Such laws are in force in all civilized states to the shame of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. We are justly proud of our progress in this field. But as soon as we had destroyed the foundations of bourgeois laws and institutions we arrived at a clear conception of the preparatory nature of our work destined solely to prepare the ground for the edifice which was to be built; we have not yet come to the construction of the building.

In pre-revolutionary Russia the proverb, "A chicken is not a bird; a woman is not a human being," expressed the contempt in which woman was held. This contempt was similar to that which existed in England where the custom of wife purchase was its dominant manifestation. In Soviet Russia the change has been tremendous. The condition of women has been revolutionized. Such proverbs and such practices have become absurd and impossible. Woman at last has become a human being with the same rights and privileges as man.

Woman is the equal of man in every activity and every organization of life. When she marries she is still a free woman; marriage, the domestic code clearly asserts, "does not establish community of property between the married persons"; and in another section we discover that "change of residence by one of the parties to a marriage shall not impose an obligation upon the other party to follow the former." The surname of the children may be that of either the wife or the husband, depending upon the voluntary decision of the couple. Hitherto in modern times, the surname of the child was necessarily that of the father. The right of the mother to take part in the decision of a name was totally inconceivable. As to change of residence, the right of the woman to refuse to follow her husband was equivalent to insubordination in the eyes of the modern world. To-day in Soviet Russia, such refusal expresses nothing more than the natural right for independence on the part of the woman as well as the man. In political life woman's position is the same as that of the man. The same is true in economic life, within or without the trade unions. In education the same condition prevails. There is no form of life in which there is to be found an exception.

In the relations between the sexes the woman is again afforded the main protection. In the matter of divorce the woman's rights are in every detail equal to the man's. In reference to children the woman is completely protected. This protection, it should be emphasized, is not limited to certain narrow phases of life, but includes within its scope every possibility of reaction. The mother is protected whether her child is the result of a registered marriage or an unregistered. There is no distinction or discrimination between so-called legitimate and illegitimate child. There are no illegitimate children in Soviet Russia. As S. M. Glikin wrote: "We have no legal and illegal children. Here all children are equal, they are all legal."[25] Whether a civil marriage has been performed or not, man and woman are registered as father and mother in the *Bureau of Births.* A family according to Soviet law is "where there are parents and at least one child." [26] The woman thus cannot suffer the stigma which the Western world thrusts upon the illegitimate mother. All women and all mothers are equal before the law and in society. This is an economic and moral consideration of vast significance. It means that the woman no longer has to suffer a penalty that the man could formerly escape. Their child is protected by the father, or in the event that the father cannot be located, which is very rare, by the State. The moral onus which the Western woman has had to bear in this respect has been costly and terrific. This onus is removed in Soviet Russia.

The protection given the mother in the case of pregnancy is once more entirely inclusive. Moral discriminations between married and unmarried mothers are, of course, non-existent. Both before and after birth she is given time away from work, ranging from six to eight weeks, with pay and with medical attention. In addition to her full pay she receives an extra stipend for food. After the mother returns to work she is permitted a half hour every three and a half hours to feed and care for her child. This advantage alone signifies an advance toward a more progressive ethic than European or American civilization has yet achieved.

In a later section we shall discuss more extensively the benefits which women have derived in Soviet Russia from the new ideas and laws which have been organized in reference to the problems of divorce, birth control, abortions, and prostitution. With each prob-

[25] *The New Law Concerning Family, Divorce, Marriage and Guardianship* (Soviet Pamphlet). [26] *Ibid.*

lem it is the woman that is favored. The woman's welfare is the determining criterion.

This new freedom which woman has acquired in Soviet Russia is a freedom that has manifested itself in practice as well as theory. Fifty thousand women now hold public office in Soviet Russia. Two hundred women are presidents of village Soviets. Five hundred thousand women are factory delegates. There are women factory managers who each have as many as one thousand workers under them. In the higher professional colleges, studying such subjects as engineering, medicine, economics and art, women constitute thirty-five per cent of the student body. Women judges are numerous. The Russians, in fact, encourage women to occupy posts in courts, to help rule and adjudicate matters in the country and share evenly in all other activities with men. Madame Kollontai, formerly ambassador to Mexico, now to Norway,[27] is the first woman plenipotentiary ever sent out by a modern country as representative to a foreign power.

An enormous change thus has occurred in the life of woman in Russia. She has seen more than the dawn of a new age. In no other country has she attained such freedom and privilege. While at one time the husband beat the wife, and this was considered the custom, now the wife reports her husband's conduct to the president of the Soviet if he does not behave, and a paper comes to the husband summoning him for correction. Morality is then no longer a morality made by men, it is as much a morality made for women.

In all this change we discover the influence of economic conditions upon sexual attitudes and moral forms. In the economic dependency or independency of women, we find a clew to the sexual subordinacy or equality of the female sex, and an indication of the general development of group-struggle in social life.

The Place of Psychoanalysis in Social Struggle

In our analysis of sex and social struggle in the preceding pages, we have observed the close connection between economic change and moral practice, and the direction of ethical standards as determined by class conflicts and contradictions. In our own day, there is an increasing tendency to deny, or at least obscure, this fundamental connection and determination. In the modern urge to magnify sex into a primary instead of a secondary force, this denial is most con-

[27] She was sent to Norway for the first time before being despatched to Mexico. This is her second residence as Soviet plenipotentiary in Norway.

spicuous. It is not the psychoanalysts, who have suddenly discovered that the world began in sex, that the cosmic flirtations between the sun and the moon are sexual in character, and that the positive and negative struggle between protons and electrons is expressive of the sexual antipodes in energy and matter, who are responsible for this—but the conditions of the modern world which have made psychoanalysis into a popular doctrine, and turned it from an individual therapeutic into a social panacea.

Freud is as much, and as directly, a product of the machine age as Henry Ford or Stresemann. The nature of his doctrine was born of the necessities of our era. Modern industrial society effected melodramatic changes in ways of life and forms of behavior. It created with its rise a new morality. It brought with its advance a new civilization. The vast change from rural to urban life, from individualistic production to mass production, occasioned by the Industrial Revolution, and with the consequent acceleration of the whole movement of life, the creation of its economic unrest, torture, and chaos, and madness for profits—these have all plunged us into a new world of existence. When people lived quiet, rural lives, and cities were few and sparsely populated, life adjustments were simple and uncrowded with the agony of frustration. When the machine came, however, and the great migrations of people from the country to the city began, the desires of life proceeded to multiply with its intensifying complexity, changing so sharply and continuously that human capacity for adjustment was startled out of its equilibrium. Life had suddenly become agog with new creation. Newness almost lost its novelty. New aspirations multiplied with every dawn. Invention succeeded invention until the age became a miracle in mechanics. Tiny wires became the conductors of great energy; inert metals became moving machines; water, air, and earth became the source of new discovery and power. New conceptions burst pell-mell upon the old, burying them in the débris of discarded superstition. Change became an obsession.

As a result of this fundamental economic change, the terrific maladjustment of our world has occurred. Men and women have not yet been able to adjust themselves to this incessantly changing and unstable scene. They have become its victims instead of its masters. They have so far been mastered by the machine which they have created, and have not yet learned to be masters of it. This is the tragedy of our neurotic age.

This revolution in production not only achieved these enormous

changes in economic life, but it also brought with it new moral standards, new attitudes towards marriage, different outlooks upon sex, and a multiplying mass of situations that demanded adjustments, as we have pointed out, in fashion too rapid for human change. The sexual factor alone has become an enormous source of maladjustment. The sex attitude which received such direct emphasis with the rise of the puritanic bourgeoisie to power, which we previously described in detail, was an enormous incongruity. For over two centuries sex was viewed as unclean and sinful. While this attitude was in origin an outgrowth of the Christian concept of sex as a sin, after the early Christian martyrs it was not until the rise of the commercial classes in the seventeenth century that it became an all-pervasive doctrine. At one time supposed to be revered by priest, this attitude now was set up for the unvacillating reverence of all men. All life and literature became infected with it. Chastity became stressed as the *sine qua non* of feminine virtue. Because men were the owners and not the owned, this criterion became inviolable. The revolt of women in the twelfth century, when adultery became the fashion, was now part of an unholy past. For men, violations were not approved; in fact, for several generations they met with severe punishment, but as masculine impulse asserted itself against the restraints of this economical ethics, it soon took advantage of its position of privilege and gradually began to condone in men what in women remained the unpardonable sin. The double code of morality thus grew up as a result of man's subordination of women in the organization of society, and allowed for him an escape that was closed for women. As generations advanced, for instance, the bachelor was never considered a celibate, although the spinster was always looked upon as sexually purer than a nun. This change, however, was part of a silent understanding that was never written into moral dogma or blessed as an open attribute of virtue. Nevertheless, in law it was protected by the difference in emphasis that was laid upon the act of adultery on the part of woman from that on the part of man. Its existence was undeniable.

This double code of morality, which prevailed in the days of feminine dependence, became obvious in the proverb that every young man had "his wild oats to sow" before he got married, and this sowing was understood by women as well as men. Their acquiescence, as we have observed, was a sign of the beautiful submission that was the characteristic virtue of woman during this period. While this submission was exalted as an element of the sublime, and

praised in poetry and prose, it was in reality but an expression of sex subordination in the moral world which had its immediate counterpart in the economic.

Although men thus had an opportunity for freedom in their sexual lives that was not possible for women, the growing boy did not learn of the elasticity of this masculine ethic until he had rapidly advanced toward manhood. Sex expression for girls, of course, was utterly forbidden outside marriage. As a consequence both sexes learned to suffer restraints and repressions that not only disturbed and agitated their immediate lives but also prevented their later existence from attaining an emotional equilibrium. The effects of these years of bitter sex struggle often poisoned their entire existence in the future. Instead of developing into strong, balanced, excellent types of manhood and womanhood, they often became, on the other hand, uncertain, vacillating men and women adapted only to the pathological way of life of the neurotic. As men and women they could not escape their youth. Its costs had been too sharp and consuming. The multiplication of neurotics and psychotics in this age, the appalling increase in the insane, the spread of psychiatry, as a science, the rise of Freud and Adler as diverse exemplars of its technique—all these attest the reality of this terrific maladjustment that has occurred in our civilization.

In this sense, then, Freud and modern psychoanalysis and psychanalysis are the products of our machine age. The obsessing concern with sex to-day is a natural recoil from the repressions of the last nine or ten generations. Freud's emphasis upon sex as the explanation of all phenomena is but an exaggeration necessary to combat the sickening secrecy with which sex has been obscured in the past. In the revolt of youth, connected as it is with the economic independence of modern woman, the bankruptcy of the old system of marriage, the decay of the bourgeoisie as a social class, we have the dynamic beginnings of a sexual revolution growing out of the economic background of social struggle.

When one realizes the background of this contemporary chaos, one can see how essentially inadequate psychoanalysis is to interpret it in terms of its fundamentals. The psychoanalytic technique is individualistic, while the basic problem is social. Herein lies the inescapable contradiction. Psychoanalysis as an individual therapeutic is significant, but as a social philosophy is without profound perspective. It has no connection with social struggle. It possesses no social vision at all. And in a world in which social struggle and

economic change are so decisive in the destiny of things, any method which lacks social philosophy and economic vision is bound to be inadequate and futile.

There are many movements that have become popular and even powerful to-day as a result of the conditions of modern life which have brought the world to such a state of moral and mental chaos. These movements in many instances propose the salvation of society through a social therapeutic which they have worked up into the form of a philosophic technique. The mental hygiene movement, as well as the movement of the psychoanalysts, falls within this category. These movements, which are really instrumental only in the cure of the individual, in many cases hazard the prophecy of a social challenge. When confined to the individual these movements often have meaning and significance, but when applied to society they are empty of value. They have no social depth or understanding of economic background. Their own inadequacy in this respect is disclosed in every attempt that has been made by their advocates to interpret social movements in terms of individual change. In such a book as Kolnai's *Psycho-analysis and Sociology* the futility of their approach is made pathetic. One can no more interpret a social revolution in terms of an Œdipus complex than one can interpret a cannonade in terms of the madness of metals. It is the hand behind the curtain, the factors that make the Œdipus complex and the revolution, that create the cannon and fire the powder, which must be realized as fundamental.

The pathology of our age has grown out of the mad contradictions of our environment. We cannot cure this by curing individual cases or individual conditions. The causes are deeper, far deeper than that. The continuation of the same environment will only create a thousand more cases for every one that we cure. We cannot effect a program of revolutionary reëducation in an environment which is adamant to all but reaction. We must work upon the environment, in a revolutionary way, if we are ever to advance beyond the individual. It is the nature of life as a whole which we must endeavor to change, and not the conditions of life of a specific individual, or selected group of individuals.

A revolution in the nature of life, and in the very ways of living of people in the mass, can come only through economic change and a new social philosophy. To achieve this we must adapt our psychology to this social end. Otherwise it can remain but an individualistic psychology, impotent in social application. This is the present state

of psychology in the world. This failure in social vision is as conspicuous in the behavioristic school as the psychoanalytic; and as obvious among the *Gestaltists* as among the old introspectionists. Among social movements there is an equal disregard for the psychological factors. Neither attitude is adequate. Although the fundamental changes in economic life in our modern world are social in character, we must conjoin our sociological approach with the psychological in order to attain completeness.

In other words, it is the task of our new age, caught in the crucifying contradictions of our contemporary world, to devise the technique of a new science, which will be known as psycho-sociology. It will be the purpose of this science to integrate rather than separate the individual and society. And it will be further, through the extensions of this science, that we shall see that problems in sex are not only problems of the individual but problems of group life that have been determined by the nature of the social struggle. To study sex as if it were unrelated to social struggle, then, will be understood as meaningless and absurd.

SEX IN EDUCATION

BY HARRY ELMER BARNES

Prevalence of Sex in the College Curriculum

It should be borne in mind from the outset that this chapter deals with sex in education rather than with education in sex. Sex education is a topic apart, which is treated in several other chapters in this coöperative work. There must, of course, be some reference as to the place of sex education in the general scheme of education, but there will be no systematic effort to set forth a plan or program of sex education as regards either content or procedure. Sex education will be left to others who have this subject assigned as their special contribution to the volume.

Entirely aside from the special and very important problem of how to educate youth with respect to sexual issues and conduct, the matter of sex inevitably looms large in the whole program of education from the kindergarten to the graduate school. Biology is occupied in large part with a study of the processes of reproduction and growth. A special field of biology, namely, genetics, is devoted exclusively to a study of the mechanisms and processes of reproduction. The college lectures on hygiene pretend, at least, to give the student some elementary notions of the structural basis of sex functions. Psychology necessarily deals at length with the problems of sexual emotions, psychosexual development, sex love, and sex repressions and frustrations. Social psychology must take note of the effect of sexual interests and activities upon group life. Mental hygiene and abnormal psychology may accurately be said to revolve about the sexual life of man and the aberrations which arise from inadequate sexual expression or from ignorance of scientific and hygienic modes of dealing with sex problems and issues. The social sciences, in particular, must deal with sex at every turn. History records the great romances and sexual exploits of the past in both profane and holy circles, and, as history grows more frank and realistic, it will indi-

cate more and more adequately the wide influence which sexual matters have wielded in other realms. Imagine, for example, any effort to explain the religious policy of Henry VIII or the diplomacy of Charles II without reckoning with the underlying sexual *motif!* Anthropology devotes much space to the sex activities and ritual of primitive peoples which occupy so great a part in their life cycle. Sociology, with its prime concern with sex, social conduct, the family, reproduction and education, must give more attention to sex problems than any other social science. A special branch of sociology, namely, criminology cannot ignore either the wide variety of sexual crimes or the sexual compulsions underlying many crimes not directly sexual in their nature. In economics such fundamental questions arise as the relation between standards of living and the density of the population, the necessity of population limitation if prosperity is to be insured and perpetuated, and the effect upon family life of the entry of women into industry since the Industrial Revolution. Political science and jurisprudence deal with the legislation and the legal and governmental machinery relating to sexual offenses such as those contemplated in the Mann Act and with the whole complex of problems associated with marriage and divorce. Ethics, up to very recently, has tended in popular understanding to be almost exclusively concerned with sexual matters, a moral man being by definition one whose sex life is publicly immaculate. In academic life this same conception prevails, even though the college courses in ethics may not mention sex and are devoted to metaphysical generalizations about a hypothetical "good life," considered highly in the abstract. The sex and love *motif* in literature and the fine arts is so obvious and all-pervasive that it has been at least partially recognized even in Anglo-Saxon lands and in the most respectable educational institutions. Professors of art and literature are allowed a freedom in the discussion and interpretation of sexual issues which would lead to the immediate discharge of a professor of sociology and to the severe disciplining of a professor of genetics or hygiene.

The preceding observations give a very imperfect and incomplete synopsis of the unavoidably large part which sexual matters must play in education in secondary and higher education, to say nothing of the sexual questions which must be faced by parents in the pre-school age of their children and by teachers and parents during the period of elementary school education. Inseparably associated with the sexual aspects of formal instruction is the sexual side

of social life during the educational career. From the kindergarten to the graduate and professional schools we experience all of the transformations from infantile sexuality to full normal sexual expression, not to mention the many eccentricities and abnormalities produced by imperfect equipment or by inadequate or vicious information and unwholesome associations. Social life and conversation in all of these periods turn in differing degrees upon sex, and after puberty are enmeshed in sex to a degree which can only be appreciated by those in immediate and personal rapport with the social life of students and teachers. Even those teachers most austere in their own sexual life devote a large proportion of their energy and conversation to the scrutiny and denunciation of the normal sex life of their associates and students.

The Contemporary Barbarities and Taboos with Respect to Sex in Education

In spite of this all-pervading nature of sexual issues in education we have, in America and in Anglo-Saxon countries in particular, failed to face the issue in a frank, honest and sincere fashion. Formal and respectable education has tried to evade or ignore the progress in sexual knowledge on the part of scientists, natural, medical and social, and has endeavored to minimize the decline in those dogmas and dictates of supernatural religion upon which the older sexual code relied for its justification and spiritual sanctions. In other words, education has tended to adhere to the mid-Victorian outlook in regard to sex knowledge and conduct, whereas, in scientific and artistic circles, such an attitude appears as anachronistic as the doctrines of the astronomers, physicists, chemists, biologists or psychologists of 1850. As a result, the youth of the land and alert adults have alike tended to seek sexual instruction from sources other than the schools, colleges and universities. Some, fortunate enough to have access to reputable psychiatrists and sexologists, have obtained reliable and salutary information of a type superior to that which we can well hope to impart in educational institutions for some generations to come. The majority, however, have had to rest content with the piecemeal acquisition, in highly informal and *sub rosa* fashion, of information often as far removed from scientific fact as from the fictions of mid-Victorian Puritanism. In other words, we have abandoned the older code and beliefs but we have been denied the opportunity to safeguard and guide our new determination by means of the acquisition of the rudiments of that

sexual knowledge so essential to human happiness and normal achievement.

We are faced, then, with the alternative of educating students as to the scientific and esthetic control of sexual behavior in the schools and colleges or of leaving them to pick up such information as best they may in the form of pseudo-information gleaned all the way from the church to the gutter. It is to be doubted if it is desirable to retain the older sexual mores based upon misconceptions of human nature and the purpose of human life, but, whether desirable or not, it is evident that we cannot hope to enforce them on any large scale or for any considerable time in the future. They were based upon certain supernatural and religious conceptions which are rapidly evaporating in the face of our present scientific knowledge and our secular and mechanical civilization. When confronted with the alternative then of a hopeless effort to retain an archaic body of conceptions and practices and the practical possibility of giving sound information as to rational control of sexual behavior, the choice should not be difficult.

The problem of sex in education is of real consequence because of its multifarious forms of emergence in the curriculum and activities of students and the desirability of imparting sound scientific information on the subject through our educational system; it is equally significant because of the bearing of an adequate knowledge of sexual matters upon human happiness. We need have little patience with those who contend that human happiness is to be identified with unrestrained sexual indulgence, but we should be equally skeptical of the conventional contention that happiness has nothing to do with sex and that sex expression is a base and evil thing, to be tolerated to a limited degree only in the interest of propagating the human race. It may be freely conceded that there are many other forms of happiness and satisfaction than adequate sex expression and adjustment, but it may with equal safety be asserted that no human being has attained to full happiness without the proper sublimation or expression of his or her sexual impulses. Neither sexual sublimation nor sexual expression can be safe or approximately perfect unless guided by an adequate command of the essential facts relating to sex. Thus far we have either ignored education in a realm of endeavor where information is indispensable to happiness or have delegated such instruction by forfeit to clergymen, Sunday-School teachers, charlatans and bums. Not only does the sexually frustrated person forego a vastly pleasurable realm of

human endeavor, but this frustration and denial leads to secondary and related forms of irritations and dissatisfactions which materially reduce his contentment with, or capacity for, achievements in other fields.

The sexual is looked upon as preëminently the field which must not be approached in a scientific manner. It is strangely and inconsistently viewed as the area which God reserves for his own unique control and personal scrutiny. As Cardinal Hayes expresses it: "Little children come trooping down from heaven," and any attempt to intrude human wisdom into this field of divine monopoly is both a sin and a crime. It is held that a general air of mystery should prevail here, and that such knowledge as we desire should be sought in revealed scriptures. Few theologians have paused, however, to explain how it happens that this particular phase of human conduct and behavior is more apparently and deplorably botched than any other area of human endeavor, in spite of the unique and direct interference of the hand of God.

There is no more striking or illuminating contrast in the whole broad field of the strange incongruities of modern civilization than man's attitude with respect to science and technology on the one hand and sex behavior on the other. In the design and manufacture of a Packard sedan we insist upon the most exact scientific and technological precision, but when it comes to the determination of the behavior fit and proper to the occupant of said car we turn back to the folkways of a barbarous people supposedly codified by Moses. In other words, we revert to the culture of the ass and the ox-cart in order to discover guidance for our conduct in the age of motor cars.

It is unquestionably a fact that sex conduct is almost the only place where it is actually true that we conventionally and unthinkingly accept the hypothesis that the less knowledge one possesses the more capable he or she is to discuss and dogmatize on the subject. One would not think of accepting *ex-cathedra* utterances on aerial navigation from a person who had never left the ground for a single flight; nor would one be likely to bestow much respect upon a discussion of the problems, difficulties and methods of swimming by one who had never been subjected to even one thorough ducking. And yet we continually indulge in exactly this kind of conduct and attitude with respect to the problems of sex. For example, Catholic priests are looked upon as peculiarly fitted to give comprehensive and invincible advice on every phase of sexual problems, whereas the scientifically-minded person would recognize their almost complete

initial disqualification for discussing the subject unless they had admittedly violated their ecclesiastical vows. Similarly, we find maiden professors whose avowed ostentatious purity is only exceeded by their dogmatic assurance in dealing with even the most abstruse aspects of sexual problems. A professor of English of notable virginity, who would be terrified at the thought of rendering an opinion on a trivial matter of textual criticism without having previously spent days over original manuscripts, will unhesitatingly assume to be able to dispense the most irrefragable information and advice concerning sexual excesses. The opinions of Immanuel Kant, John Wesley or Bishop Asbury on sex behavior are more highly esteemed than those of Casanova, Voltaire or Lord Byron.

This remarkable contrast with regard to technical preparation for dealing with sexual questions as compared with other human problems is nowhere as marked or humorous as it is in academic circles. Here, in theory at least, there is the most rigorous insistence that one must be very precisely and specially prepared to deal authoritatively with any problem of human knowledge or scholarship. Should a physical chemist attempt to deal authoritatively with a problem in mathematics or physics, should an economist intrude in the domains of an historian, should a sociologist offer generalizations about psychology, or should a classicist dogmatize definitively concerning a problem in Romance languages, such procedure would be frowned upon as unscholarly and exhibiting gross academic bad taste. But the same solemn pedant, whose blood pressure would shoot up alarmingly if an historian should venture into a discussion of American literature, will light-heartedly assume to dogmatize with the utmost finality concerning sexual problems, even though the said pedant is as illiterate with respect to the literature of sexology as he or she may be innocent with regard to sex experience.

Further, sex matters represent a field in which we are uniquely oblivious to and tolerant of eccentricities and biases which would rule a person's judgment out of court in regard to any other subject under the sun—that is, provided these complexes accord with the conventional *mores*. In the field of athletics we should hardly choose as the coach of the cross-country team a man with a notorious phobia of open places who did not dare to venture beyond his own threshold. Yet in both academic and lay circles we accept with reverent respect the sexual opinions of persons whose phobias, fears, invidious complexes and the like are universally recognized and frequently gloried in and proudly confessed by the possessor.

In addition to its impingement upon all phases of education, and the importance of sex education for human happiness, the general problem of sex in education is well worthy of special analysis for the reason that there is no other aspect of education in which untenable anachronisms are so readily tolerated and in which we are so timid in facing even the rudiments of scientific knowledge and esthetic considerations. It is an undoubted fact that the greatest hesitation and reluctance in discussion which is to be found at every stage in the whole educational process relates to the matter of sex. The subject appears to provoke repugnance and fear in the way of formal discussion to no less a degree than it induces charm and eagerness with respect to surreptitious private conversation. It follows that the maximum degree of academic intolerance with respect to freedom of speech, conduct and administration is to be found in considerations relating to sex. Even institutions which are receptive to advanced economic, political and alcoholic liberalism are very wary, if not actively hostile, when confronted by even a moderate version of scientific ethics. What is true of educational institutions in general is also true of individual educators. One is much more likely to find an educator who is possessed of reasonably contemporaneous views on religion, politics, economics or international relations than he is to discover one even moderately hospitable to the mildest form of sexual heterodoxy. Still further, the rare individual in the educational world who possesses civilized views on sex is much more reluctant to express such notions in public than he is to declare with vigor his revolutionary views on politics or economics. We may emphasize this almost unique academic aversion to sexual honesty and enlightenment by some characteristic illustrations.

The most widely discussed instance of educational obscurantism with respect to sexual issues which has come to public attention in recent years was the barring of Mrs. Bertrand Russell from a scheduled address before the *Student Forum* at the University of Wisconsin in February, 1928. The facts in this memorable controversy appear to have been the following: In 1925 the University of Wisconsin surprised conventional educators and delighted progressively minded people by calling to the presidency a brilliant young publicist, Glenn Frank, who had established a national reputation as a liberal journalist and lecturer. He had converted the *Century Magazine* into the most progressive and socially minded of the reputable monthlies in the country. Moreover, while editor of the *Century*, Mr. Frank had especially distinguished himself for his

interest in, and liberalism with respect to, sex problems and biological sociology. He laid especial stress upon the importance of biology in solving our social problems and gave much space to discussions of birth control, eugenics and the like. Indeed, though this seemed to have been forgotten by 1928, it was none other than Glenn Frank who launched Albert E. Wiggam on his highly valuable rampage in popular education in the field of eugenics and population control. Therefore, President Frank had acquired a reputation not only for generalized liberalism but also for a cultivated outlook in regard to sex problems. His conduct at the outset of his term as President of the University of Wisconsin appeared to justify all the hopes of his friends. He called Alexander Meikeljohn, who is well-nigh universally believed to have been sacrificed on the altar of plutocracy and archaic pedagogy at Amherst, to head an experimental college, and he bravely defended one of his economists who had submitted a somewhat unconventional and disconcerting report on state taxation and finances. His pronouncement at this time was one of the best statements on record regarding academic freedom:

> And as long as I am president of the University of Wisconsin, this complete freedom of thought and expression will be accorded with utter impartiality alike to teachers who entertain conservative opinions and to teachers who entertain radical opinions. The fact that I may think, that an official of the state may think, or that a citizen of the state may think a teacher's opinions wrong-headed or even dangerous will not alter this policy. For the whole of human history presents unanswerable proof that only through the open and unhampered clash of contrary opinions can truth be found.

In the winter of 1927-28 the *Student Forum* at the University invited Mrs. Bertrand Russell to lecture before it, not on a subject relating to sex freedom but rather on the socio-economic problem of the legal protection of women and children. She sent a synopsis of her lecture in advance [1] making clear the nature of her projected address. But Mrs. Russell had become a dangerous symbol to certain of the Wisconsin faculty and had alarmed some of the parents of Wisconsin students. At the instance of Dean Goodnight, President Frank put amiable pressure on the Chairman of the *Student Forum* to cancel Mrs. Russell's engagement. As reported in the New York *Times* for February 14, 1928, President Frank told the Chairman, when he consulted with him, that: "Mrs. Russell had given an exhibi-

[1] See *The Nation*, March 21, 1928, p. 321.

tion of very bad taste, and that if I were a member of the *Student Forum* I would not favor bringing her to address a mixed audience at the University of Wisconsin." The *Student Forum* forthwith canceled Mrs. Russell's engagement but, strange to say, she addressed not only the students but the business men of Madison in a hall secured by E. L. Myers, columnist on the Capitol *Times* of Madison. As usual, the ban on Mrs. Russell at the University had the effect of advertising the affair with great effect. Instead of a sparsely attended and solemn *Forum* meeting the hall was mobbed and many had to be turned away from the doors. Humorously enough, while at Madison Mrs. Russell was entertained at the home of Dean Meikeljohn, the closest personal friend of President Frank. There was much excitement on the campus, and the free speech tablet on the front of Bascom Hall, erected in memory of Professor Ely's struggles, was draped in black. President Frank attempted to defend his attitude in the following statement:

> Despite some picturesque and vigorous editorial comment to the contrary, neither the present existence nor the future guaranty of free speech for students and teachers at the University of Wisconsin is in any way involved in the Dora Russell episode.
>
> My advice in the matter, which I declined to give until after members of the student committee had expressed their own doubt and reluctance respecting the lecture, rested upon one consideration and one only—that the discussion and advocacy of free sexual relations both before and after marriage is an enterprise that good taste and a sense of propriety suggest should be staged elsewhere than before a mixed audience in a co-educational institution.
>
> The fact that Mrs. Russell, in the lecture she finally gave, avoided a candid discussion of the views which she holds, which she expressed in the interview that was used to announce her coming and which were indicated in the brief digest of her lecture which was sent for publicity material, does not alter the basis upon which judgment of the propriety of the lecture under university auspices and before a mixed student body was based.
>
> In giving advice in the matter, I did not undertake to pass moral judgment upon Mrs. Russell's theories; I did not suggest that study and discussion of sex and the institution of marriage should be taboo; I merely suggested that, in a co-educational investigation, the study of certain aspects of the problems of sex may, with greater propriety, be pursued through the medium of scientific books and segregated discussion groups rather than through the medium of sensationally heralded public lectures before mixed student audiences.
>
> A certain observance of good table manners is not an infringement of the

freedom of eating; the practice of taking one's morning bath in the bathroom instead of in a glass tub before a mixed audience is not an infringement of the freedom of bathing.

My advice respecting the proposed lecture by Mrs. Russell no more affects the liberalism of the University of Wisconsin or its loyalty to free speech than the Hottentot alphabet—if there is one—affects the selling price of Wisconsin cheese.

Since coming to the University of Wisconsin, I have done everything within my power to fortify the tradition of freedom that is one of its chief glories; I have given formal approval of the use of the university platform for discussions that have flooded my desk with protests from political, religious and economic groups throughout the state.

Trotzky or his American equivalent, and J. P. Morgan would be equally welcome to come to the university platform to discuss bolshevism and big business. The doors are open alike to the advocates of public or private ownership of natural resources and public utilities, of pro-leaguers, or anti-leaguers, of pro-religionists and anti-religionists, and so on through the whole round of political, social, economic and religious issues that vex our time.

I remind the student body that Kirby Page, noted opponent of military training in universities, spoke from our platform in the same week that he was denied the platform of another state university, and that, in adherence to the principle of free speech, the request by certain citizens of the state that President Silas Evans of Ripon college be granted the use of the university platform to defend military training in universities was likewise granted without question, despite my personal belief that the promotion of military training is so often tied up with swashbuckling nationalism and gratuitous damning of all progressive thought as disloyalty, that its continuance in universities is still to be justified.

But I am sure that neither to the student body nor to the citizens of the state is any argument necessary to indicate the present existence and the future guaranty of free speech on this campus.

And no argument that I have seen convinces me that liberalism is inconsistent with at least a minimum sense of propriety.

Among all of the comments on the attitude of President Frank one of the most intelligent and cogent was the following from the *New Republic* for March 7, 1928:

In our opinion, Mr. Glenn Frank, president of the University, did not emerge with any great credit from the controversy which followed the cancelling of Mrs. Bertrand Russell's engagement to speak to the students of Wisconsin. If the students who had offered to give Mrs. Russell an audience decided to change their mind, they had, of course, a perfect right

to do so. They were under no obligation to listen to a discussion of marriage from an unconventional point of view unless they liked the idea. But we do not know of any reason why the President of the University, who advertises his own belief in freedom of discussion, should have interfered in order to approve their act and to justify its motives. The students were apparently afraid to have marriage discussed in their presence except by a person who accepted the existing institution as something which it was unwise and unwholesome to challenge. But people who really believe in freedom of discussion are always willing to consider alternative opinions and are opposed to suppressing the public ventilation of a subject merely because such ventilation may lead some weak and erring minds astray. The institution of marriage is no more superior to frank public discussion than the institution of property. The president of a university could not in either instance allow inflammable appeals to break existing laws or to ignore existing conventions, to be addressed to the students, but no such question was involved in Mrs. Russell's case. Her opinions about marriage and the sexual relations between men and women are not conventional, but they are not extreme, they are reasonably expressed and they are informed by high understanding of the virtues of loyalty in relations between the sexes and of the obligations of parenthood.

In the New York *World* for February 23, 1928, Mr. Heywood Broun offered some particularly cogent observations on the whole case, parts of which we reproduce herewith:

. . . After all, the economic problems brought up by the Russian experiment are at least as complicated as those concerning marriage, and they, too, might well profit by a certain calm and secluded consideration. Indeed, it would be more logical for President Frank to suggest that Bolshevism should be taken into the library and sex carried out into the forum. In all probability, Bolshevism will play no very important part in the lives of the boys and girls now studying at Wisconsin. But with all the good will in the world Glenn Frank will not forever be able to keep his scholars from speculation on the subject of sex. It is well to remember that Dora Russell is a writer of no little distinction, and that never in written or spoken word has she had recourse to words which were in themselves horrible or shocking, even to a college president. The ban put up blocked off ideas and not lascivious language.

I could wish that Mr. Frank had avoided resting his case upon one old and somewhat tattered standby. He says, in fact, that the issue was one of taste [instead of morals]. . . . Indeed, the change in point of view merely makes matters more confusing. It is difficult to define precisely what we mean by morals, but any codification of taste is quite impossible. . . .

There is the possibility that Mrs. Russell's ideas on what is right and

wrong may differ very radically from those of Glenn Frank. Being less than completely acquainted with her writings, I am not prepared to say that I am for or against her opinions. But if any one may talk at Wisconsin without let or hindrance about war, religion or economics, I cannot understand why sex morality is taboo. From my own position of free speech advocate I will recede enough to admit that as college president I would yield no hall to a speaker likely to break out in curses or even club car stories. This is not part of the accusation against Mrs. Russell. If she wants marriage kept as it is, altered somewhat, or even abolished, I think her notions are worthy of consideration by any college audience, even a mixed one. Are the co-eds of Wisconsin so much tinder that at the very mention of marriage they may be expected, each one, to elope across the state line?

If there is any good purpose in teaching boys and girls together (and I certainly think that there is) it must lie in the possibility of encouraging free and frank discussion among the young folk. . . . And it seems to me that the slightly morbid quality of adolescent speculation [on sex matters] may be traced rather to ignorance than depravity. Much better is it to have such things come up in mixed audiences. There is less smugness then and less self-consciousness.

Indeed it seems to me that I can offer an excellent compromise suggestion for the difficulty at Wisconsin: by all means let Dora Russell give her lecture and let Glenn Frank go and take a bath.

Many critics joined in contrasting President Frank's courage and liberalism with respect to economic problems with his timidity and disingenuousness in regard to sex matters, and some accused him of grave inconsistency. What they all overlooked is the main point which is here at issue, namely, that no discreet college president, least of all in a Western state, can afford to be as intelligent and straightforward with reference to sex discussion as in regard to economic analysis or political issues. The present writer gave a course of lectures on intellectual history in the University of Wisconsin Summer School in 1925, substantially similar in content to Robinson's *Mind in the Making* and Randall's *Making of the Modern Mind*, and was accused of disseminating *free love* doctrine by certain ecclesiastics included in the class registration.

In other words, while Wisconsin, due largely to the influence of Senator LaFollette and his group, is more than averagely enlightened in regard to economic and political issues, it is as benighted as other states in the same area with respect to sexual questions. If Glenn Frank desired to conduct an institution notable for educa-

tional and economic liberalism, he doubtless felt that he could not well afford to hang about his neck the additional millstone of appearing to be civilized with respect to sexual affairs. And it mattered not that Mrs. Russell's speech was innocuous enough in content; she was a symbol of the newer order and this would be enough to enable his enemies to formulate dark insinuations, innuendoes and indirect charges, an art at which they have become very adept of late under the tutelage of Fred Marvin, Joseph Cashman, Margaret Robinson, and other custodians of public safety and national morals. If we view Mr. Frank in the guise of an astute University executive, his conduct is to be criticized chiefly on the ground that it was probably unnecessary for him to defend the barring of Mrs. Russell and that his accusation of bad taste against the cultured wife of a distinguished British nobleman and scholar was in itself a procedure of highly dubious taste. Critics were quite wrong in trying to make Mr. Frank the scapegoat. If one were to formulate an indictment of sexual obscurantism concerning this incident it should be lodged against the Wisconsin faculty and community and not against Glenn Frank, who doubtless found himself in a condition of painful conflict between the impulses and convictions of a civilized gentleman and the dictates of conventional discretion in a typical university community, dependent upon politicians and plain citizens for financial support.

Be that as it may, the incident was a most instructive illustration of the medievalism which pervades our institutions of higher learning in regard to sex and calls attention to the humor in a situation where the authorities desire to protect a student body, which pets as freely as any other in America and had rendered itself familiar with *Boccaccio, Jurgen, Flaming Youth, Antic Hay, Janet March, South Wind, Sorrell and Son, Blue Voyage, Bad Girl* and other works in similar vein, from the demoralizing influence of the author of *The Right to Be Happy.* We have given considerable attention to the episode, not because of any hostility to President Frank or the University of Wisconsin. President Frank is one of the Americans we most esteem and the University of Wisconsin one of the institutions of higher learning for which we entertain the highest respect. The incident is instructive because President Frank is one of the most liberal and courageous of American university executives, because the University of Wisconsin has been distinguished for its progressive character, and because Mrs. Russell is one of the most non-provocative and innocuous exponents of a civilized view of sex.

That Mrs. Russell could have been barred from the University of Wisconsin during the administration of Glenn Frank is the most impressive conceivable proof of the benighted state of educational and public opinion in the United States with respect to the sexual issue.

Another widely discussed case was the questionnaire given in the spring of 1925 to a senior class in sociology at Smith College by Professor Frank H. Hankins. This came at the close of a course in biological sociology and population problems given by one of the world's most competent biological sociologists. The students had shown the usual intense interest in the question of the possible changes in sex ideas, mores and practices and suggested that, as a cross-section of opinion in a representative college group, a questionnaire should be given to the class and honest but anonymous answers be submitted. The students drew up the questions, the relevant ones being those which follow:

Which do you prefer for yourself:
a. Companionate without marriage?
b. Companionate with marriage?
c. Marriage with children?
d. Children without marriage?

Do you think women who are able to support themselves should be permitted to have children without marriage?

Would you, under favorable circumstances, indulge in extramarital sex relations after marriage? Would you approve same for your husband?

Do you think it an advantage or disadvantage for a man to have sex experience before marriage?

Would knowledge of such relationship affect your attitude toward a personal suitor?

Do you think it an advantage or a disadvantage for a woman to have sex experience before marriage?

Should girls have more freedom to seek sex experience before marriage than is now generally approved?
a. Would you use this freedom under favorable circumstances?
b. Have you had such experience? Once? Occasionally? Frequently?

Professor Hankins suggested that it would be better to omit the question about actual sex experience, but the students insisted upon its inclusion.

The results of the questionnaire were not made public, and were communicated only to the class and the administration. It was a strictly scientific exercise, conducted in the most rigorously scientific

and impersonal manner and with complete anonymity on the part of the students involved. It would, no doubt, be a dubious procedure to allow college professors complete freedom to administer questionnaires covering intimate subjects of personal conduct and belief. Yet it is certain that there is no more important question than the degree to which sexual ideas and practices are undergoing transformation in the wake of our scientific and mechanical age and no more promising or legitimate manner of securing some light on this question than properly safeguarded anonymous questionnaires given to mature college students by professors of sociology who have acquainted the college administration with their aims and methods. Indeed, the questionnaire, instead of alarming those friends of the College interested in maintaining conventional morality immaculate, should have delighted such persons. There exists a widespread popular supposition that a large majority of the students in the women's colleges for the socially élite lead a free and irregular sexual life and that upwards of ten per cent are pregnant at some time during the college year. This questionnaire revealed the fact that, out of a class of nearly eighty super-sophisticated seniors, only five admitted heterosexual experience and only one admitted practicing this with frequency, in this case with the man whom she was engaged to marry. Whether this was representative of the college group as a whole one cannot pretend to say, but there is no reason to believe that the class in question was more innocent than the rest and considerable ground for holding it to be rather more free and advanced. At any rate, the group which answered the questionnaire was able to demonstrate a record for sexual purity not likely to be surpassed by the average convent.

Instead of ascertaining the facts and breathing a sigh of relief, the purists, as usual, defeated their own ends. The questionnaire fell into the hands of a benighted alumna of the College who circulated it widely, along with the most misleading description of its nature and purpose, with the aim in mind of discrediting both Professor Hankins and the liberal administration of the College under President Neilson. From there it was taken up by the official patriotic "snooping" societies, notably Fred Marvin and his so-called *Key Men of America.* The National Security League sent a representative to Northampton to denounce the College, and Frank Goodwin expatiated over the "Red Peril in Our Colleges." Rumor begat gossip of the wildest sort, until it was solemnly alleged in some quarters that the questionnaire was one given to all entering fresh-

men and that entrance was denied to those who could not give an affirmative answer to the question regarding previous sex experience. As a result of this sort of behavior the obscurantists did much more to harm the reputation of the College than could have been achieved by a thousand legitimately administered questionnaires or by the antics of the "lunatic fringe" of the faculty and student body in a generation. The overwhelming majority of the alumnæ body and the trustees, however, expressed their full confidence in President Neilson's administration and the matter was settled with dignity and fairness to all concerned. From an educational point of view, however, the adjustment carried with it the melancholy proviso that the questionnaire would not be repeated at Smith College.

Nobody ever alleged that Professor Hankins had other than scientific objectives in mind or that any ulterior use could be made of the information. The objections were based upon the assumption that these fourscore of college girls, ranging in age from twenty to twenty-four, were completely unconscious of the existence of sex or of their possession of the psychic attributes and physical equipment of female sexuality until they were suddenly and maliciously made conscious of these shameful facts by the presentation of the questionnaire. Even more heinous was the suggestion, of which the girls first became conscious when reading the questionnaire, namely, that such a thing as sexual intercourse exists in the world! Any one who has been even moderately in contact with the sex views and sex conduct of the younger generation will be likely to entertain at least mildly skeptical views regarding this assumption of the initial illumination and incitement of these girls by the questionnaire, even if he were unaware of the fact that the girls actually prepared the questions. What could be more preposterous than the notion that participants in a civilization that freely reads the most salacious novels, attends the contemporary movies, dances to jazz rhythm with slight textile adornment of their figures, pets frequently and promiscuously and attends unhampered the sex plays, now so common, would be startled and plunged into an abyss of sin by a cold statistical query as to the existence of sex relations? As likely as that Gene Tunney would be upset by the discovery of a boxing-glove in his drawing-room!

An amusing and instructive aftermath of the questionnaire episode was associated with the perversion of the Commencement Address of the Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick at Smith College on June 20, 1927. Dr. Fosdick made an enlightened and eloquent

plea for a new conception of morality conceived in terms of good taste. It was essentially in harmony with that esthetic view of morality which characterized the best Greek thought and was first espoused in modern times by the Third Earl of Shaftesbury.[2] It is probable that the address was conceived in the laudable effort to smooth the troubled waters growing out of the questionnaire discussion and it was an admirable effort in this direction. It was quickly seized upon, however, by the *Massachusetts Public Interests League*, presided over by Mrs. Margaret Robinson, strangely enough the sister-in-law of James Harvey Robinson. This organization garbled Dr. Fosdick's address, tore passages from their context and printed it in parallel columns, with extracts from one of Lenin's pronouncements upon sex and family readjustment in Russia, under the title *The Deadly Parallel*.[3] Dr. Fosdick was thus made to appear an apostle of *free love* and a protagonist of the alleged Bolshevik communism in women.

All questionnaires are not, however, potentially as full of dynamite as that administered by Professor Hankins. In an evangelical college some two years ago a questionnaire was given to the students asking them to rate in order of disapproval certain sinful and criminal practices. The majority of the students put fornication ahead of murder in the list of reprehensible acts, and the faculty of the school was commended for the soundness of the instruction imparted.

Nothing better illustrates the incredibly backward nature of conventional education in regard to sex than the attitude of American academic sociologists. It would be supposed that this group would be found in the vanguard of those who are endeavoring to bring sex within the controlling guidance of the medical and social sciences and the artists but such is not the case. With a few notable exceptions, American sociologists do not in any sense view sex problems from the vantage-point of their science but succumb to the infantile prejudices which they acquired in their Sunday-School days. In his excellent article on "Religion Faces a New World" in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1928, James Harvey Robinson well emphasizes the fact that we acquire our religious ideas in childhood and carry them along with us on an infantile level to the grave. The conventional sexual ideas are a part of the orthodox religious complex and they likewise retain their infantile content unless a

[2] See *Smith Alumnæ Quarterly*, July 1927, p. 403.
[3] See Elizabeth McCausland, *The Blue Menace*, p. 16.

person happens to subject his beliefs in this field to the test of scientific knowledge and empirical criteria, an experience which happens but rarely. In other words, the sexology of the rank and file of American sociologists, particularly of the older generation, is not an honest and sincere effort to analyze sexual problems in the light of the best biological, psychological and sociological information, but is rather nothing more than an effort to rationalize and defend, through confusing verbiage or impressive pseudo-scientific nomenclature, the views on sex acquired in infancy and childhood from their Baptist mothers, Methodist aunts or Presbyterian grandmothers.

The accuracy of this serious charge can well be determined by comparing the writings of the general run of sociologists on sex matters with the opinions expressed on the same subject by an admittedly scientific and moderate expert in this field like Havelock Ellis or August Forel. Equally instructive is it to contrast the sexual doctrines of American sociologists and American psychiatrists, the latter of whom are forced by the experiences and responsibilities of their profession to abandon their infantile prejudices and to develop an adult reaction to sex based upon clinical knowledge and practical experience. A concrete illustration may further serve to illustrate the paleolithic nature of the sexology of the general run of American sociologists. At a round-table discussion during the Annual Meeting of the *American Sociological Society* in Washington in December, 1927, a talented young sociologist, sex psychologist and novelist, Dr. Lorine Pruette, read a paper on the trend of opinion towards the family in modern fiction. She stated, among other things, that the contemporary novelists seem to agree that sex conduct should be rendered less purely carnal and more esthetic, in other words, that there should be "fewer and better seductions." This threw the assemblage of solemn sociologists into a pandemonium. There were bitter attacks upon Dr. Pruette, and the venerable head of one of the larger sociological departments, with tears streaming down his face, defended the sacred title of Mother—as though Dr. Pruette or Sinclair Lewis proposed to deprive the world henceforth of motherhood. The affair culminated in a rather disgraceful scene at the annual dinner of the *Society*, at which Professor Arthur J. Todd, head of the sociology department of Northwestern University, delivered a frantic tirade against all sexology of a modern vintage and defended a stand on the subject which would have delighted the shades of Anthony Comstock or Dio

Lewis. From a purely scientific point of view, his performance was on a lower level than that of the Tennessee legislator at the Dayton Trial of 1925, who, when quizzed by Mr. Darrow, admitted that he believed that God had dictated the Bible directly to Moses in the immaculate English prose of the King James version. Yet Professor Todd received an ovation from the embattled sociologists, and the head of one of the great eastern sociology departments described his fanatical diatribe as "a grand and magnificent performance." Those who think that I may have been too hard on Professor Todd may well peruse his review of Judge Lindsey's "Companionate Marriage" in the *Welfare Magazine* for October, 1928, where his opinions on the subject are amply expressed.

The writer does not expect or desire to have sociologists enthusiastically and dogmatically espouse free love. To do so would be as deplorable as their present unthinking and superstitious espousal of indissoluble monogamy. All that he asks for is the willingness to examine sexual matters in the same objective and scientific manner as that in which they now analyze the state or property and the ability to listen to scientific discussions of sex without undue activity of their adrenals or the babbling of the term "mother" with tear-stained faces. In short, the only need is to approach sex issues in an adult fashion.

If academic sociologists are for the most part upholders of conventionality, based upon the religious precepts of childhood, one would at least expect that social workers would be *au courant* with the rudiments of contemporary sexology, but it would appear that such is not the case. On February 12, 1927, the writer addressed the *Pennsylvania Conference of Social Work*, embracing the great majority of the social workers in the state of Pennsylvania, on the general subject of "The Social Basis of Mental Health." The remarks were of a general and elementary sort, revolving chiefly about the proposition that mental hygiene should be substituted for religious controls in guiding the conduct of the community.[4] The chief criticism which might have been directed against the address was the unjustifiable absorption of so much time in expounding such self-evident platitudes of scientific sociology and psychiatry. Yet it was obvious that these observations were highly shocking to the majority present, and when the next speaker on the program heatedly shouted, "The sooner we get back to the Seventh Commandment instead of substituting Freud in our homes for the Bible, the better

[4] See *The Survey*, January 15, 1928.

off we will be," there was vociferous applause. Yet neither Freud nor adultery had been mentioned or even implied in the address.

Even that branch of social work concerned most directly with sexual issues is not infrequently more concerned with rationalizing and dignifying the archaic conventions than in really ascertaining the truth in regard to sex and life. This is true even of the *American Social Hygiene Association*, the most active and best endowed organization in American social work dealing with sexual problems. While it will publish articles in its journal which are not morally sound and conventional, the general point of view which pervades its work does not differ a whit from that which characterizes the *Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, namely, that sex expression for other than procreative purposes is to be discountenanced. The contrast between the point of view of the *Social Hygiene Association* and the emancipated psychiatrists can well be ascertained by comparing the *Journal of Social Hygiene* with *Mental Hygiene* and the *Psychoanalytic Review*. British "social hygiene" seems to suffer equally from the blight of infantile prudery, rationalized under the guise of scientific nomenclature. Recently (December, 1927) the *Journal of Social Hygiene* published "A Statement Prepared by the British Social Hygiene Committee and Adopted by the British Social Hygiene Council at their Meeting on March 22, 1926." This embodied the following declaration of faith:

> The British Social Hygiene Council are of opinion that:
> (1) In the interests of the race and of the individual it is essential that the stability of the family in marriage should be preserved, and social habits and customs be adjusted to this end.
> (2) There is overwhelming evidence that irregular sex relations, whether in married or unmarried, lead to physical, mental, and social harm.
> (3) There is no evidence either from physiology or from experience that for the unmarried sexual intercourse is a necessity for the maintenance of physical health.
> (4) There is no evidence from psychology or from experience that for the unmarried sexual intercourse is a necessity for the maintenance of mental health.

The material supporting these contentions is to be recommended to the prospective editor of a source-book on psychology as an unrivalled exhibit of evasiveness and rationalization. The section on "Celibacy and Nervous Disorders" (pp. 522-23) is especially to be commended in this regard. It is characteristic that among the signers

of this manifesto is to be discovered Dr. H. Crichton Miller, an eminent psychoanalyst and the director of a famous London clinic for functional nervous diseases, in which certainly more than half of his patients owed their unfortunate mental state to sex starvation, frustration or ignorance. The manifesto also illustrates another popular device of casuistic apologetic in this field, namely, the implication that such writers are laboring solely to protect the family and the insinuation that scientific sexologists decry the family and desire its destruction. There is no sexologist worthy of the name who does not recognize the pivotal position of the family in the present social structure or who does not desire to safeguard its social functions. What scientific sexology does maintain is that family integrity is best served by sex knowledge and enlightenment, and that those who are not able to attain to the conjugal state or maintain marriage relations successfully cannot be reasonably denied all sex expression. In short, sex problems and family problems are not identical and coëxtensive. Sex exists not only for the propagation of the race but for the increase of individual human happiness. The mode of its expression in the individual is a matter to be settled by psychiatrists and sociologists rather than by dogmatic purists working from archaic theological premises. One might well contrast this obscurantist manifesto with the views of a really objective British expert on sexology by reading Havelock Ellis' magnificent chapter on the family in C. A. Beard's *Whither Mankind?*

Even the medical colleges are at times incredibly prudish and evasive in dealing with sexual matters. One case which came to the attention of the writer is both representative and illuminating. A brilliant senior in America's leading medical college desired to have intercourse with a young woman to whom he was engaged, but, while he had often heard his teachers refer to birth control as a general principle, he did not know how to acquire and use the simplest and most universal of all birth control devices, to the effects of which Judge Lindsey devotes a chapter. In another case the professor of syphilology and dermatology in one of the leading eastern medical colleges told the writer with naïve frankness that he never mentioned venereal prophylaxis in his lectures to medical students, lest they investigate the subject in a practical and concrete manner and be encouraged to have intercourse with women.[5] The only places

[5] For further proof that medical training does not necessarily produce a scientific and urbane view of sex problems see the letters by Dr. Calvin G. Page in the *Survey* for February 15, 1928, and Dr. Lee M. Miles in the *Forum* for October, 1928.

in which the writer has ever observed education free from sex taboos have been the *New School for Social Research* in New York City and the Smith College *School for Psychiatric Social Work*, the latter controlled by the viewpoint of psychiatrists and directed by Professor Everett Kimball.

An excellent proof that frankness and honesty in discussing sex matters does not produce mental or moral degradation is afforded by the results of the Smith College *School for Psychiatric Social Work*. Students frequently pass, within an interval of three weeks, from their senior work in college into the classes and lectures at the *School of Social Work*. In the college the utmost delicacy has to be preserved in touching upon sex matters, while in the *School* there is in practice all of the honesty and candor essential to a full indication of the place occupied by normal and abnormal expressions of sex in the life of man. The students, hitherto carefully sheltered in regard to such information, appear to absorb it with real interest and with no disastrous results either to their manners or morals. It is interesting to reflect that, when preparing themselves for a professional career of a few years' duration, students are allowed to acquire information which is denied to them as a preparation for happiness in life. It would appear to be regarded as more important to prepare for a job than to prepare for life.

The extreme aversion to honesty and science with respect to sex in our institutions of higher learning is, of course, far outdistanced by the prudery evident in our secondary schools. In 1927 Mr. George Jean Nathan, the well-known writer and dramatic critic, published a work entitled, *Land of the Pilgrims' Pride*, in which he hazarded a somewhat caustic assessment of the sex *mores* of the younger generation. A popular and highly competent teacher of English in a Michigan high school was dismissed for allowing a mature student to read the book and construct an English theme about her reactions to the volume.

The writer has made no effort to present an exhaustive anthology of recent sex obscurantism in relation to our educational procedure. He has limited himself to a few representative examples, particularly those which have fallen under his immediate observation. There are scores of even more ludicrous cases on record in recent years, such as the case of a president of one of our "freshwater" colleges who expelled the editor of the college paper for printing reviews of books by Cabell and Willa Cather, and the characteristic behavior of President Atwood of Clark University

in expelling several of the editors of the *Clark College Monthly* because one of their number had even contemplated publishing an article on contemporary college morals. The article was never published and its publication had been voted down by the editorial board. President Atwood had obtained the proofs of the article in a disreputable fashion and expelled these men. He was faced by near insurrection and his administration was still further discredited by the incident. The writer could amplify the exhibit still further from his own teaching experience. His views on the wastes of the capitalistic system, the futility of conventional party politics and the anachronisms of orthodox religion are admittedly advanced and outspoken, and his opinions with respect to sex, as moderate and restrained as self-respect and a decent consideration for scientific fact and humanitarianism will allow. Yet he has found in a teaching experience that runs from Massachusetts to California and from Oregon and Montana to the south Atlantic states that much more solicitude and intolerance is generated by the expression of the mildest rudiments of a civilized conception of sex than by the most telling blows against the theory of a business enterprise or the omniscience and impeccability of the Republican Party. Even the shattering of the Coolidge Myth arouses less immediate hostility than the suggestion that sex matters should be handled in accordance with scientific facts rather than religious dogmas.

Not only do we find intolerance in education with respect to sex education, but likewise an intolerance with regard to deviation from convention in sex behavior which is unequalled, with the possible exception of the severity with which the public sex conduct of the clergy is judged. Unconventionality on the part of an academician, such as would pass unnoticed in the life and activities of the business man, engineer, physician and the lawyer, is normally penalized by summary treatment. Even the securing of divorce by an academician, though no gross breach of conventional morality is alleged, is usually the occasion for much horrified gossip on the part of his or her colleagues and their wives, and frequently the ground for dismissal. An excellent example of the usual intolerance in this regard, as well as some evidence that a more civilized day is dawning, is afforded by the experience of J. B. S. Haldane, the eminent bio-chemist at Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor Haldane was named in a divorce suit by his wife and was dismissed from his position as reader in bio-chemistry in Trinity College. Professor Haldane appealed to the University authorities and his case was

handed over to a special tribunal authorized to hear such cases. This court is known as the "sex viri" and is made up of university professors and officers, presided over by a high court judge. It was the function of this court "to decide how far the university statutes of moral conduct, drawn up in a sterner age, should be modified to suit more lax times." The court apparently decided that sense and science should prevail over sternness, and it granted Haldane's appeal and ordered his reinstatement in his teaching position.[6] This may be the harbinger of an era of greater rationality and tolerance, but it is certain that there will be a host of victims to conventional savagery before the attitude of the "sex viri" comes to be the generally accepted reaction of academic authorities in such circumstances.

This intense intolerance of any departure from barbarism in treating of sex in the course of human education leads inevitably to the well-nigh complete ignoring of any systematic instruction in regard to sex life in the schools, colleges and universities. There are, to be sure, courses in genetics, abnormal psychology, family problems and the like, but they deal with only very restricted areas of sex problems and handle very gingerly the topics which they pretend to present. Moreover, such courses are almost never required. Students are still compelled to flock by the thousand into courses in higher mathematics, Latin, English composition, and modern languages while they are permitted, even encouraged, to ignore instruction in those lines of learning most intimately connected with their future happiness. In our best women's colleges, for example, it is not unusual to find several hundred students enrolled in elective courses in contemporary literature or drama while a paltry dozen elect the course in genetics. The course in hygiene sometimes carries the student far enough to include a description of the organs of reproduction, usually those of the sex of the students, but any such salutary information as might be imparted in this manner is, more frequently than not, offset by terrifying lantern slides portraying the horrors and ravages of venereal disease, which is represented as the almost invariable penalty of pre-conjugal or extra-conjugal intercourse. It is obvious that there is no inkling of any instruction in sexology, such as has been popularized recently by Drs. Robie and Lay. The only approach to any realistic instruction in sex problems in institutions of higher learning is to be found in the occasional appointment of a psychiatrist to the college staff. Such appointees

[6] See New York *Times*, March 18, 1926.

usually do their work in a highly commendable way, but they confine their attentions for the most part to serious or abnormal cases which show signs of a breakdown, while the great mass of the students are deprived of their salutary insight and advice. Indeed, in one college well known to the writer an eminent and sensible psychiatrist visited the institution frequently to deal with any psychopathic cases which might arise, but the ninety-and-nine of the student body were subjected to the lectures of a physician who informed them that if they wore red dresses they were spiritually akin to French harlots, and otherwise disseminated information in regard to sex behavior which, by virtue of its deviation from scientific fact and its potential harmfulness to the students, was little short of felonious.

We may say, then, that the problem of sex in education is of great importance because of the degree to which sex impinges upon many subjects in the curriculum; because of the indispensable nature of accurate information on sex matters for complete human happiness; because there is more ignorance and intolerance with respect to scientific sex instruction and intelligent discussion of sexual problems than exists in any other realm of learning; and because sex education is more thoroughly ignored and perverted than any other branch of instruction in our schools, colleges and universities.

The Collegiate Gaol and the Sex Element in Education

Those who view our schools and colleges in solemn and literal fashion as being institutions actually designed primarily to educate the youth of the land might regard it as strange that such an attitude should prevail regarding one of those phases of instruction most essential to human well-being. An initial error would exist in their reasoning, namely, the assumption that parents regard the educational system as primarily a place in which their children shall seek preparation for life.

More and more, with the development of our complex material civilization and the diversions and distractions which it presents, the educational system, from the day nursery through the college, is becoming a hierarchy of sublimated and dignified institutions of child care and supervision, thus freeing the parents from this responsibility. A generation or so ago the home was the center of social, educational and recreational life. There was little incentive to seek recreation and distraction elsewhere and little opportunity to do so if the inclination arose. To-day the movies, golf courses,

automobiles, dance-halls, night clubs, theaters, speakeasies and the like offer an allurement to even respectable classes which, a couple of generations back, was matched only by the attraction of the saloon for the proletariat.

Likewise, education, a generation ago, was looked upon as a rare and much prized privilege of the wealthier and more capable minority in the population. It was not regarded as a mark of social inferiority not to have been educated in a college or to have children who were not sent to college. To-day, college education is something which is taken as a matter of course, even by the middle and lower *bourgeoisie* and the upper peasantry. It is viewed as a social necessity, comparable to the mastery of the tuxedo, bat-wing tie and the evening gown, and it is rarely regarded as in any way more of an intellectual exercise than the above aspects of contemporary ritual in the world of personal adornment. Hence, the educational population has come to embrace elements in the community at large unlikely to have the tolerance and breadth of mind associated with wealth, travel and opportunity.

Children are a care, distraction and social liability to those who desire more or less complete freedom to participate in contemporary social and recreational activities, and this burden can be only partially removed by turning over children to the care of maids and tutors in the home. To these socio-recreational causes of the breakdown of the home might well be added the fact that in many cases both of the parents engage in remunerative professional employment which takes them out of the home for a greater part of the day. Consequently, in addition to the public schools and state universities, we have developed a great hierarchy of institutions, from the day nursery through the schools for boys and girls, preparatory school and colleges, which receive and safely care for children who, while not unloved, prove an annoyance and special cross to the parents who long for freedom from domestic responsibilities. Not satisfied with being rid of their children during the school year, parents have lately fostered the development of elaborate summer camps for boys and girls which relieve them during the non-school months as well. It is not necessary to assume that the parents are always conscious of their desire or effort to rid themselves of the presence of their children so as to secure greater freedom for themselves. They usually rationalize their procedure on the ground that these residential schools and camps offer decisively better facilities for their children than can be obtained at home. It need hardly be

pointed out that the same changes in civilization which have made it desirable to be rid of children have brought that increase in prosperity which has made it possible to send the progeny to these expensive residential institutions. In the case of parents who have not wished or been able to send their children away before college years there is, nevertheless, a strong desire to feel that the institutions of higher learning to which they consign their offspring will be safe places of custody.

This growing tendency of parents to pass the custodial "buck" to the colleges is well illustrated by the following observations of the editor of the *Cardinal*, the institutional paper of the University of Wisconsin, on the letters sent to Dean Goodnight of Wisconsin relative to the Dora Russell affair:

> We say we can not understand such an administration [i.e., the attitude of Dr. Frank relative to Mrs. Russell]; but we take that back. Yesterday, Dean Goodnight extended us the privilege of examining correspondence he had received from parents and others commending his action in attempting to block the Russell lecture. This examination shed a slight glimmer of understanding on the affair. It seems, from the tone of the letters we read, that parents of university students look upon the deans, the faculty, and the regents as state mothers and fathers who are paid to look after their offspring with a tenderness and care which can be exceeded only in the home. Such parents fail to realize that their children are growing up, that they have minds, that they are tempted to use those minds in critical fashion. They do not seem to realize that the whole tenor of university training, especially in the sciences and philosophy, tends to develop a habit of skepticism and the thirst for fact. It tends to inculcate tolerance of the other fellow's viewpoint along with the ability to examine his views critically before adopting or rejecting them. But the general attitude revealed by these letters can best be brought out by the following excerpts from them:
>
> One writer, the father of two growing girls, states: . . . "so long as our higher educational institutions permit the teaching of the things that are being taught in those schools to-day I will never permit my children to be subjected to those influences and shall do all in my power to enlighten other parents as to the existing conditions in those institutions."
>
> That is a shining example of the "protection from knowledge" which evoked comment from Mrs. Russell last night. Another letter states:
>
> "Such things as companionate marriage, free love, and eugenics only detract the student from those studies or subjects on which he should concentrate."
>
> This writer also remarks that if the subject matter of the speaker were something that would encourage or aid the student in his studies and give

him thought or hope for the future, it would be well to hear such a speaker, but then he denounces Mr. and Mrs. Russell and their "immoral thoughts and teachings."

This same letter pointed out that parents examine the catalog of a university before sending their students to it, and then they rest secure in the knowledge that they will not be defrauded by the introduction of material not listed. The communication goes on to say that faculty and regents should "take the place of the parents in giving the students the guiding hand that is necessary to keep them clean in thought, mind, and action."

In these statements we find a basis for the paternalistic attitude sometimes assumed by university administrations. It is an extremely unfortunate situation; but the most astounding statement of all, taken from the letter above quoted follows:

"It is not right of the officials of the University of Wisconsin to allow the student to listen to all manner of theories on public questions upon which there is a grave diversity of opinion."

That sentence staggered us when we read it. It seemed difficult to believe that the father of a university student, in this day, could hold such a view. We sincerely hope that this attitude is not representative of parents in general. If it is, the University of Wisconsin should close its doors; for according to the narrow standards implied in that remark, it is a veritable institute of the devil daily doling out information regarding questions on which there is a diversity of opinion. Surely, if that father is correct, the teaching of economics is wrong and Professor Kiekhofer would do well to go into exile; for there are great numbers of people who doubt the justice of the present capitalistic system. There is great diversity of opinion on economic problems. Therefore, economics should be mentioned only in a whisper behind closed doors.

It is genuinely painful to encounter such reasoning and all its implications, and we repeat very earnestly that we hope this is not typical of the attitude of parents in general.

Hence, it has come about that the chief function of education in the minds of the parent is the jailing function. This is particularly true of the parents of children in college preparatory schools and in the colleges. Children at this period of development are peculiarly hard to manage and simply radiate problems due to puberty and adolescence. The parents are glad to pass on the responsibility for their control to the educational institutions. The college, then, becomes the analogue of the reform school and reformatory for a somewhat less incorrigible but far more numerous element in the population of the same age period. The colleges accept the jailor's

responsibility and formulate their rules accordingly. College regimentation and administration are controlled much more by considerations incident to successful jailing than by concern for intellectual stimulation. There are rules about residence and absences which in some cases are almost as rigorous as those in the more liberal correctional institutions. Smith College students going to dances at Amherst are much more closely guarded than were the members of the Glee Club of Portsmouth Naval Prison when making their trips to nearby towns under Mr. Osborne's régime.

The success of the college is measured in no small degree by its demonstrated capacity for executing this function of safe segregation of youth. If a college succeeds in turning out class after class with few or no casualties, scandals or disappearances, even though the pretense to educating the inmates is obviously a hollow mockery and a glaring sham, the administration is praised as brilliantly performing its pedagogical duties and fully discharging its social responsibilities. On the other hand, should a courageous, energetic and stimulating college president develop an almost unique degree of intellectual interest on the part of the students and nearly succeed in actually educating a small minority of the student body, such an Herculean achievement would be immediately nullified in parental opinion if one eccentric or over-buoyant student should succeed in making an escape or should involve the college in some untoward scandal indicating possible laxity in "discipline." The efficiency and status of college professors are also primarily determined by their relation to the promotion of the success of the institution in securing safe segregation. A professor, however boring, monotonous and unstimulating to the students, is regarded as a valuable member of the faculty if he creates a quiescent attitude on the part of the students and by his somnolent influence reduces the possibility of student recalcitrance or insurrection. On the other hand, let a brilliant and active professor stir his students to independence of thought and action and he becomes a challenge to the whole system of institutional regimentation and is likely to be let out at the earliest opportunity. It is a situation identical to that which pertains in the penal institutions, where the efficiency of the warden is believed to be in indirect ratio to the number of escapes. Irrespective of the fact that the grossest form of brutality and corruption may prevail, the warden is judged to be a good one if he reduces escapes to a minimum. Likewise, an honest and intelligent warden, who is able to secure a high ratio of actual reformation among his inmates, will be

adjudged a failure if a few convicts escape prematurely from custody.

Now sex interests and activities are among the impulses most provocative to infractions of discipline and possible flights from academic custody. They represent the type of suggestion and temptation most feared by both parents and academic administrators. Sex causes the parents the greatest amount of uneasiness in regard to the safety of their children while segregated in the collegiate gaol, and it is likewise the thing which brings to the collegiate authorities the largest amount of worry, lest their performance as academic custodians should leave much to be desired in the eyes of the watchful and solicitous parents. Drinking, smoking, gambling and motoring represent other sources of nervousness, but they are all dwarfed by comparison with the menace of the sex urges of the ardent and curious folk of preparatory school and college age. Education, as conceived by both parents and the general run of college authorities, presents no challenge to the jailing function, but sex threatens it at every turn. Therefore, it is easy to see why both parents and college authorities are likely to turn a deaf ear to any plea to introduce rational sex education and sex conduct into the educational world.

Of course, one would be supporting the absurd and preposterous if he were to attempt to derive the whole opposition to sane sex education from the single source of the custodial psychosis in education. There must be taken into account the superstitious beliefs of the parents in regard to sex derived from their religious training, which are often shared by the college authorities. To this must be added the almost universal pedagogical assumption that anything immediately serviceable and practical in the way of education is non-academic or anti-academic. But it would be equally absurd to overlook, as most authorities do, the fact that safe segregation is the chief function of the preparatory school and college to-day and that the aversion to sanity in sex is due in no small part to its challenge to that student docility and immobility so essential to the smooth working of the educational *hoosegow*.

The jailing responsibility falls particularly heavily upon the authorities of women's colleges. Women are regarded as more frail as well as more exposed and susceptible to temptation than men. The custodial duty becomes much more urgent here, and there is much more insistence upon endless rules and regulations limiting the freedom and mobility of female students. Nothing is

more absurd than the prevalent conception of the "freedom"—almost anarchy—of college girls to-day. With the exception of Barnard, Hunter and certain other metropolitan and largely non-residential women's colleges, the students are veritably enmeshed in rules controlling their freedom of a type which have long since been abandoned in men's colleges. This is not because the authorities of women's colleges are less enlightened than the administrators of men's colleges; the reverse is more often the case. The contrast in extensiveness of rules is to be explained upon the ground of the greater trepidation of parents in regard to their daughters and their insistence upon a more perfect and complete execution of the jailing duties. When a girl happens to revolt against this regimentation and bolts from custody, the institution is usually quite unfairly accused of inadequate rules and regulations, when it may actually have been the excessive rules and regulations which have driven the fugitive girl to desperation.

Not only do parents tend in general to put the jailing function of a college far in advance of its educational responsibility; most parents are even fearful of real education. As Mr. Mencken has well said, nothing is so shocking to a parent as to discover intelligence in his child, and nothing could be more repugnant to him than to envisage sending his child to an institution that proposed actually to educate him, namely, really to make him more intelligent:

> One of the most amusing things in life to a bachelor is the horror that overcomes his married friends whenever one of their children turns out to be intelligent. They feel instinctively that the phenomenon offers a challenge to their parental dignity and authority, and when the child they suspect actually *is* intelligent it certainly does. For the first thing the youngster who has succumbed to the un-Christian vice of thinking attempts is a critical examination of its surroundings, and directly in the forefront of those surroundings stand the unfortunate composers of its being. The result, only too frequently, is turmoil and disaster at the domestic hearth. Children, as every one knows, are "ungrateful." So, argue judges and hangmen, are *messieurs* the condemned. Even the most intelligent agents and instruments of the Life Force are thus full of alarms when their progeny respond to Mendel's law: the very vigor and independence of judgment which they regard as their own most precious possessions affrights them when it appears in their issue. I could tell some curious tales in point, but had better refrain. Suffice it to mention an old friend, extremely shrewd and realistic in all of his thinking, who was happily proud of his very intelligent daughter until, at the age of sixteen, she threatened to get a job in a shop if he sent

her, as he proposed, to a finishing-school. Then he collapsed in horror, despite the plain fact that her ultimatum was an excellent proof of the intelligence that he was proud of. As man, he admired her differentiation from the mass. But as father he was made uneasy by her sharp departure from normalcy.

Education, as the average parent conceives of it, is subsidiary and accessory to the custodial objective. It is designed to make young persons more amenable to segregation while inmates of an educational institution and to make them docile and well regimented citizens when their school and college days are over:

What ails all these bogus martyrs [liberal teachers discharged from colleges] is a false theory of education. They seem to believe that its aim is to fill the pupil's head with a mass of provocative and conflicting ideas, to arouse his curiosity to incandescence and inspire him to inquiry and speculation—in the common phrase, to teach him how to think. But this is surely nonsense. If education really had any such aim its inevitable effect would be to reduce nine-tenths of its victims to insanity, and to convert most of the rest into anarchists. What it seeks to do is something quite different—something, in fact, almost the opposite. It is financed by the state and by private philanthropists, not to make lunatics and anarchists, but to make good citizens—in other words, to make citizens who are as nearly like all other citizens as possible. Its ideal product is not a boy or a girl full of novel ideas but one full of lawful and correct ideas—not one who thinks, but one who believes. If it actually graduated hordes of Platos and Nietzsches it would be closed by the Department of Justice, and quite properly.

Even the unusual parent who actually desires to have his child educated tends to shun the notion of having him thoroughly and accurately informed in regard to sex. He believes that there is but little information known or essential to impart in this field, namely, that which he accumulated in part from his grandmother, in part from the Sunday-School, and in part from the barnyard or the street gang. Scientific sexology, if he has even heard of it, is regarded by him as identical with free love and the inculcation of the belief in communism in women. Therefore, the rare parent who actually desires to have his son or daughter educated is likely to be as averse to sex education as the rank and file of parents who want their children safely segregated and abhor sex stimulation as a disturbing influence in the collegiate gaol system. The opposition of parents to sex education thus produces a sort of vicious circle.

The parents are usually grossly ignorant, biased and intolerant in regard to sexual matters and hence resent or obstruct any adequate sexual education of their children. Yet parents can scarcely be intelligent unless they receive some sound information in the educational process. One generation of parents, by denying their children sane sex education, only help to produce another generation of bigoted parents to pass on their ignorance and superstitions to succeeding generations. The only way to make any marked progress is for college authorities to defy parental opinion and courageously inculcate information. But college authorities naturally desire to be esteemed as safe and successful, and hence they usually shy off this delicate and dangerous field. Further, college authorities and faculties, being a product of the educational system which we have all too briefly characterized, have, as a rule, neither the capacity nor the inclination to do much in the way of supplying adequate and accurate information in regard to sex issues.

At least some brief reference should be made to the protective psychosis which is closely related to the jailing objective in education. The custodians of educational morals and the critics of liberal educational policies take as one of their leading premises the assumption that college students should be adequately protected against lecture references and reading assignments that may prematurely inform them on sexual matters or unduly stimulate their sexual curiosity. For a professor to refer serenely and objectively in his lectures to divorce, adultery, prostitution, homosexuality, autoeroticism or matters of this sort or to assign for reading such books as Bertrand Russell's *What I Believe*, Freda Kirchwey's *Our Changing Morality* or Havelock Ellis's *Little Essays of Love and Virtue* is regarded as a grave breach of academic discretion and good taste. One might well debate the question of the alleged evil of acquainting students with such information, even granting that they were actually unfamiliar with it. As James Harvey Robinson has well observed:

> I am opposed to all censorship, partly because we already have Draconian laws, and police willing to interfere on slight pretense in cases in which the public sense of propriety seems likely to be shocked; partly because, as Milton long ago pointed out, censors are pretty sure to be fools, for otherwise they would not consent to act. Then I am a strong believer in the fundamental value of sophistication. I would have boys and girls learn early about certain so-called "evils"—and rightly so-called—so that they may begin to reckon with them in time. I have no confidence

in the suppression of every-day facts. We are much too skittish of honesty. When we declare that this or that will prove demoralizing, we rarely ask ourselves, demoralizing to whom and how? We have a sufficiently delicate machinery already to prevent the circulation of one of Thorstein Veblen's philosophic treatises and Mr. Cabell's highly esoteric romance. For further particulars see the late John Milton's *Areopagitica* passim. To judge by the conduct of some of our college heads the influence of this work is confined to a recognition of its noble phraseology, with little realization of the perennial value of the sentiments it contains.

The amusing and preposterous aspect of the protective objective lies, however, in the assumption that those to be protected are innocent of sexual information and free from sexual stimulation and that such material as that mentioned above would have high horsepower in the way of exciting students and impelling them to immoral acts. Does any sane person imagine that a student of college age who has been permitted to attend the movies and theater and to read the newspapers is ignorant of the existence of divorce, adultery, prostitution or more juvenile forms of sex expression? Does a group which reads our modern sex novels, to say nothing of the great erotic classics from Ovid to Frank Harris, need to be protected from the sexual incitement likely to be derived from Havelock Ellis or Bertrand Russell? Do students who gather almost daily after dinner and on rainy Sunday afternoons to exchange sex anecdotes and disburse sex information in a super-Rabelaisian manner need to be protected from a few dry references to the most rudimentary facts of sex in the course of a scientific and technical lecture by a professor who is likely to be far less acquainted with the sex life of to-day than his or her students? Imagine the participants in college "smut sessions" being "protected" against the contents of the most erotic college lecture on record in the history of pedagogy! If one accepts the philosophy of protection and coddling for college students, then he should start by protecting them against the influences of their home life and their fellow-students, which are certainly more inciting than college courses, even courses in genetics and domestic relations.

Indeed, there is much to be said for the contention that, if any one needs protection, it is the parents. It is usually too late for them to change their life ideas and habits, and the newer order of things may merely cause them needless pain and anxiety. This point of view is stated with both humor and pathos in the preface to Havelock Ellis's *Little Essays of Love and Virtue,* in which he addresses

his book to the younger generation and leaves it to their judgment as to whether they believe it wise to allow the older generation to consult the book.

Sex in the Curriculum of the College Free from Taboo

We have thus far endeavored to specify a few reasons why sex is an important issue in sound and rational education and why there is singularly little in the way of real sex education in schools and colleges to-day. We may now turn to the next logical step in the discussion, namely, just what would constitute the broad essentials of an adequate program of instruction in our educational system, assuming that we desired to educate students in a thorough-going fashion. Keeping in mind the subject of this chapter, we shall more particularly consider how the sexual issues should be handled in courses not directly designed to impart sex information. It is scarcely an obligation of the present writer to suggest how we may bring about the reconstruction of modern civilization and our contemporary educational system, so that there would be both a demand for and a tolerance of a sane attitude towards sex in schools and colleges. We shall have to content ourselves with briefly summarizing how our curriculum and procedure would be affected by the adoption of a sane attitude towards sex matters. It should also be borne in mind that we are not advocating something which we believe every college president should immediately put into practice in the present state of sexual obscurantism and intolerance. We are, rather, indicating what we believe would be the essentials of a civilized attitude towards sex issues in the educational system of an emancipated society.

It is obvious that any program of rational and scientific sex education in the schools and colleges will long be handicapped not only by parental opposition but also by the pseudo-information and the misinformation imparted by parents, relatives and associates. Particularly vicious is the misinformation and psychic attitudes imparted to young children in their queries about sexual matters. Though the objective factual content of such information may later be supplanted by positive information of a scientific sort, it is much more difficult to destroy the symbolism and the emotional complexes and fixations which early attach themselves to the childhood impressions of sex. It would be difficult enough to carry out sane sex education if the schools and colleges could have full control of the process, but the task becomes much harder when the educational authorities

must work against the earlier and parallel misinformation of the child by others.

First and foremost it is clear that the discussion of sex in education must, with respect to both method and content of information, be adapted to the age and psychophysical development of the child. Formal discussion of obstetrics before girls of eight would be as much out of place as elementary and very cautious and delicate observations on juvenile masturbation before graduate students of biology or psychology. At every stage in the inculcation of sex information, however, this knowledge should be imparted in natural, matter of fact and honest fashion, in the same manner as we explain and interpret other facts relating to our physical constitution and social surroundings. Above all, such instruction and discussion should be disseminated in such a manner as to free sex from all sense of guilt, shame or indecency. All sex instruction should be rigorously and absolutely divorced from religion, which has been the source of most of the misinformation about sex in the past and of the physical and psychic misery which has been engendered thereby. From the very beginning the conviction must be inculcated that sex is a matter of scientific, social and artistic import and in no sense more closely related to the supernatural than the processes of respiration or digestion. It is particularly desirable to emphasize the medical import of the question and to induce the child to think of the physician rather than the clergyman as the source of ultimate information and guidance with respect to sex.

The writer, of course, desires to make himself clearly understood in regard to his attitude towards sex and religion. In speaking of religion, in the sense which he has used it above, he refers to the prevailing forms of supernatural religion and the impurity-complex which they generate. His hostility to the interference of these religious influences in sex matters is frank, complete and enduring. He does not, of course, have in mind the possible attitude which the socialized religion of the future may take in regard to sex education. A socialized religion would be based on the same secular criteria as scientific sexology, and they might well be presumed to pursue common ends. As symptoms of this possible development we may mention the candid symposiums on sex matters which have been held at the Community Church in New York City and elsewhere, and the frank recognition that social religion must take cognizance of the new sexology in such works as Sherwood Eddy's recent brochure on *Sex and Youth.*

Sex should at all times be discussed in purely secular terms, and the sex controls that we try to erect for the guidance of a rational social order should be constructed wholly about earthly rewards and penalties. Those forms of sex expression which increase human happiness should be encouraged and those likely to impair well-being and induce suffering should be discountenanced. But in all cases it should be made clear that praise or condemnation of sex practices is determined exclusively by the effect of such practices upon our daily lives. It should be emphasized that the penalty for ignorance or unwisdom in sex matters is exacted very really and immediately here on earth. In this manner we might hope to condition the child in such a way as to secure some adherence to rational considerations and thereby bring his behavior in the sexual realm into harmony with his scientific knowledge in the premises. Likewise, our conceptions of good taste with respect to sex affairs should be wholly secularized on an esthetic level. The child should be taught that sex is a great impulse to beauty and that it should be exploited in such a manner as to increase the sum total of beauty and pleasure in the universe. Particular emphasis in sex education must be laid on the point that sex is not vulgar or shameful but more directly and potently related to beauty and art than any other phase of the expression of human nature. Good taste in sex matters should be shown to consist in such forms of sex behavior and expression as increase the true and the beautiful and not in prudish adherence to the precepts of Anthony Comstock or the *Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals* of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Indeed, it might well be made clear that the conduct of the prude is in fully as bad taste as that of the vulgar exhibitionist.

Once we were able to construct a set of sex controls based upon scientific fact and esthetic aspirations we could insure sex conduct of a form which would produce the maximum amount of beauty and happiness in the world and the minimum amount of misery and vulgarity. The chief reason why the older sex controls have broken down with the younger generation is that the sanctions were founded upon those dogmas of supernatural religion which are to-day rejected by an ever growing number of the youth of the land. If the only reason which can be adduced by a parent why his daughter should absent herself from a most enticing petting party is the assurance that some day she will land in hell, the daughter is not likely to be either impressed or deterred. If a man tries to dissuade his son from frequenting the apartments of prostitutes by informing

him that whores are very specifically condemned in the Bible, except when especially useful to God's servants, the boy may not be particularly concerned, but if it is made plain to him that prostitution exposes one to the dangers of venereal disease and, above all, represents a debasement of sex love and reduces both the pleasure and beauty of sex expression, then the young man may think it over. It is a vain hope to expect to regain the supernatural religious sanctions of sex conduct in our secular and mechanical age, and we face the alternative of growing sexual anarchy or rational control based upon considerations of individual and social well-being and esthetic expression. When we succeed in supplanting the primitive controls of supernaturalism by the rational controls of science and art we may reasonably hope to be able to control sexual behavior as we have those other forms of psycho-physical expression which have been divorced from clerical domination.

While sex matters should be handled in a frank, honest and secular fashion, they unquestionably require more than usual tact and discrimination. It is true that the sex organs are as secular and exclusively physiological as any other set of organs in the body. It is equally true, as Dr. Frankwood Williams has suggested, that it has been a disastrous fallacy to refer to the sex organs as our "privates," inasmuch as they are really no more private than the rest of our anatomy. The conception of the unique *privacy* of sex organs has had much to do with the development of the dangerous and vulgar conceptions of sin and shame as related to sex organs, sex behavior and sex discussion. At the same time, it is futile and misleading to contend that one can in the process of education discuss the facts and processes relating to the sex organs with as much nonchalance and as little concern as he would use, for example, in dealing with the digestive system. We must recognize the psychological fact that, however great the degree of intellectual emancipation and scientific candor, sexual matters are bound to arouse greater interest and provoke greater excitement than facts relating to any other system of organs. This fact must be fully recognized and due allowance must be made for it in education. This does not mean that we should fail to impart full, complete and frank information in respect to all essential facts regarding sexual behavior, but it does mean that the subject must be handled with somewhat more tact than would be required in ordinary physiological analysis. This differential emotional response as between sexual and other physiological and psychological description consti-

tutes the only basis for any distinction between sex education and other forms of education. Likewise the greater emotional drive of sex represents the major distinction between sexual behavior and behavior of any other order. We must not fail to recognize, however, that much of the excitement produced by discussing sex before an American audience is produced by the very secrecy which has hitherto surrounded any discussion of sex organs and processes. Among peoples who have been frank in dealing with sex situations the differential emotional stimulation produced by sexual as against non-sexual description and analysis is relatively slight, thus indicating that much of the so-called unique excitement in sex situations is not biologically inherent but conditioned by the environment.

It is high time that we gave up the archaic and barbarous categories and distinctions of religious and secular, pure and impure, proper and improper, higher and lower, etc., as descriptive of bodily processes and human acts, in which the sexual are almost always identified with the secular, the impure, the improper and the lower forms of activity. No set of bodily organs or type of bodily processes can be described or evaluated in any valid way except in relation to its contribution to integral behavior, bodily and social. The functioning of the kidneys is as *proper* and in just as good taste as the processes which go on in the frontal cortices of the brain. The teacher, then, should be as free to discuss sex as to discuss metabolism or respiration, but he should recognize the necessity of more care and delicacy in so doing, not because sex is more vile or private than other forms of human problems, but because it carries with it more emotional drive, which must be directed in the desirable fashion.

Briefly what would it mean to have an educational system without irrational and archaic sex taboos drawn from outgrown religious superstitions? We should at the outset have parents who do their best to answer the questions of the children regarding sex matters in the most frank, sincere and accurate manner of which they are capable, and who are glad to entrust the further sexual education of their children to competent and discriminating teachers, fully recognizing that the happiness of their children is inseparably bound up with their success in securing complete and accurate information with respect to sexual matters. In the schools the facts and processes of sex should be explained objectively and fully, in keeping with the stages of the child's psychogenesis and experiences. Biological studies need not be converted into courses in

sexology, but the sex elements should not be omitted or dealt with in a hasty or evasive fashion. Recognizing that sex can be adequately and safely exploited only in the light of science and art, competent teachers should give the children full information on sex matters from both the scientific and artistic points of view. Such instruction could most naturally and efficiently be inculcated in connection with subjects and courses where sex emerges. Certain sex problems and processes might well, however, receive special, separate and unified description, analysis and interpretation. Schools would be neither juvenile institutes for sexology nor, as they are to-day, places from which sex education is normally excluded or disseminated in a manner which frequently makes it worse than useless. We would simply recognize that sex is an important and integral part of life, that we must master its "mysteries" in order to be happy, and we should then proceed to make sex education a natural, normal and integral part of the educational process as a whole. Inasmuch as the great majority of students in the schools terminate their formal education prior to college, provision should be made for sufficient sex education in the secondary schools to fit one for life. The more delicate or advanced types of instruction cannot safely be delayed until the college period, for the very good reason that the vast majority will not reach the gates of a college. Nor should high school students be deprived of valuable instruction in biology, the social sciences or literature because of some slight incidental sex component in this information or subject-matter.

Coming more particularly to college education, we may consider how a system of education without sex taboo would express itself in this supreme realm of pedagogical endeavor. Among the mathematical sciences astronomy would have the most immediate bearing upon sex in education. Astronomy, by indicating the cosmic perspective in which we must now view the earth and man, can do more than any other subject to uproot the old religious superstitions which represent God as directly and personally arranging and specifying the sexual conduct of man. The first step in rational sex education is the secularization of sex, and contemporary astrophysics can achieve more than all other subjects in the curriculum combined to produce a secular outlook on human affairs. The problems involved in arranging for "little children to troop down from heaven" become immensely more intricate and complex in the new cosmic perspective of Shapley or Michelson. Physiological chemistry, particularly in the field of endocrinology, has made dis-

coveries indispensable for an understanding of love and sex. The sex functions and the emotions of sex and love are now well known to be fundamentally chemical in nature. Chemistry need not be transformed into a branch of sexology, yet chemistry cannot be regarded as having discharged its full educational function unless it makes clear its indispensable contributions to a knowledge of the underlying processes and mechanisms of sexual life. Chemistry can also be of great aid in the process of secularizing sex. When we realize that sex development and the sex urge are produced by various chemical secretions we are less likely to be gravely impressed by the old doctrines of diabolical intervention and temptation or the restraining influence of the divinely implanted conscience. The biological sciences are particularly closely related to sex life and processes. In the course of his biological instruction the student should become acquainted with the structure and functioning of the sex organs and all accessory glands and tissues. The process of reproduction in all of its stages should be as familiar to him as the stork mythology was to his grandfather. Not only should he be instructed as to the mechanisms of reproduction; he should also be acquainted with the methods of obstructing reproduction and of selective breeding to improve the species. The relation between sex vitality and other forms of physical and psychological expression should be fully explained.

In psychology the place of sex in the total functioning of the integral organism should be made plain, and the nature, genesis, variety and diversions of the sexual emotions should be pointed out. No little attention should be paid to the psychogenesis of love and jealousy, and the psychological stages in the sexual life of the human individual would need to be elucidated. Social psychology should be cultivated in order that one may have full knowledge of the psychology of family life and of the other groups which impinge upon sexual issues. Genetic and behavioristic psychology, which have been so fruitfully developed of late by Stanley Hall, J. B. Watson and others, would need to be mastered in order to arrive at a proper knowledge of the process of conditioning children and giving them the right start in their erotic and sex life. Beyond all else in the psychological field we should give the student thorough training in mental hygiene, in order that he may realize the fundamental relationship between an adequate and satisfactory sex life and mental vigor and physical energy. He should also be informed as to the various forms of perversions and psychopathic forms

which sex may take upon itself when not fully understood or adequately expressed.

The instruction in the social sciences ought to reveal fully the place of sex in human society in all cultural areas of the earth and in all the periods of social development. Anthropology should bring out well the comparative point of view and indicate the vast variety of ways in which man has attempted to handle sexual problems. Nothing is more effective in destroying intellectual arrogance, bigotry, prudery, and intolerance than the comparative outlook, such as is brought together so well in Sumner's *Folkways*. The thesis that there is but one right and divinely revealed way of dealing with sexual or any other human situations is dealt a deathblow by the recognition that there have been literally hundreds of different methods whereby man has dealt with every social issue and situation, while in each case he has regarded his solution as perfect and the product of God's inspiration. Anthropology, then, should make an important contribution through wide information as to sexual practices among men and through developing, as no other subject can, the tolerance and broadmindedness which comes from the comparative approach to social problems. Further, through its effort, by the comparative method, to reconstruct the life of primitive peoples, anthropology supplements history in tracing the evolution of sex beliefs and practices and thus initiates the genetic point of view in the field. In an educational system, free and frank in sex discussion, anthropology would neither confine itself to comparative sexology nor fear to deal as fully with sexual institutions and practices as their relative importance might warrant. Ethnographic works would not need to be either deleted or avoided because of references to sex practices.

The civilizing function of anthropology is logically taken up by history, which is based as much upon the genetic point of view as anthropology is upon the comparative. If history, as Professor Robinson suggests, is a record of everything man has done, thought and hoped, it is obvious that his sexual achievements and aspirations would loom large in any complete record of the human past. A sound and complete body of historical subject-matter would not only give proper attention to the history of sex practices and beliefs but would make clear the part played by sex considerations in other fields of human activity. There is little doubt that an intelligently conceived and expounded body of historical material is, as Professor Robinson insists, the supreme solvent of prejudice and ignorance.

The hypothesis of the sacredness of any institution dissolves before the light shed on the subject by the story of its development. History can render a unique service here by tracing the development of our contemporary impurity-complex from primitive mysticism through Judaism, Hellenic asceticism, Pauline eccentricities, Patristic and medieval otherworldliness, Puritan over-compensation, and Kantian rationalization of personal deprivation. It may be predicted that most of our ignorant and senseless prejudices on sex matters would be removed in a generation if the intellectual leaders in society could profit by systematic and accurate instruction in the historical development of our contemporary sex practices and ideas.

It is not being argued that history should be converted into a record of man's sexual achievements, though this would doubtless be far more illuminating and comprehensive than our present tendency to limit history to a record of political and military activities. What is being urged is the introduction into history of a spirit of frankness and honesty in dealing with the history of man's sex knowledge, convictions and activities and with the effect of sex interests upon other phases of human achievement. Adequate attention to sex and love interests is of particular significance in realistic historical biography.

It may be remarked by us in passing that professional academic historical writing and teaching has been more fatally blighted by the impurity-complex than any other of the social sciences. No other group of social scientists is so desperately afflicted with the *good-taste* psychosis and immaculate prudery as the historians as a group, though there are notable, almost heroic, exceptions. The distinguished professor of English history at the University of Michigan, who, for a generation, offered his female students the option of leaving the room during his lecture on the *Rump Parliament*, differed only in degree from the majority of his colleagues in the profession.

Economics must concern itself very directly with sex considerations. Labor conditions, the labor supply, the problem of the living wage, the standard of living and other such vital aspects of social economics are directly related to sexual problems, particularly the matter of birth control and population limitation. The solution of the problem of wages and living standards can never be reached in an intelligent fashion until linked up thoroughly with the issue of artificially limiting the population to that level which can be supported with decency in any given economy. Economics and sexology

merge in such representative works as Carr-Saunders *The Problem of Population* and E. M. East's *Mankind at the Cross-Roads.* The question of the current disintegration and ultimate fate of the family can be discussed with intelligence and cogency only in the light of the effect of modern mechanical industry, the factory system and urban life upon family conditions. Much of the present trend towards the disruption of family life, which the purists assign to the vicious teachings of free lovers, sociologists and psychoanalysts, is due to the coming of the Industrial Revolution and the entry of women and children into industry. The ability of women to support themselves in our contemporary industrial civilization has raised the important issue of the right of economically independent but unmarried mothers to bear and rear children. If economics were taught with complete indifference to the impurity-complex and sex taboos, there would be no more hesitation in discussing birth control and unmarried motherhood than in discussing the labor market or restriction of industrial productivity.

More than any of the other social sciences, sociology must deal with sexual issues and perplexities. It must reckon with all of the sexual problems mentioned above in connection with economics, as the study of the family is a central phase of sociology. Every sexual issue connected with the attainment of the married state and the procreation, bearing and rearing of children must be analyzed with thoroughness by the sociologist. Likewise, the sociologists must consider the relation between family problems and the general life of the community outside the family. Divorce, or the modern method of family division and separation, must be analyzed by the sociologist with the same thoroughness and objectivity which he bestows upon the establishment and functioning of the family. The sociologist must coöperate with the psychologist in the development and inculcation of mental hygiene. In the same way that the psychologist must treat of mental hygiene from the standpoint of the individual, so the sociologist must help to clarify these problems of mental adjustments from the angle of group controls and contacts.

If sociology were taught in an educational system devoid of sex taboos there would be none of the present criticism of sociology for its discussion of sex problems. In the present system the very discussion of sex is regarded as identical with the inculcation of free love, and the submission of questionnaires to students relative to sex knowledge and experience occupies much the same position as rape in public opinion. The most important cause of marital discord

and divorce is sexual incompetence and incompatability between man and wife, but this is a cause of divorce almost never mentioned in the respectable books on sociology and family problems, for the sociologist is not supposed to know and, indeed, in many cases actually does not know, that there is such a thing as a science and art of sexual intercourse which must rest upon both knowledge and physical adequacy. The sociologist recognizes the basic importance of the family in social life, but he is thus prevented by social taboo from discussing one of the two or three most important aspects of family cohesion. The sociologist must necessarily have concrete information upon which to base his observations as to tendencies and changes in sexual ethics, but he is hamstrung at every turn by the opposition of the herd to the procedure which he must employ in securing such information. A scientific questionnaire is viewed as the product of prurient curiosity and the results obtained are supposed to be exploited in the interest of the private lust of the interrogator. For a sociologist to suggest that college students, particularly female students, are possessed of the mental and physical stigmata of sex is received with horror by the respectable. In a rational educational system all this complex of obscurantism and prudery would evaporate and the sociologist would be as free to investigate sex beliefs and practices as he now is to make researches into housing conditions, food supply, sanitation and the like. To-day the sociologist hesitates to mention birth control and venereal prophylaxis, unless to condemn them, and he never describes these processes and methods in concrete detail. In a sane social and educational order such problems would be freely discussed and fully described. In short, sociology, while not limiting itself to sex problems, would be able to give sexual issues their proper weight in social science and social problems as a whole and would be able to discuss sexual questions with complete frankness and adequate concrete detail.

When dealing with law and administration touching upon sexual issues the political scientist, in discussing the constitutional powers over interstate trade, would not be timid in defining just what the Mann Act really amounts to or to describe the blackmailing practices which its perversions have produced. Nor would the professor of jurisprudence hesitate to define rape or a criminal operation. If sex sanity were carried into the courtroom it would no longer be necessary for a psychiatrist to whisper well known sexual facts into the ear of the judge, as Dr. Healy whispered into the

ear of Judge Caverly the secret sexual contract entered into between Loeb and Leopold.

Ethics would be equally revolutionized by the development of a reasonable freedom in sex education and discussion. In the first place, it would be made clear that morality is something wider than sex morality. It would be shown that wrecking a railroad through stock manipulation is a far more serious breach of morals than violating the Mann Act on the Twentieth Century Limited. It would become at once apparent that a person like Mr. Sinclair of the oil-scandals is a much more immoral person than the Countess Cathcart, Nat Goodwin or Roscoe Arbuckle. In the second place, in treating of sex problems, instruction would be divorced of both the Christian impurity-complex and the invidious metaphysics of Immanuel Kant, and would discuss sex in the light of its social utility and abuses, with no reference whatever to supernatural sanctions and controls or to metaphysical rationalizations and evasions. A book like E. C. Sanborn's *Liberal Code of Sexual Ethics* would then be looked upon as an excellent but commonplace introduction to sex morality and not as the synoptic gospels of free love. Ethics would be founded upon natural and social science, and ethical questions would be discussed and resolved with reference solely to the mundane consequences of human acts. A book like H. M. Parshley's *Science and Good Behavior* would replace the solemn tomes embodying the theological and metaphysical conceptions of morals which have been accumulated from the days of Plato to those of Rudolph Eucken.

In such an era as is contemplated in this discussion philosophy would be materially transformed. Instead of retaining its penchant for epistemology and metaphysics, it would become more and more interested in generalizing life values from the facts of natural, psychological and social science. It would find its vital realities, not in the Kantian flight from the phenomenal world of sense perception but in the actualities of human life under present conditions. In doing so it would be compelled to reckon with the facts of sex very directly and extensively. It would have to assess sex values among other life values, and it would perform this task in a manner wholly free from bias or evasion. Dewey, Freud, Ellis and Russell would tend to replace Aristotle, Kant and Hegel in the philosopher's galaxy.

In literature and the arts there would be no hesitation in discussing and explaining the sex drives, themes and expressions which, in direct or secondary manifestation, form so large a part of every

phase of esthetic endeavor. A professor of French literature would not need to convert his course into an exercise in erotology, but he would be equally free from the necessity of editing or eliminating great literature because of a strong sexual component. In art, likewise, all question of the impropriety of the nude and of reproduction of sex organs would vanish forthwith. Art would be judged from purely esthetic and social standpoints, and the present strictures of the religiously-oriented purists would be regarded as just as irrelevant to the artist as the predictions of the weather bureau. If there is to be any limitation of artistic expression in painting, sculpture, drama or music, such limitation should proceed solely from considerations of social well-being, and the only sex expressions in art which should be forbidden are those obviously anti-social types of sex expression which would be regarded by objective social scientists as disruptive of a sane social order.

If religion is to continue an integral part of the curriculum it should be limited to an attempt to appraise the Infinite, and to the analysis of the social significance of group emotions as organized and applied through religious channels. In a rational educational system it would be recognized at once that supernatural religion has no original or didactic relation whatever to sex, and that it has no right to intervene in sex problems in any manner whatsoever, except in so far as it may put the force of group emotion behind the scientific attitude towards sex as established by mental hygiene and its allied sciences. This would constitute one of the major revolutions in education which would follow in the wake of sexual emancipation. Heretofore religion has been regarded as the supreme custodian of sexual knowledge and the sovereign guide to sexual behavior; in the new order religion would have no part whatever in determining socially desirable sex conduct. John Roach Straton's bellowings about morality would have as little standing as his animadversions with respect to advanced physical chemistry or the Einstein theory.

Sex sanity would not only exert a revolutionary and salutary influence upon classroom instruction; it would afford equal relief to the instructor who desired to make complete and rational use of library facilities. There would be no longer any necessity of refraining from prescribing certain books because of a few candid sex references in their contents. Nor would it be necessary for him to secrete in the basement or some special compartment of the library valuable reference works which displayed the human body and sex organs in plates and diagrams. The only question which would need

to be raised concerning reading references and the use of library facilities would be the inherent value of the book and its relevance to the course in question. Perhaps the most absurd effect of sex taboo upon education to-day is the influence it exerts upon library rules and procedure. In the libraries of some of our best colleges librarians refuse to purchase or allow shelf-room to standard literary products which have even escaped the ban on good books in Boston. It is not impressive logic to deny college students the right to consult in the library such books as Wells's *World of William Clissold* or Mrs. Russell's *Right to Be Happy* while their own rooms are lined with the most salacious novels and confession magazines which may be freely purchased at the local bookshops and newsstands.

It goes without saying that not only would sex issues be freely discussed in a civilized educational order but that every student would be required to take those courses designed to provide an adequate sex education. In a women's college, for example, a student might graduate without having elected courses in drama or musical appreciation, deplorable as such omissions would be, but she would most certainly not be allowed to graduate without having completed satisfactorily the courses in genetics and the sociological aspects of the family and domestic relations.

Probably the foremost change which would be involved in creating a system of education in harmony with scientific sexology and a civilized point of view in educational circles would be the dominant place which would be occupied by mental hygiene. The resident psychiatrist and his staff would replace the chaplain, the secretary of the Christian Association, the dean and the warden as the source of moral instruction and social guidance. Mental hygiene would occupy much the same place in the emancipated college that religion did at Williams College in the days of Mark Hopkins. Freud and Havelock Ellis would loom as large as Paley and the *Bridgewater Treatises* did in college instruction seventy-five years ago. The specific instruction and medical work of the psychiatrist and his assistants, however important, would be eclipsed in significance by the whole change of intellectual atmosphere which would be produced by the substitution of the mental hygiene orientation for that of the theologian and the *good-taste*-mongering prude. We have, of course, no objection to good taste in sex matters. Indeed, good taste should be a dominant guide in sane sex relations. But it should be the good taste described in Dr. Fosdick's above mentioned address and not the good taste invoked by Glenn Frank in justifying his

action in the Russell case. The mental hygiene ascendency would not only affect instruction; it would be equally significant in guiding the conduct of students. Those guilty of sex delinquency would not be cast to the wolves as they are at present where the primitive *scapegoat* procedure of expulsion prevails. They would be handed over to the psychiatrist for counsel and guidance, on the reasonable supposition that there is no better place than college in which to train persons in sane sex life. The appointment of resident or consulting psychiatrists at Yale, Dartmouth, Smith and some other institutions may be hailed as the greatest step in educational progress which may be attributed to a more enlightened attitude towards sex on the part of educational authorities.

Another development essential in any complete educational system harmonious with sexual emancipation would be the creation of an adequate number of institutions for adult education where information might be disseminated in regard to the new sexology. Nearly every department of instruction outside of the linguistic branches of the so-called "liberal" arts has advanced so rapidly in the last generation as to make the information given out in 1900 appear almost primitive by comparison. In no department has there been greater progress than in sexology, mental hygiene and sociology (properly understood). If there is a real need for adult education, in general there is certainly a special necessity for the provision of adequate instruction in sexology for adults whose early training was necessarily devoid of sound scientific guidance in this field. In the present organization and curriculum of the *New School for Social Research* in New York City one may find a truly ideal institution of this sort. Here the mental hygiene element is pivotal in the curriculum, sexology is not slighted, and a spirit of absolute freedom prevails, even with respect to sex discussion. If the public were awake to the needs and opportunities in this field we should require a score of institutions of this sort in New York City and at least one in every third-class city in the United States. The institution for adult education has one special advantage, namely, that instructors do not need to give heed to the frequently emphasized necessity for caution in treating of sex problems before students of the tender ages between eighteen and twenty-five.

It is frequently held that full instruction in regard to sex matters and familiarity with all sex issues will lead either to abandon and unlimited indulgence, on the one hand, or to indifference or aversion, on the other. In other words, it is held that ignorance and

fear are required to produce charm and control in the sexual realm. One need only call attention to the observed facts of everyday life to refute any such silly allegation. Physicians specializing in genito-urinary disorders, gynæcology or obstetrics are rarely found to suffer from either premature impotence or satyriasis, and the nurses that assist them are not frequently victims of frigidity or nymphomania. As a matter of fact, it is fear and ignorance which are the chief cause of both sexual aversion and sexual excesses. It is, of course, true that eminent sexologists are frequently civilized and talented individuals in their sex life, but this is to be expected and desired. If they did not exhibit more sexual cultivation and gallantry than Anthony Comstock, this very fact would constitute a serious challenge to their brand of scientific sexology. It is useless to evade or deny the undoubted fact that the dominance of scientific sexology would lead to greater freedom in sex relations. The test would be not the amount of sex activity but its net effect on human happiness.

Sex Conduct in the Civilized College

We have just set forth a few of the more obvious conditions which would prevail in the curriculum and methods of instruction in schools and colleges if we were free from the cramping and depressing effect of sex taboos which rest on primitive superstitions rather than on sound scientific information. We may conclude this chapter by a characterization of the manner in which sex emancipation might affect the control and conduct of life in colleges. While it must be conceded that the primary purpose of the college is to impart instruction in specific subjects, yet the conviction can scarcely be put down that it is also the function of the college to exert a salutary influence upon the life ideals and practices of its students while they are formally enrolled for instruction. The obligation of the college in an era of educational realism and emancipation would be seen to extend beyond its present conception and contribution of safely jailing the students while they are being instructed for four years in relatively useless subject-matter—both their life and their instruction being of a kind designed to reassure their parents rather than to prepare them for life. At the end of their college career the students are for the most part thrown upon their own responsibility, and if they have not been prepared to live before graduation they are bound to flounder when released from the collegiate nursery. This is not the place to deal with the

changes in the education program essential to fit people for the real business of living, but we can point out a few necessary steps if we are to fit people to live well sexually.

The alleged moral degeneracy and alarming vulgarity of the younger generation at the present time has engaged the solemn attention of many excited and earnest souls who believe that they see therein certain proof of the disintegration of civilization and the approach of an orgy of lustfulness, even more marked and reprehensible than that which these same people believed to have been characteristic of the declining Roman Empire. This assumed unmistakable and deplorable state of affairs is believed by these good people to be due primarily to the spread of an enlightened attitude toward sex—the result of the work of emancipated writers, psychiatrists, and sociologists. Even liberal thinkers and those who have taken a somewhat advanced stand in regard to the new scientific ethics are at times appalled by certain external manifestations in the sexual behavior of contemporary youth. For example, the writer's esteemed colleague, Professor William Orton, in an address before the Rotary Club of Springfield, Massachusetts, on September 7, 1928, declared that he was "worried about the rank, crude sensuality that exists among American youth."

A number of significant qualifications must be attached to this gloomy analysis. In the first place, a vast proportion of the "immorality" and "lustful activity" of the present generation is purely verbal and rhetorical—a type of juvenile exhibitionism. The vocal and anatomical exhibitionisms of the flapper, together with her essential conventional morality, has been well stated by a recent writer:

> The flapper is not without her good points. She is usually honest and sincere; she is often kind-hearted; her childish, blatant hilarity splashes the gray, industrial scene with purple patches, but the color is not a fast one. The high lights die, the purple patches melt away, and nothing is left. The intelligent astute female, seeking more enduring cultural values cannot and will not follow in the flapper's footsteps, no matter how enthusiastically the mob recognizes, welcomes and applauds the little jazz baby. Nor is it an old maid prudishness which causes the cultivated woman to turn away in shuddering disdain. In spite of the outcry which has been raised in recent years against the morals of the flapper, the college woman knows that in place of an actually sophisticated and critical enlightenment on the subject of moral values, the flapper possesses only a highly varnished and easily cracked imitation of the real thing. Most people judge her quite thought-

lessly, on purely circumstantial grounds. Rolled stockings, short skirts, the absence of corsets, indulgence in rouge, lipstick, cigarettes and gin, and the cheerful willingness to discuss, with terrifying frankness, and with a wealth of profane vocabulary which, in her grandmother's day, would scarcely be considered the attribute of a lady, anything and everything in regard to sex—those things upon which the flapper is judged may not, and usually do not mean anything at all. All of this free and easy worldliness is, nine times out of ten, a mere pose. Rarely, if ever, is the glib, rhetorical emancipation of the flapper marked by any thoughtful emancipation of conduct. Almost any college boy, if you catch him in a truthful mood, will substantiate this, and tell you that although the flapper will smoke, drink, and pet, she will go no farther. She may give every indication of carelessness about her virtue, but when it actually comes to a showdown, you will nearly always find that that virtue is, technically at least, very carefully preserved. And if, in a moment of madness, she does overstep the line drawn by society to mark off the "good" girls from the "bad" ones, she usually reverts to type immediately. Bathed in sentimental tears, her favorite rôle of daring exponent of jazz freedom quite forgotten, she very deftly and efficiently compels the coöperation of her partner in restoring her to her rightful place in society as an "honest woman." For at heart, the flapper is thoroughly conventional—far more so, in fact, than many of the most brilliant of our college women. Which, incidentally, is one of the chief reasons for her superior value in the marriage market. In rejecting this type as a model for her conduct, then, the educated woman is not influenced by moral considerations, but rather by considerations of taste. To put it plainly, the ways of the flapper bore her.

There is little doubt, however, that among certain classes of American society the youth have become much freer in sex relations than they were a decade ago. This has been due in part to the decline of the power of the old supernatural controls which came from the religious field, in part to the incidence of war-time conditions upon our conventional mores, especially the greater freedom in discussing sex matters, and in part to the improvement and increased knowledge of preventive or birth control measures. But more basic than anything else is the fact that we are now approaching the threshold of the time when an ever greater proportion of the population is beginning to have some comprehension of the fact that sex is something which must be approached in a realistic fashion and dealt with in the light of the facts. These facts, even to the naïve empiricists in our younger generation, appear to diverge alarmingly from the traditional mythology which has been previously inculcated in the minds of children. There is a growing

determination on the part of the present generation to free itself from those earlier restraints which cannot demonstrate any rational foundation.

Yet the opposition to rational sex behavior is so deep-seated in the social codes and in the infantile unconscious of the individual that some heroic form of stimulant is essential to break through the inhibitions and repressions. Hence, the growing prevalence of drunkenness, lascivious dancing, and certain types of more or less irritating but generally innocuous vulgarity on the part of the younger generation. This vulgarity also expresses itself in the type of jazzy literature of a salacious sort which has developed very wide circulation, particularly in the form of popular periodicals and confession magazines. In general, the tendencies most deplored in youth by the earnest souls of the older generation are really esthetic rather than moral offenses. As Albert J. Nock well expressed it in the *American Mercury* for November, 1924, their noisy and exhibitionist behavior is a violation of taste rather than a matter of morals.

Further, those who are most seriously disturbed by these tendencies, whether in behavior or literature, direct their animus against the wrong groups and factors. The loudness, repulsive vulgarity and exhibitionism, which are actually deplorably present in the younger generation, are caused primarily by the necessity of combatting the imbecilities in the sex *mores* that have come down from an earlier age and which we are attempting to enforce upon a generation which refuses to be convinced of what seem to be essentially irrational contentions. Our present *mores* in the field of sex behavior were derived in large part from religious sources, whereas, at the present time, the religious foundations necessary to enforce such conduct have largely disappeared. Therefore, we should take rather calmly these somewhat repellent forms of behavior and expression on the part of youth at the present time, as they represent in reality a relatively laudable and concentrated assault upon a vicious and outgrown set of ideas and mode of social control. If it is necessary for the youth of to-day to get intoxicated in the effort to be sane and civilized, then the responsibility is not entirely that of the younger generation, but in large part that of the system of society which makes such a situation necessary and inevitable. One must expect much noise and vulgarity in a campaign where the enemy is entrenched behind ramparts which have been erected by every generation from John S. Sumner back to *Pithecanthropus*

erectus. One did not demand subservience to Doubleday's *Cyclopedia of Etiquette* on the part of the soldiers at the Marne, Verdun or Mons.

It is certainly permissible to deplore the fact that "Fatty" Arbuckle and Charlie Chaplin are more revered as models by the youth of to-day than Anatole France or Bertrand Russell, or that *Whiz Bang* and *True Stories* are more widely perused than *The Red Lily* or *Madame Bovary*. No one recognizes better than the present writer the esthetic loss thus sustained or is more thoroughly convinced of the fact that most of the forms of pseudo-bacchanalian behavior of the youth of to-day defeat their own ends. On the other hand, while deploring the specific situation, we should not hesitate to place the blame where it belongs, namely, upon the archaic ideas and customs which must give way before the free play of reason and scientifically guided intelligence. Perhaps the chief real danger is that the psychological emancipation of the present generation has outrun the concrete knowledge placed at their disposal and the capacity for self-control, which alone can make this new freedom safe or successful.

While in entire harmony with the opinions recently expressed by some college executives as to the bad manners and lack of esthetic restraint on the part of youth of to-day, the writer feels it necessary to emphasize the fact that the parents deserve lecturing much more than their children. If the children had been reared with rational ideas as to behavior, they would not constitute such problems to college authorities and such unconscious enemies to their own efforts to achieve happiness. Nor would college authorities find it necessary to enact and fruitlessly attempt to enforce such puerile codes of social discipline as disgrace so many contemporary American colleges to-day.

Likewise, with the so-called "gutter-literature" of to-day, the writer views it chiefly as an esthetic rather than a moral menace. On the whole, the McFadden Publications and their like—which so greatly repelled Mr. Villard—are likely to do much good in combatting the imbecilities of the prudes. They will make it easier for more artistic and refined work to succeed in this field in another generation. They are the thunderous, grimy, crude tanks which are capturing the purist strongholds that may be viewed a generation hence in noiseless, smooth and comfortable Rolls-Royce cars. They are certainly infinitely less dangerous and immoral than sheets which expound the philosophy of the *Board of Temperance, Prohibition*

and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church or the pulpit ideas of John Roach Straton.

In short, it would seem to the writer that from every standpoint of science and sense the morals of the younger generation are superior to those of their parents and grandparents. Their manners are, however, confessedly inferior, though it must in fairness be pointed out that it places greater strains on a code of etiquette to live freely and joyously in a complex civilization than it did to live a sheltered and restricted life in a simple agrarian environment. Therefore, what we need to do is to equip youth with the scientific knowledge which will enable them to enjoy their new freedom with safety, and to instill into them a respect for decent manners so that their daily life need not continue to be an esthetic lesion on the social landscape. Further, we might get somewhere if we started in to work on the question of good manners with the present generation. There is little possibility of scaring them into conventional behavior by recourse to conventional superstitions, but we might laugh them into engaging and considerate behavior.

It has been recognized by enlightened prison wardens and college presidents alike that inmate self-government is indispensable to any effort to prepare people to live on their own responsibility after discharge or graduation. It is apparent that this self-government should be extended to sex conduct as well as other phases of life. There are obviously limits to any reasonable sex freedom on the part of the individual student, but excesses should be handled by the psychiatrist in residence at the institution. At present a student would be likely to be expelled from college if found in a house of prostitution, even though elaborately equipped with every known prophylactic device, but he would be allowed perfect freedom to stray from a Salvation Army convocation to an evangelical mission. Any eminent American sociologist would be likely to be dismissed from his academic position if detected in a hotel room with a woman not his wife, no matter how economically independent, intellectually self-assertive and emotionally exuberant his companion, but an eminent geologist would not be molested and might even be publicly commended if detected in the same room kneeling in prayer with John Roach Straton or Aimée Semple McPherson. Students are now usually expelled if they have contracted venereal disease, but are retained without question if suffering from maladies due to unwisdom or excesses in the gastronomic realm. College students, particularly women, are subjected to dormitory rules and hours of confine-

ment quite as rigorous as those which prevail in the more liberal houses of correction and reform schools. These rules are frequently rationalized and defended on the ground that they promote health and cerebration, but the candid educator knows that such rules are designed primarily to protect the individual from social contacts and especially from sexual temptation. It is an inseparable and unavoidable adjunct of the custodial function which parents force upon both complaisant and reluctant educational authorities.

All of this would need to be revolutionized if we are to conduct education in a sensible fashion and prepare students to live in a free world. If students are not going to live in jails and according to penal rules after they graduate, it is obvious that the collegiate jail is no place in which to prepare them for the responsibilities of life. The great majority of college students either marry soon after graduation or, if they postpone marriage, they ultimately contract it primarily on the basis of the information and training they have received in college. Few of them carry their life training or education beyond the collegiate period. If they are not prepared for marriage during college days they are not likely to be at any later date. We have already indicated certain ways in which the curriculum might be altered to give college students all the cogent information they need in order to conduct their sex life in a satisfactory fashion. What should be the function of the college in regard to sex relations during the collegiate period?

It is at the college level that this question first arises, for actual sex experience will hardly begin extensively in the high school or preparatory school period. It is probable that the sagacious student of sex problems will avoid any dogmatic or absolutistic position as to sex relations during the college period. The person who would recommend general prevalence of sex experience in college would probably be found to base his contentions quite as much upon his emotions as those who now contend for its absolute absence. It may be said quite confidently that, except in rare cases, no permanent injury, either physical or mental, is likely to result from sexual restraint and sex repression during a period so early in life as the college age. It is certain then that, as a rule, sex experience during the college period is not an indispensable prerequisite of mental and physical health. The question then is solely as to whether it is desirable, if not necessary, and the answer to this would doubtless have to be settled on the basis of the facts in each individual case. In an emancipated era each student would feel free to discuss such situa-

tions with the resident psychiatrist and would be convinced that he was getting a frank and honest opinion. The college would best exercise its function by taking the position that sex experience is not something to be entered into lightly and ignorantly, that for the most happy results it should be undertaken only by those properly informed and intelligently advised, as part of a genuine love experience, and that the students should consult the psychiatrist and his staff in regard to this subject. In this way the college might help to insure decency, safety and satisfaction in the beginning of the heterosexual life, instead of leaving the students to sneak off surreptitiously and begin their sex experience in situations incompatible with health, safety or enlightenment. The cornerstone of any sensible type of sex ethics is that sex needs vary greatly with individuals, that each case should be dealt with individually through medical advice, and that any uniform rules and prescriptions concerning sex conduct are quite as absurd as absolutely uniform diet or hat size for everybody.

Without taking any dogmatic position whatever as to the desirability of greater freedom or restriction of sex relations in contemporary society, it is obvious that if sex relations are becoming more free, for reasons which the purists will be unable to check, then the sensible person will advocate the dissemination of more accurate and complete information relative to birth control and venereal prophylaxis. This will not remove the stigma of "sin" attaching to sexual intercourse outside of holy wedlock, but it will remove all of the physical, and most of the mental, dangers associated with greater sexual freedom and adventure.

Suppose, however, that the college does not choose or does not dare frankly to put the question of sex relations on the part of students on a socio-medical basis under the control of the psychiatrists and the personnel department; what shall it do with respect to the present tendencies in regard to sex life among students? The first problem is to determine just what the present conditions are, and this is admittedly a most difficult task. Only such procedure as Professor Hankins's questionnaire can well produce any definitive information, and it is thus a great pity that his performance was not applauded and extended to a large group of American colleges and universities. We should then have had something to use as the basis of generalizations beyond malicious gossip and naïve wish-fulfillments. There can be little doubt that the notion of something approaching sexual promiscuity among the "smarter" college students

is a gross exaggeration. The flapper is, beyond all else, a compensatory exhibitionist and for the most part is conventionally moral in final analysis. The best information the author has been able to obtain through reading the answers to questionnaires and listening to gossip, reminiscences, confessions, and student estimates would incline him to believe that distinctly less than twenty-five per cent of female college students have sex experience before they leave college and that not over fifty per cent of male students have indulged before graduation. Of course, conditions differ widely, and there would appear to be no general correlation between the theological soundness of an institution and the purity of its students.[1] It would seem to be the best procedure for college authorities honestly to recognize the state of affairs and to urge those who go in for sex experience to do so with a full equipment of medical knowledge and adequate respect for dignity and good taste. The present hypocritical tendency to deny that there is any significant deviation from chastity and then to punish savagely those detected in wrongdoing is bad for all concerned.

Without going any further, one is safe in asserting that sex conditions in college circles, as well as outside, are slowly but surely changing as a result of the impingement of our scientific and mechanical civilization upon the sex *mores* and their sanctions. The colleges should face this situation from the standpoint of sound psychiatry, medicine and sociology rather than with the savagery and obscurantism born of highly archaic and outworn superstitions and conventions. If students are to have sex relations, it is best that they should be safeguarded by a full equipment of knowledge and controlled by a sense of fitness and decency. In an emancipated educational system the college would certainly undertake to educate its students to stand upon their own knowledge and responsibility in regard to sex activities, and they should be left free to do so. Failures should be regarded as a reflection upon the success of the instruction in the institution quite as much as a proof of the perversity of the individual student. We might just as well be honest with ourselves and recognize that the old system of sex repression, based upon the fear of the supernatural and enforced by orthodox religion, is rapidly passing. Our present problem is how best to control and direct in a sensible fashion the life of succeeding generations who

[1] In this connection, for example, one might consult the Amherst publication *Lord Jeff* for March, 1928, and then reflect upon the co-existence of compulsory chapel and Sunday church in this distinguished center of learning.

are going to be more rational in their sex life, whether it pleases their elders or no. The present slight manifestations of vulgarity and anarchy in the sex life of the younger generation are due chiefly to our failure to recognize the passing of the older controls, which were passably effective, even though based on myth, and our consequent failure to provide guidance which will appeal to the younger generation as reasonable suggestions, in harmony with scientific facts and esthetic considerations.

Whatever may be the situation within a few generations, it is certain that at present the sex problem with which the college authorities have to deal is not so much complete and normal sexual intercourse as certain more juvenile substitutes and approximations, such as petting or necking, and such advanced forms of social recreation as our contemporary dancing to jazz rhythm. There is little ground for doubting that there has been a revolutionary increase in the open practice of that amorous activity between the sexes which stops short of actual intercourse. This is diversely designated as petting, necking, fussing, etc., the terms sometimes having exact technical distinctions in certain areas. The desirability and effects of such increased caressing and corporeal appreciation between the sexes constitute a subject which is warmly debated. We may cite a representative attack upon necking and an equally characteristic defense of the practice. The attack is from the pen of the eminent psychologist, William McDougall, recently appointed to the chair of psychology at Duke University on the ground that he is the foremost exponent of the spiritual outlook in an age of materialism. In his latest book on *Character and the Conduct of Life* Professor McDougall makes the following bitter attack upon college petting:

> I say nothing about the horrors of the modern custom of "petting parties." Such practices are too loathsome to require any word of condemnation. But it must be recognized that the sex tendency craves for physical contact. This craving should be strictly held in hand during the preliminary period. It would seem wiser that it should not be indulged even to the point of a fleeting kiss on the cheek; and certainly not to the point of taking the young lady on your knee. All physical contacts inflame and intensify the sex impulse; and a titillated yet frustrated sex impulse is very prejudicial to health and to all calm judgment and genuine appreciation of qualities. The moment of formal betrothal is time enough for the first kiss. Promiscuous mauling and pawing, which have come into fashion in late years, are not only extremely undignified and in the worst possible taste; they

are fatal to happiness. If girls permit it, it is wanton cruelty on their part; and for young men to lower themselves to it is rank stupidity.

Petting is defended with equal enthusiasm and assurance by an able student from the University of Indiana, who, while less adept in psychological lore than Professor McDougall, may be presumed to have much more intimate personal knowledge of the actual effect of petting on the college student:

Necking in itself has already lowered—and if properly encouraged would still further decrease greatly—the amount of vice among college men. Under the present short-sighted rules, whether it has done the same for college women is doubtful. Twenty or thirty years ago, as some of the boys of that time tell us, it was quite regular and ordinary for a large number of college men to visit the "tenderloin" districts, with, of course, terrible results. Some fraternities even maintained private institutions of this nature. That was in the pre-necking era. The cloistered students had no contact with decent women, and so they used such means as were at their disposal. But with the advent of the petting party that has largely changed. The sheik goes out and paws over various comparatively respectable co-eds three or four evenings a week, and returns to his dormitory weary but safely sublimated.

Yet, although necking is a highly pro-moral activity and hence should be fostered, certain refinements are needed in its technique. Moralizing and legislation have placed the stigma—and hence the attraction—primarily on the physical, i.e., tactual, aspect of petting parties. Their esthetic and artistic possibilities have consequently been left unnoticed.

Love, as even preachers have been fond of telling us, has been the cause of the greatest artistic inspiration down the ages. But not in Puritanical communities—where, indeed, there has been no great art . . . They marry, of course, they produce children, they propagate the race; but I would venture to say, they do not love, as Europeans have loved; they do not exploit the emotion, analyze and enjoy it, still less express it in manners, in gesture, in epigram, in verse.

Now petting parties represent the crude, inchoate beginnings made by American youth to break away from this prevalent conception of eroticism as merely a mechanism of propagation, or as a brute, delightful sin. Some delicate-spirited boys and girls have already developed necking into a fine art.

The art, however, at present has its limitations. Necking must be done furtively in the back seat of a broken-down Ford, or in some uncomfortable cranny of a stone wall, and in the dark. And in the dark, as Jurgen remarks, "almost anything is rather more than likely to happen." These, to say the least, are not conditions favorable to the nourishment of any art.

What we need, obviously, is an All-University Necking Parlor, a sort of temple of Venus or Garden of Ashtaroth, in which the amatory arts could be cultivated under esthetic influence . . .

In this Garden of Ashtaroth—the amorosities could be conducted to the ethereally sensuous strains of Beethoven, Chopin and Strauss. (This is another argument in favor of the Necking Parlor—it is the only conceivable means by which the students could be induced to seek good music.) The sofas—or, at first, to give a more familiar atmosphere, porch-swings—as well as the rest of the furnishings of the place, should be of artistic design, and on the walls should be reproductions of famous love-paintings by Botticelli, Turner and Correggio. On the tables should be books of verse by only the great love poets such as Swinburne, Rossetti, Petrarch, Gautier, Heine, Sidney and Spenser. The effect of this, too, would be beneficial, as at present the ditties in *Hot Dog* and *Whiz Bang* are the only verses quoted between sexes.

As to how far petting tends to increase the volume of sexual intercourse among students there is a great diversity of opinion and no accurate information. It may be taken as a matter of course, however, that petting is here to stay, and it may be defended as a desirable preliminary to the more intimate relations of married life. If students are to marry, or hope to marry, when they leave college it is not unreasonable to expect them to pet while in residence. The superstitious beliefs and archaic conventions upon which opposition to petting is founded are giving way only less rapidly than the mechanical facilities to encourage petting are being provided. The wise college authorities will endeavor to develop a type of instruction and guidance in college life which will insure that this rather general tendency towards caressing will be conducted within the bounds of safety and decency. Frontal attacks and increased severity of discipline only drive such practices into more secret and subterranean channels and end in more dangerous and vulgar forms of expression. Such efforts to reduce sex freedom among students as rules limiting their freedom to travel from the institution only lead to reluctant capitulation and solace in the company of local Lotharios and Venuses, far less distinguished for pulchritude and cultivation than the companions which the students would have chosen if unhampered in their movements. The inculcation of the ideal of self-control in harmony with science and art is the only hope for the present generation. It is doubtful whether any large number of persons have ever been scared or bullied into good behavior, and it is certain that

such devices will not be efficacious in controlling the sex life of college students to-day.

If the college authorities desire to have a healthy emotional life on the part of students short of widespread sexual intercourse they will do well to make ample provisions for substitute expression, notably, athletics and dancing. Provision for an attractive dance at least once a week, in which all members of the student body may participate if they wish, would not seem to be an excessive frequency for such a form of diversion. The college might legitimately defray the expenses of the occasion. Not only would there be a change in the frequency of college dances in an emancipated era, even more significant would be the change in the attitude of college authorities towards dancing. To-day, the average college administration and faculty take much the same attitude towards a college dance that is taken by the municipal authorities and police in Los Angeles towards the public reading of the first ten Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. A dance is regarded as an unnecessary evil which must, nevertheless, be tolerated, though with as little frequency as possible. Extra rules and regulations are drawn up, comparable to the special police regulations in an eastern textile center when labor unionists parade. The college disciplinary court goes into training and awaits with ghoulish glee the prospect of an increase of gore. There is no enthusiasm or pride on the part of college authorities over the holding of an unusually beautiful and exuberant promenade, and even the students feel that it is somehow indecent to give vent to enthusiasm themselves. In the newer order of things the college authorities would hold such activities as dancing to be as much a part of the legitimate college activities as classes or community prayers. They would not only tolerate dancing; its provision would be both a responsibility and a source of pride and pleasure. To have executed a dance notable for beauty of decorations, costumes and music and distinguished for the psychic exuberance of the participants would give the college authorities in an emancipated era as much pride in achievement as now attaches to the winning of an intercollegiate debate or the sending of a prize delegation to a college Y.W.C.A. conference. When dances are limited to two or three each year they are accompanied by nervous tension during the anticipatory period and by an emotional explosion paralleling their execution which probably do more harm than good and later expose a number of relatively helpless students to the tender mercy of the disciplinary authorities of the college. As

soon as college authorities, backed by parents, come to understand that education should fit its participants emotionally as well as intellectually for happy and effective living, we shall have adequate attention paid to these adjuncts and avenues of emotional training and expression. One trouble has been that the pedagogical class as a whole has tended to be notably lacking in emotional qualities. Dr. Schmalhausen has well emphasized this point:

> In relation to professional thinkers,—the professors and the academicians,—a special selective tendency is at work to assign positions of importance in our institutions of learning to those persons whose human nature is not richly endowed emotionally. No man has ever been selected for a university job on the ground of his exceeding compassion for his fellow men. No woman has ever been honored with a professorship because of her loyalty to love. Men and women whose human nature is intense, emotionally sincere, erotically lyrical, sympathetically deep, are simply *déclassé*. Our institutions of learning are houses of refuge for men and women who are emotionally unfit for any of the more vigorous and realistic burdens of life: chalk-laden pedagogues, peddlers of anemic platitudes, sterile grammarians, cowardly, passionless humans all.

Hence, teachers have not appreciated the necessity for a rich emotional life to insure happiness and have often been afflicted by a voluptuous invidious complex which has led them to wish to deny to students that which they have been unable to obtain for themselves. It is doubtless true, however, that for many a student enthusiastic participation in a good dance would do more to promote physical and mental health and future happiness than a whole course in calculus or Latin epigraphy. A college need not be converted into a terpsichorean institute with the orchestra occupying a place of greater dignity and importance than the committee on instruction, but it would be an unwise administration that overlooked adequate provision of relatively innocent diversions like dancing, not only as a good in themselves but as the best defense against more advanced forms of sex expression.

In the matter of clothing, particularly the clothing of girl students, a sane educational order would leave the matter wholly to considerations of beauty and health. We would have nothing like the present procedure where, in one of our most distinguished and advanced colleges for women, the lecturing physician informed his student audience that the wearing of bright dresses made them morally akin to Parisian *filles de joie* and that they came close to

being street solicitors, albeit unwittingly, if they did not wear corsets and dresses with high necks, and where the college marshal informed the dean that she should wear only black stockings, preferably cotton, when presiding at chapel. In commenting upon the recent ruling of the superintendent of schools of Chicago, the editor of the New York *Nation* well expressed the attitude which would prevail towards clothing in a civilized educational procedure:

"Bare legs? What of them?" said William J. Bogan, superintendent of Chicago schools, when the important question of stockingless girl students came to him for final judgment. He regarded such questions, he said, "as being none of my business—and none of the business of the schoolteachers." This sounds to us like old-fashioned horse sense of a variety infrequent among school superintendents. Let the girls come to school in one-piece bathing suits, if they want to—and the trend of the times seems to indicate that they may soon want to. It will do nobody any harm: and perhaps, if they meet no astonishment or rebuke, they may discover that they prefer ankle-length skirts or some other novel and exciting form of clothing. The prurient meddlers who have been shocked in the past by low necks, short sleeves, bobbed hair, and knee-length skirts have gradually become accustomed to the idea that there is nothing inherently immoral in certain portions of the human figure, and as time goes on bare legs may well become as commonplace as bare arms. Bare legs are no more indecent in a schoolroom than on a bathing-beach, and Chicago is a better city for having discovered that fact. The world will be a more comfortable place, and a decenter, when we progress to the point when both men and women can comfortably go to work in bathing-suits—with pockets.

The writer of this chapter will doubtless be accused of disseminating *free love* doctrines. He has been so accused for far less frank discussions of the sex problem. It may be well to point out, however, that the question of *free love* has not been even brought up for discussion in this chapter. What he has attempted to do is to indicate that, in a sound and rational educational system, sex instruction and conduct would be entirely divorced from the teachings of any religious book or holy man and would be founded solely on the facts of science and the dictates of art. If this be *free love*, then the writer cordially invites his critics to make the most of it.

THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION*

BY SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN

THE DUTY of a philosopher is clear. He must take every pain to ascertain the truth; and, having arrived at a conclusion, he should noise it abroad far and wide, utterly regardless of what opinions he shocks.

Thus writes the eminent Henry Thomas Buckle.

Honoring the glandular conception of the mind's innermost functionings, the latter-day philosopher must supplement Buckle's wisdom by insisting that not only must he take pains, he must also feel them and give them. This study will be an attempt to fulfill, only more perfectly, the great definition of a philosopher's duty penned by Buckle.

On the astonishing assumption that a philosopher is a human being,[1] the subtle point arises as to the relation between the propositions and observations he sanctions and analyzes as a specialist in thinking, *and*, often unconsciously, as an expert in rationalizing, the reflections and generalizations he presents as an incorrigible human being.

For the sake of the higher clarity, I shall assume three fairly distinct attitudes toward life which a thinker may be capable of. Primarily, as historian of reality, he pursues facts, whether they jar harshly upon his own congenital human nature or delightfully reaffirm his own pet preconceptions. As historian of reality he strives chastely to embrace objectivity. As philosopher of reality, though his guiding fiction [2] be the pretense of sheer objectivity, he is far more interested in that operation of subtle plastic surgery by which he can mask the ugly facts of reality, superimposing upon them lovely ideals that never were on land or sea. The philosopher manipulates and ingeniously distorts the facts until they take on the

* A condensed chapter from a book in preparation to be entitled *"The Sexual Revolution:* an analysis of the interrelation between sex and human nature."

unnatural beauty of ideals.[3] A philosopher, paradoxically enough, is an idealist even when he acclaims himself a materialist.

Nor must we forget the rôle of the thinker (how this fact irks his proud mind!) as mere human being. As human being, our specialist in thinking is in the painful plight of the neurotic whose lips laugh bravely while in his true mind tragedy broods. As human being, the thinker oscillates queerly between facts and ideals, realities and flights from realities, what is in actuality and what may yet be in potentiality. What wonder that his reports on life are mixed, illogical, irrational, in a state of stress and strain, contradictory.

Truth as fact and truth as value constitute the insoluble dilemma of the thoughtful mind. Fact usually implies antecedent residual value. Value generally implies the existential raw material of reality, fact embodied in interpretation. Philosophy is subjective in the sense that it honors value. Science is objective in the sense that it honors fact. Thinking, in the full-orbed sense, partakes of both fact and value. No fact in a humanly conceived world can be utterly cleansed of the cultural taint of value. No value, however grotesque and metaphysical, need lose vital contact with fact. Hence the plausibility of the assumption of a philosophy of science and of a scientific philosophy.[4]

In sober summary: thinking is a function of personality.

Therefore, be it understood, that in this complicated attempt to simplify the contemporary chaos in the field of sex and morals, the writer, chameleon-like, will assume the rôle of historian of reality, philosopher of reality, and (most pathetic and sincere of all) mere human being. Hence some of his judgments will inevitably reflect his own botched life, some of them will mirror the botched lives of his fellow men and women of all sexes, and some there may be that will take on the misleading insidious loveliness of transcendental ideals worthy of the sexes when they shall have been purged of the dross of unclean egocentricity.[5]

"On with the dance. Let joy be unconfined!"

Is there any word that stirs spontaneously more hope in the hopeless mind of man than the beautiful word *freedom?* And yet, one need not be cynical and trivial-hearted to ask: O freedom, where is thy liberty?

What ails freedom? Its ancient fetters.

There are lovers of freedom and lovers of freedom! Oh the difference to me!

The philosophic error on the part of all those who obstreperously champion freedom is their weird assumption that freedom is a thing in itself, a disembodied joy, a radiant reality defying the Newtonian laws. Freedom is misconceived as somehow divorced from human nature, human nature that drags in its train of inevitable sequences habits and values and reactions and memory deposits and emotional conditionings that obstruct most triumphantly the march of freedom towards liberty.

Do not the champions of liberty more abundant assume, without further ado, that freedom inherently and automatically engenders fineness of behavior? But in historic and fiercely predeterministic reality, do we not observe that freedom is linked to a human nature that has had a million years of experience as a cruel animal, a dirty beast, a sadistic hunter, a vicious warrior, a shameless robber, a merciless exploiter, a cunning flatterer and liar and four-flusher and charlatan, a savage bent on canceling humor from the world by encasing his hairy self in evening clothes and learning to manipulate language (the etiquette that makes villainy plausible), a child full of tyranny and tantrums and egotism and provincialism, a creature properly called *homo apiens* who only the day before yesterday, possibly a day before that, was known as *Pithecanthropus erectus*, a simian son-of-a-bitch, who has suddenly been persuaded by a few exquisite-minded men and women, saintly variants, wonderful mutations (beautiful mistakes on the part of evolution) to practice an unrestrained freedom, an uninhibited *laissez faire*, to go forth and do with life what the impulse of the moment surreptitiously invites?

Impulse is the most beautiful force in human nature—when it is. It is the most evil force in human nature the rest of the time.

Why are we under a necessity to plead so eloquently for freedom's wider sovereignty if it be not because the life of man is the endless narrative of his neurotic bondage to idols, mostly false, the most misleading of his idols being self-love?

Freedom is inextricably interwoven in a crude historic setting. Freedom nestles in a human context. Freedom is falsely conceived as a mere lovable abstraction. The contexts of the concept of freedom are exactly as varied and numerous as the kind of mind and personality that gives birth to them.[6] Language tends to be misleading. It conceals the vital differences that truly distinguish human types all of whom may be constrained to use the identical linguistic symbols for their heart's desires. Trace the zigzag curve of freedom from Mary Wollstonecraft to Dora Russell and you will get a

startling sense of the significant differences between concepts of freedom as pronounced by one temperament and another.

The danger inherent in the advocacy of freedom, as in every other unfettered idealistic allegiance, is the old bad habit of making a fetish of it.[7]

Philosophically it is worth noting that even the most dynamic concept at the time of its origin (dynamic because it emerges from a social situation that is turbulent and in a state of disequilibrium) has a tendency to become static and stereotyped; whereas life is dynamic always. The original ideal or theory becomes a worshiped illusion that finally defies the law of evolution, the law of change, to continue creating those novelties in behavior that will oust from its primacy the original conception, whatever its initial value as a liberating ideal. Thus the relevancy of disillusion, the exposé in actual behavior and practice of the astonishing inadequacy of the theory or ideal originally assumed to be vital forevermore. A concept tends to be static: life tends to be dynamic. The interminable war of illusion and disillusion.

Since we are particularly concerned with the revolutionary nature of the contemporary situation in sex and morals, why not ask ourselves what precisely a revolution is?

Psychologically, a revolution is a radical alteration in custom, habit, value, attitude, self-esteem. In what sense "radical"? In the sense primarily that the new ways of acting and thinking are so unpalatable to an older generation too deeply affected by the change, to be able with ease and good will to accept the terrifying fact of the uprooting of old established habits, the upsetting of familiar almost sacred values, the drastic organic and psychologic re-conditioning of the personality as a whole. What we witness is the protest of the organized and settled human nature against the emergence of a fuller consciousness. The most ancient foe of illimitably complacent human nature is consciousness. For, consciousness spells pain. A revolution in behavior is so called essentially because of its conscious and painful effect upon the older generation of habit-routineers.

Another dynamic factor constituting revolutionary change is time itself. How is it that the younger generation accepts radical change rather easily? Simply because the original elements of contradiction and conflict, of re-conditioning and re-orientation, of perturbing consciousness and disquieting pain, are all charmingly absent from the responses of the younger generation who can calmly proceed to accept the new psychology of habit and value; accept-

ance being of itself an absorber of shocks, an evader of pain, a minimizer of consciousness, in short, a mode of adjustment to novelty and change that takes the sting and bite out of the new realities.

Acceptance plus practice plus minimal consciousness produce a psychology of habit and value that makes it easy for a younger generation to accept revolutionary change as something reasonably normal and desirable.

A profound question that spreads its luminous wings over the two fields of psychology and psychopathology is this: If we were *not* victims of habits, did not possess (or, were not possessed by) fixed ideas, if we were genuinely flexible-minded, could any change be deemed revolutionary?

In a certain relativistic sense, yes. In a more pragmatic and psychological sense, no. If our minds were adequately prepared for change as the quintessence of life, if we were deeply schooled in the psychological and pathological aspects of behavior, personal and social, we should be equipped with concepts and values and attitudes and insights and social philosophies that would effectually absorb the shock of what is conventionally called a violent crisis. Psychologically, if our minds were truly deep in the re-educated sense, no revolutionary crisis in thought or action but would find us keenly ready for an at least partial acceptance.

If we permissibly speak of the sexual revolution, we do so because the changes occurring in sex and society are not being graciously accepted but rather viciously repudiated. This vicious repudiation of change, carrying a certain historic inevitability in its train, is a crude measure of the revolutionary nature of what is transpiring in the contemporary scene. Revolutionary, primarily because the mind of modernity is still living so largely under the influence of medievalism.[8]

Another way of looking at the mind's acceptance or rejection of novel reality, of revolutionary change, is to visualize the mind of man as subject to sclerotic deterioration at a surprisingly early age. Perhaps that is what William James meant (though erroneously) when he said, perhaps a little playfully, that the mind was all set at age twenty-five and could not thereafter really learn anything new. The sclerosed mind, speaking psychologically not organically, is the ultimate disheartening problem in a human universe. In my humble opinion, no other problem whatsoever is equally important and as baffling as this strange attribute of human minds which I have referred to as so early subject to a surprising amount of hard-

ening of the intellectual arteries, rigidity, inflexibility, inaccessibility.

To the educator, wise in the ways of psychoanalysis, re-education, behaviorism, mental hygiene, there is but one profound problem that cries out for solution: the inaccessibility of the human mind.

Habit fixation may be thought of as affording a crude measure of the resistance to novelty in thought and behavior which is then referred to as a revolutionary change in life. What we are concerned with is not the so-called revolutionary change but the omnipresent resistance, the dogmatism and sclerotic-mindedness, of human nature. Perhaps the problem of absorbing and accepting and finally approving so-called revolutionary change is largely a problem in visceral re-conditioning.

What do we mean by the dynamics of time? Apparently the speed of change from one system of behavior to another, as measured by the difficulties attendant upon the process of re-conditioning, is the very essence of the sense of the radical nature of that change. Where change is represented by infinitesimal gradations, a far from intelligible assumption that underlies the theory of evolution, we are not *aware* of the dynamic factor of time as relevant to the process. Humanly and psychologically, this slow almost imperceptible rhythm of small gradational change produces a pleasant effect of normality, stability, familiarity. Conservatism and familiarity, radicalism and unfamiliarity, indicate the two primary tempos of response in human nature.

But mutation, surprising change, "sports" in evolution, startling deviation from the norm, impressive departures from the average—the rhythm of revolution—produces an effect of abnormality, instability, unfamiliarity: eccentricity and unreliability.

Are we in the midst of what may legitimately be called the Sexual Revolution? I think so.

Habits and values and attitudes involving problems in sex and morals have been let loose in the contemporary world, emphatically and most vividly within the astonishingly brief period of fifteen years, that are poison to the older generation (of habit-routineers), difficult to absorb and accept even on the part of an intermediate generation that looks with most sympathetic eyes upon an emancipated world-in-the-creating, expressing a rhythm of alteration more like a mutation than a regular evolution, affecting deeply every institution and every familiar belief in our perturbed midst.

For the first time in the history of life is the idea generally accepted among civilized men and women, accepted as if it were already axiomatic, that the sex relation is not to be dedicated primarily to procreation but quite naturally to recreation.[9]

Before analyzing in considerable detail the nature and direction and promise of the sexual revolution, I should prefer, as historian of reality, to present a wider view of the sexual situation by tracing its multiple antecedents through the entire period that lies between Newton and Freud. The richer our historical background, the more plausible becomes the contemporary scene. I should say that the psychological function of history as knowledge (rather than as worship) is to prepare the mind of an emerging generation for the seeming inevitability of what lies before and around it. Under the pressure and persuasion of historical context, the mind cannot indulge the melodramatic reaction of thinking every significant change queer and unnatural and anarchic, an untamed force that somehow must be put in its place if sanity is to be restored to the mind of man. Historical perspective lends a kind of normality to the most extreme abnormality in behavior (whether of planets or of mice and men).

The most fundamental revolution is the scientific. New theories of mind and matter emerge and fascinate the speculators in science. The scientific revolution, with which the names of Newton and Copernicus and Galileo and Descartes and Leibnitz are associated, gave to matter a new status of dignity and omnipotence in the world's affairs. I might say, without being guilty of light-minded punning, that God *mattered:* God was reconceived as Matter—among the mathematical and physical scientists.

It was this wonderfully courageous de-gradation of God to the impersonal neutral level of mere matter that constituted the scientific attitude of mind, revolutionary in the most fundamental sense.[10] In practice, the by-product of this matter-of-fact attitude toward the universe was the acceptance of the experimental ethic that permitted mere man *to tamper with nature.* The fellowship of the scientific accepted the novel idea that there is not and, in the nature of things, cannot be anything *sacred* from the point of view of the curious mind of the experimentalist.

This, it is important to note, marks the first faint emergence of that revolution in habits of mind that eventuated, more than three hundred years later, in the most astonishing revolution in the history of the human species: the revolution in sex and morals.

The scientific root of the sexual revolution is this blasphemous conception of the right of man (heralded as made in the image of God) to tamper with nature. Though nature, in the first phase of the scientific revolt, meant a cosmic scheme of forces in precarious equilibrium, meriting observation and mathematical recording in erudite equations, in the long course of scientific evolution percolating through the tiniest crevice in human behavior, Nature came to signify everything natural, however human.

The most intimate behavior in due time came under the dominance of the experimental attitude of inquiring blasphemously into the sacred secrets of life. Tampering with nature has now ultimately come to denote a shameless candor (that would have horrified the great originators of the scientific method in thinking) in the investigation of everything human, i.e., natural. For example: sex and love and marriage and the physiology and psychology and pathology of passion.

No thinker knows how his virginal ideal will fare when it has become an Idol of the Tribe, when the mob in the market-place have laid profane hands upon it. What the scientific method has forfeited in purity it has more than compensated for in fertility.

The fact that it has taken three hundred years for civilized people, under the dominance of the scientific point of view, to apply to their inner behavior the kind of experimental insight that, for so long, has been deemed appropriate in the study of outer behavior, is a nice commentary not only on cultural lag and the dragging nature of habit residual, but also on the slow tempo of change congenial to human nature that, for all its presumptuous celebration of reason and analysis and truth, is still primitively and most tenaciously in love with pretense and hocus-pocus. Even the most thoughtful members of the species, imagining themselves to be scientific to the finger tips, have put every imaginable obstruction in the way of the sincere application to the inner (so-called private and sacred and intimate: the holy of holies) life of men and women, of the experimental attitude.

Science itself may be said to have undergone an internal scientific revolution in its final acceptance of the relevance of unhindered experimental curiosity, blasphemous and obscene (in complete defiance of God and His Church that cannot abide experimental curiosity), in the realm of old romance. *The sexual revolution is the terminal phase of the scientific revolution.* It has taken the educated mind fully three hundred years to span that relatively small intel-

lectual distance. What a commentary on the flexibility and accessibility of the human mind!

What strikes the mind as interesting is the slow surrender (among the scientists, too) of the theologic and moral points of view, a surrender which has been made palatable by the healing spread of psychoanalytic ways of thinking. The subtle rise and fall of the curve of disillusionment in the intimidated history of thought is a rich chapter as yet unwritten. What emerges is the realization of the mind's large incapacity for being self-critical. The amount of energy analytically available for re-thinking is surprisingly small, even among those who specialize in thinking critically. It's as though a need almost biological resides in every human nature, a need that expresses itself in restless gropings toward equilibrium, internal harmony, peace of mind, self-complacency. This deep-rooted quest of self-complacency is the key to the slow progress of the mind toward truth and insight. Logically one might expect a scientific mind to apply the experimental and tentative techniques to every problem, human and intimate, as well as objective and cosmic. Nothing could be farther from the truth—in historic reality.

Within the so-called normal mind the principle of the logic-tight compartment operates. The critical ego of even a first-rate mind is not offended by the co-existence within its mental domain of propositions and beliefs that contradict one another most unseemly. A false harmony, a counterfeit complacency is achieved by believing propositions limitedly and locally, so to speak, and thus accepting hospitably a variety of ideas that interrelate very discordantly (when surveyed by a robustly critical self-analysis). Fragmentation and dissociation rule the mind.

The scientific revolution was not very scientific. It was surprisingly saturated with superstition.[11]

Closely associated with the scientific revolution, as its most practical offspring, was the technological revolution. Theory had provided ingenious minds with outlooks and insights concerning the nature of the universe that might profitably be utilized for instrumental discovery and invention. Minds greatly endowed with the capacity for manipulating matter soon proved their genius by providing new subtle instruments (unimaginable without a prior basis in pure research) for handling objective reality. This magical utilitarianism is still the glory of the modern mind. It was indeed a beautiful instance "of seeing is believing." [12] Science, originally

abstract and esoteric, became the visible and emphatic embodiment of the immutable grandeur of natural law. Even little minds—little minds in particular—could believe that a new religion had arrived on earth. The emotional enthusiasms of men became diverted from superstitious intangible objects of veneration, like God, immortality, the hereafter, to scientific tangible objects of surprise and stimulation and childish wonder.

What concerns us is the dawn of capitalistic technique and enterprise within the magic matrix of technology. A quite new relation between science and life sprang up. The whole rhythm of existence was revolutionized. A static world changed overnight into a dynamic one. A serene universe altered into a tumultuous multiverse. Thinking became enormously practical and vividly real. Contemplation seemed like sheer inactivity in a world promising novelty and change and ingenious mechanical playthings. The pragmatic attitude toward life came into an unconscious hegemony over the minds of energetic men. Action was enthroned as the fundamental principle of life.

This quite new relation between science and life had its first blooming in the industrial revolution. The massing of instruments of production in specialized zones distant from the familiar rural homes of people; the thick concentration of workers around these massive costly instruments; the inevitable speeding up of production; the concomitant break-up of individual home economy; the employment of women and children for the greater glory of the new exacting gods: Power and Profit; the insidious intrusion of the machine into the slow and sleepy-minded reverie-haunted hearts of men and women, accustomed for long drugged generations to living hypnoidally; the quick triumph of matter; the ruthless swing of the pendulum from a human to a mechanical existence;—all these seismographic registrations of the scientific-technological-industrial revolutions in the affairs of mortals are familiar as the most lurid and pictorial chapter in the evolution of life, socially and morally.

The most human by-product of this threefold revolution in thought and behavior is that series of modifications in personal and family relations which I shall call the social revolution. The pathetic transfer of human emotions from the home to the factory is the most momentous sentimental fact in contemporary evolution. No one has yet adequately pictured for us the torture of this forced allegiance to the unnatural routine of factory drudgery, the pathos

and heartbreak of the increasing neglect and final emotional extinction of "home, sweet home."

The warm essence of this human tragedy is the transplantation en masse of women into industry. Millions of simple-hearted girls, dreaming of motherhood, narcissistically wrapped up in their own private emotions, strangely and suddenly confronting a man-made world of business in which mechanistic routine and sexless efficiency are desired and officially required as the most virtuous accomplishment of competent females, were deported by compulsion of circumstance within a relatively short period of time from an intimately human to a fairly coldly inhuman milieu. Thus began that masculinization and coarsening of modern women which has now become the accepted order of things in our newly athleticized and robotized industrial universe. Women, adjusting themselves crudely and swiftly to a world dominated by males and machines, seeking competitive equalization and the prizes appropriate to impersonal efficiency, have become she-males.[13]

Sociologically, the significant point, under the new mechanistic auspices, is the unprecedented mingling of the sexes within an unsentimental and comparatively objective environment, hostile to romance and the dream life, most congenial to comradeliness and a sort of flirtatious friendliness. The most interesting of the novelties in this new world of males aspiring to be machines, and of females yearning to be males, is the wide permissible contactual chumminess of men and women pretending to be sexually quiescent, emotionally hard-boiled.

The new coarse logic of matter-of-fact is the eventual by-product of this social revolution in personal values.

Hot upon the heels of the social transformation in the status of woman, struggling to be a full-fledged male, comes that happier educational revolution which is the touching theme of many a platitudinous lecture on the new woman. The noisy spread of democracy; the exhilarating gospel of equality; the expansive faith in the common man (never before so sorely needed for industrial efficiency and military obedience); the rise of co-education; the startling emergence of people's universities; the powerful invasion of the suffrage movement and feminism; the actual existence in an exuberantly exploitative capitalism of numerous unheard-of opportunities for women in industry and in business;[14]—these are the graphic background of the arrival of women on the historic stage, as a personality.

Woman and her emerging ego become the most fascinating of modern themes—to the psychologist, the philosophical biologist, the radical sociologist, the witty dramatist.[15] Enter the feminist revolution. Votes for women: equal pay for equal work: sexual self-determination: explicit campaign for birth control; liberated legal status in matters of property:—every ultra-modern knows the meaning and revolutionary relevancy of these agitations in behalf of woman's right to be thought of as a full-grown human being capable of taking care of herself and of finding her way about in the blinder alleys of civilization, alone, unchaperoned, unattended by anxiety-haunted males.

The feminist revolution is significant because of its vast persuasive emphasis on women's need and right to be sexual and human, physical and mental, surprisingly like unto men in every vital ingredient of their biological and psychological natures. This marvelous unresting desire of woman to attain to a complete identification with man in the realm of personal fulfillment is a very great fact in that transformation of habits and values which we know as feminism.

This psychoanalytic evolution of woman's outlook from an infantile to a rather mature theory of life and its permissible potentialities, experimentally, lies at the very heart of what we shall understand by the sexual revolution.

Generalizations, in the nature of the case, over-generalizations, can be taken seriously when we are attempting to survey the social evolution of behavior, though the facts underlying may each be a little corrupted by the subtle insertion of opinions and values. The intrusion of the personal equation in human thinking need not be apologized for, especially if it is candidly stated. There are concepts in the new psychology that lack the polished precision of mathematical formulæ but are none the less of a truly illimitable importance in a general comprehension of the tendencies that the psychologist attempts to understand, sympathetically and sagely. It is not good sense, even for the mathematician and the physicist, to make a fetish of accuracy. There is a sterility in this grammatical pursuit of precision that cannot be ignored by vital imaginative minds. Imagination, sustained by a genuine love of facts and truths, can give us more profound insights than the accuracy-obsessed mind, however meticulous, loving statistical technique as a bride, can ever envisage. There are facts and there are insights: the two are not perfectly correlated.

This psychological warning I insert here because my analysis

of the evolution of an individuality from an original infantile stage of narcissism through an adolescent period of egotism to a maturing level of humanism is not intended as a contribution to precision but is perhaps worth while as a contribution to those general insights that shed light on human nature.

Without all the specific antecedent revolutions in social and personal behaviors which we have already discussed, the sexual revolution could hardly have become the profoundest fact in civilized life. What I wish to draw attention to is the psychological motivation of this most radical of revolutions. The psychology of feminism, without which the sexual revolution is inadequately meaningful, is the blind brave attempt of the sexes to create together a humanized world in which sex differences will remain residually important and yet discontinue to be obsessive and neurotic. At this point, an acute dilemma arises in the relation of the sexes. Because of the unequal social opportunities and invitations to development; because of their differing internal rhythms of excitation and aspiration and awakening; because civilization has encouraged men to be dominant and triumphant and persuaded women to be subservient and mystically inferior;—we confront a world in which the internal and external rhythms of the sexes are in a state of disharmony and maladjustment.

A loose generalization concerning women would assign to their behavior: the epithet narcissistic; self-centered in the transparent absence of a self. This ingrown and intra-uterine fixation of female human nature, with its uncorrected tendency to exhibitionism of a very childish character, with that too well-known mirror-adoration which makes even of intelligent women such serfs of custom and convention, sets the pattern for behaviors in adolescence and maturity that cannot rise beyond the tantrum level of narcissistic self-appreciation and self-indulgence.

Narcissism is that innocent and unintellectual unsocialized self-love, especially of the body as a visible challenge to all passers-by, which rules out, by its very nature, a friendly and humanistic concern for other minds and hearts, committing the plausible fallacy of the Ptolemaic astronomy in believing that the earth is the luminous center of the universe, man the lord of creation, woman his mistress and therefore worthy of the whole world's bright attention, the cynosure of all eyes. Narcissism is the sickness of a soul dedicated to self-adoration in the absence of a significant self.

If woman is primarily narcissistic, man is essentially egotistic.

The difference is not to be despised. The corroding and constricting element of exceeding self-love is present in both, but the therapeutic difference (of the greatest importance for life) lies precisely in that fuller relation between man's self-love and the universe, a cosmic equation still non-existent in the psychology of woman's soul. Life as a terrific adventure between egos and groups has widened man's horizon as an egotist and compelled his human nature to hold in leash the infantile narcissism that is not yet looked upon as shameful in mature women. Man has learned to be ashamed of his narcissism though he still revels (perhaps as over-compensation) in an almost unbridled egotism. Egotism is socialized narcissism. Egotism is therefore capable of more flexible human adjustments, of reckoning more intelligently with other egos, of making allowances, and best of all, of being critical towards the narcissistic ingredients inherent in egotism.

Women, under the drastic discipline of industrialism and feminist egalitarianism, are evolving out of their narcissistic cocoons toward a maturer and freer egotism. Every one is acquainted with the very great humorlessness of women, especially the form of it that is implied in a total inability to accept criticism of their persons and attitudes with a certain detachment and irony. Fortunately, the emergence of the ego out of the cradled complacency of narcissism, actually delights in criticism and the clash of minds and the cultivation of sarcasm and subtle humor and wit and irony and brilliant impersonality. When we familiarly say that women take everything so personally, we mean psychoanalytically that they have not yet shed their infantile narcissism: they have not yet emerged as robust egos capable of standing more or less securely on their own psychological hind legs.

If there is any one key that more perfectly fits the troubled relations of the sexes in love and marriage than this small but amazingly significant difference between the narcissism of the female and the egotism of the male, I am not yet in magic possession of it.

Every psychiatrist is acquainted with the neurotic existence of the child-wife. The child-husband is a reality, too, but statistically a rare phenomenon compared with the wide prevalence of the big baby, the overgrown child, the tear-stained bride, that makes of marriage the farcical tragedy it so frequently is. The problem of emotional enuresis deserves considerable study especially as it affects marital harmony.

In her recent attempt to grow up, to attain to a more mature stature, woman cannot help wrestling with the problems of narcissism and egotism, while her mate is better prepared to move from egotism to humanism in his psychology of life. Perhaps the profoundest source of disharmony and mal-equating between the sexes, especially in their more intimate friendships and relations, arises out of those varying histories and personal developments as a result of which the woman is still unashamed to behave like a child, to be negativistic and hysterical and humorlessly vain, while the man, sharing insidiously all these terrifically deep-grained limitations, is still better equipped to join the larger fellowship, to care sincerely about life cosmically, philosophically, abstractly, to subordinate emotional details of experience to human contexts and visions. Man is an egotist who is on the threshold of perceiving the necessity and wisdom of that larger coöperative fellowship which I shall refer to as humanism.

This rather lengthy digression may have been worth while for the sake of understanding what the sexual revolution is all about, why it is so chaotic and formless and crudely experimental, why women consider it an inestimable privilege to be men, and what the general direction of affairs is likely to be if narcissism and egotism rule the sexual situation, indifferent to the same becalming influence of the humanistic vision of life.

Perhaps the road to salvation (why must the mind continue to believe in the perfectibility of man?) lies in that radical revision of society in the direction of proletarian emergence and communal fellowship with the accompanying profound shifts of interest from egocentric to social loyalties. Narcissism and egotism are not only individual psychoneurotic realities but, in a fundamental sense, are socially determined. In a civilization founded upon socialistic cooperation and communal fellowship, no individual human soul can feel itself quite so lonely and introverted and self-centered, as is only too possible in competitive and exploitative societies which cannot rise beyond the logic of *laissez faire* and the ethic of "the devil take the hindmost."

In ancient societies (they are really not ancient, as Professor James Harvey Robinson long ago pointed out) in which the almost religious and sanctified principle of caste cleavage operates in terms of the superior-inferior relation; in medieval social organization with its stratification of the population along the lines of master and serf; in aristocratic and bourgeois and plutocratic

social systems with their continuing emphasis upon exploitation and competitive advantage-taking and the rapacious will-to-power on the part of the strong and cunning and privileged;—throughout human history, until the dawn of proletarian class consciousness, no sincere fundamental fellowship ever existed, though the pretense of brotherhood, as in the religious concepts of medieval mysticism, reigned, for the simple reason that the humble folk were not even conceived as worthy of equalitarian and humanely dignified status *on earth.*

Psychologically, such a world of unequals could not help producing mutilations of personality such as the degradation of the outcast, the humiliation of the defeated, the torture of the variant, the mockery of the different-minded, the ignoring of those persons in society who could not or did not rise to the top. A person was of no significance unless he were a personage. The gnawing sense of being out of it, the jealousy and the suspicion and the hate and the self-disparagement of innumerable frustrates, must have begotten emotional and psychic malformations of the kind now studied with great expertness by the dynamic psychiatrist and the psychoanalyst. The social origin of the neuroses and the psychoses has not been given its due attention, though the subject is worthy of the minutest analysis.

It appears increasingly evident that nothing short of a revolutionary reorganization of society on the principles of socialistic and communistic fellowship can provide goals large enough and aims human enough for the thoroughgoing humanization of the narcissistic ego that dwells so tenaciously and self-indulgently in every human nature, under social systems that make a fetish of the individual.

If we apply this communal logic to the more intimate aspects of life, we cannot help feeling a glow of genuine faith in the solution of many a neurotic and psychotic involvement, under these more humanistic auspices. For example: The tragic loneliness of millions of women, deprived of sexual fulfillment and love and motherhood under the sadistic taboos of exploitative and Christian-capitalistic morals, will be mercifully dissolved in a proletarian world in which every female will have the uncensored right to fulfill the deep urgencies of her human nature, as a simple matter of human development.

Is it not reasonable to assume that many a torturing emotional and sexual problem, throughout the centuries beyond remedy, will be comparatively easy of solution in an informal society of economic

and social equals, each one honoring every one else's right to personal fulfillment, as a matter of sheer accepted necessity, all devoted to ideas and activities and realizations radiating out far beyond the narcissistic and egotistic levels of preoccupation?

In Alexandra Kollontai's fascinating book of stories luridly entitled (in the American edition) *Red Love*, the generous-hearted reader, touched by the clean vitality, the deep sincere vigor of the ideals of love and comradeship discussed and embodied in the tales, comes away with a wonderful sense of the finer potentialities of human nature, under the dominance of loyalties that outrun self-centered theories of behavior. Perhaps, in that new proletarian world, where fellowship is a radiant reality, and life as a whole, not ego or sex, is the fundamental loyalty, the miracle of the ages may yet occur: the conquest of tragedy!

The socialization of human activity, the humanization of the individual soul, the communization of life, promises beautifully for the healing of private pains and wounds. No theory in psychiatry or psychoanalysis can be adequate or satisfactory until as much brilliant attention is given to the therapeutic possibilities of the socialization of life as has been devoted to its individualization, in our hectically competitive and egocentric civilization.

There is in communal fellowship a principle of health that we must learn to respect as the possible method of salvation for the greater portion of the human race. Where life and society are the ultimate significant loyalties, no individual heart can feel itself utterly crushed by personal disappointment and defeat. If this is reasonably true, we can look forward to a time when the problems of sex and love and personal happiness will get their satisfying status in a larger world of fellowship where every one will feel at ease emotionally, and at home spiritually.

The conquest of tragedy may yet come to realization through a more perfect socialization of life and a more perfect humanization of individual men and women consecrated, not to themselves as self-adoring narcissists and over-reaching egotists, to goals that lie beyond the confines of privacy.

The new psychiatry will be profoundly social in its orientation.

What shall we, as psychologists and psychopathologists of human nature, understand by The Sexual Revolution?

If it had not been for the spiritually unclean and morally dwarfish attitude of the Church, as embodied in its obscene Christian morals, we should not now be entangled in those violent and

chaotic alterations in behavior which trouble the contemporary scene. If one were minded to pick out a single significant determinant of the breakdown of conventional morals, one could with great legitimacy point a finger of condemnation to the Church. The shameful assumption that sex is sinful; the dirty ethic that persuaded long generations of eager-hearted men and women to believe that the happy stirrings in their own sex-awakened bodies are wrong and unworthy; the branding of marriage as a necessary evil, sexually debasing; the demented dedication of sensitive men and women to asceticism and its pathological perversions; the unremitting insistence of the priestly class upon the contrast between man and animal, propping up its silly metaphysical pretense with the assumption that man can be God; the infinite stress, like a maniac's obsession with one minute fragment of reality, upon sex as a physical fact, with the concomitant staining not only of sexual intercourse (as impure, unclean, shameful, something to perpetrate like a sneak in the dark) but of motherhood;—these hideously immoral attitudes toward the radiant substance of life itself have wrought those ultimate protests of the outraged body against cruelly inhuman repression and frustration that constitute the neurotic prelude to the sexual revolution.

This pagan renascence—the clean and courageous rejection of dwarfish Christian morals, the vigorous acceptance of psychoanalytic ethics—could hardly have arrived with so tidal a sweep of significance and plausibility had it not been for the cumulative radical importance of the various revolutions in thought and behavior beginning with the most fundamental of them all, the scientific revolution, and precipitating in historical sequence revolutions running their deep transforming course in the technological, industrial, social, educational, and feminist spheres of influence. The pagan renascence I refer to is our contemporary revolution in the sacred realm of sex and love and marriage and morals.

The increasingly familiar facts of motherhood without benefit of clergy; illegitimate children (a picturesque and most absurd phrase); divorce; unintimidated spontaneous choice of husbands and of lovers; the cultivation by woman of sexual personality; the reaching out, without apology or shame, for erotic rights and privileges hitherto almost solely in the possession of men; the welcoming of abortion as a decent alternative to compulsory motherhood; biological enlightenment (a novel fact in the history of modern education, especially as regards women); the realization of a beauty and

significance inherent in passion never imagined before by morally drugged and maritally exploited women; the swift volcanic spread of the experimental attitude in matters human and intimate (the final phase of the original scientific revolution); the recorded bankruptcy of traditional coercive marriage;[18] the coming-of-age of freedom in love;—these obstreperous and penetrating facts have finally brought about among thoughtful people the keen understanding of the need of accepting sex as a reality sufficient unto itself, the vital spring of everything human, the source of our well-being if we learn to honor passion as a thing of beauty and wonder.

The spiritual quintessence of the sexual revolution is the complete unabashed severance of sex from sin.

Nor is there the remotest chance of love (and, therefore, of life) ever being a marvelously fine experience unless children are brought up to feel and to know that sex and sin do not belong in the same universe of clean discourse.

There will be very little purity in the world until we all learn to think of sexual intercourse as pure.

Precisely because old habits and values, the props of stability and civilized etiquette, are in a state of disintegration, irremediable and complete, the need is all the greater for minds that can envisage contemporary chaos with an analytic tranquillity, undismayed by the tumultuous sweep of events. To be blind to what is transpiring is to reveal oneself as psychologically and spiritually unfit to be either a wise student of life or a sympathetic friend of perturbed boys and girls, emotionally harried men and women. Professor William McDougall, whom we may amiably salute as the last of the mid-Victorians, has put himself on record in a solemn tome entitled *Character and the Conduct of Life* which, more than any other book I am acquainted with, supports a point of view and teaches a doctrine that are as far removed from the new enlightening insights and observations of psychoanalysis and sexology and mental hygiene as a well-informed mind can imagine. If we would once for all repudiate as foolish and irrelevant certain bits of ancient wisdom and counsel, we must first acquaint ourselves with the grotesque and humorless attitudes of our Anglo-American preacher-pedagogue.

Let the last of the mid-Victorians speak eloquently for himself:

"Immodesty consists in going a little beyond the customary. If it is customary to expose three inches of your thigh do not expose six, or you will

be liable to the charge of immodesty. If it is customary to expose your shoulder blades, do not expose the small of your back also; and if it is customary to expose only the nape of your neck, conform." (pp. 286, 287)

"A girl should know herself to be physically and mentally fit for marriage before she becomes formally engaged, and, if she should find that in this respect she is making a mistake, should ruthlessly break off the engagement." (p. 289)

"If a girl finds reason to doubt her own fitness for marriage or that of her betrothed, or to suspect incompatibility of nature and outlook, let her reflect that life long spinsterhood is very much preferable to unhappy marriage, and that she confers no benefit on her lover by consenting to marry with him, unless the marriage can be made a success." (p. 291)

"In choosing a mate, don't be influenced by the foolish old saying that love is blind. It is not true. Lust is blind, but love is all-seeing. Do not allow yourself to propose marriage to a girl, until you have discovered some at least of her faults. Physical beauty is much, but moral beauty is more; and health is the foundation of both." (p. 297)

"Some women, without having the rudiments of beauty, have the air of being beautiful and, aided by the arts of the beauty-parlor and the milliner, succeed in imposing upon the majority of men the illusion that they are beautiful. Do not fall a victim to these arts. If beauty is for you a prime consideration, observe whether she is beautiful when off her guard, when disconcerted, angry, disappointed, tired, or bedraggled. If she is beautiful in the moment of defeat in a hard game of tennis, or on emerging from a battle with cold breakers, she will do." (pp. 297, 298)

"As regards moral qualities, there is one criterion of more value than any other; and that is her attitude and bearing toward old people. Nothing is more beautiful in young women than a spontaneous gentleness, patience, and deference to the old. If you can observe that, and also some sparks of true generosity, you are on sure ground; the rest lies with you to make or to mar. As affording subsidiary guidance, a critical observation of her mother may be of value; especially if there are points of real resemblance: for in the mother you may see what the daughter is likely to become. If the mother's personality does not evoke your deference and admiration, beware." (pp. 298, 299)

"It is commonly felt that a girl who has been engaged, and whose engagement has been broken, has lost in some degree her value in the marriage market, that she is as it were a little shop-soiled or has become second-hand goods. It is for young men to see that, during the preliminary or first period of engagement, no trace of such soiling shall be produced." (p. 302) [16]

"The last suggestion leads me to deprecate the overemphasis which so many different lines of approach combine to lay upon sex love and sex exercise in general. A strong man can live, and live well, without love and with-

out any indulgence of the sex tendency. The latter may cause him some uneasiness at times; but not to a serious degree, unless he becomes afraid of it." (p. 305)

"If, after mature deliberation, you have decided that marriage is not for you, then cut out sex altogether; many a fine man has done it, and you can do it if you are resolute about it. It will be far better for your happiness and your efficiency, and you will avoid doing the harm to other people which any other less drastic line will inevitably result in. The wandering goat does no good to himself or to others." (pp. 305, 306)

"Let there be no philanderings and platonic friendships and flirtations in which we pretend to ourselves that the tendency is not operative . . . It is not without good reason, in this age of women clerks and stenographers, that so many a man keeps a photograph of wife, or, of wife and child, in a prominent place on the office-desk where he spends so many hours each week." (p. 306)

"The man who wishes to avoid adultery cannot afford to be friendly in an unrestrained way with a young married woman." (p. 307)

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin; and in this respect, one touch on the hair-trigger of the sex tendency is more powerful than any other. Such a touch brings us all to one level and reveals our close kinship to the primitive savage." (p. 307)

"I do deprecate all birth-control antecedent to the birth of the first child. But, after that birth, the question has to be faced." (p. 314)

"In this matter of privacy, the question of chambers is of some importance. Where circumstances permit, the wife should have her own room to which the husband has access only on sufferance. He should have at least a dressing-room with a bed in it, so that the wife can shut her door on him, if and when she pleases. But it may be hoped that these occasions will be very rare. The best possible sleeping arrangement is two adjoining single beds made up with covers as one." (p. 317)

"The practice of entirely separate rooms seems to me fraught with danger. Consider what must happen not infrequently. The husband comes home late, as is sometimes inevitable. The wife has gone to bed. He is reluctant to risk waking her from her first sleep; and so he goes to bed without saying 'good night'; a chilling event. Or worse still; there has been a little tiff (for the most perfect marriages will not escape such incidents) and each goes off to sleep without any act or sign of reconciliation—a horrible and disastrous event, even if it does not mean a sleepless night for one or both. Under the arrangement suggested, the husband who finds the door unlocked knows that he is welcome; and, without breaking her sleep, he can whisper a few words the effect of which may be far-reaching; he may even take her head upon his shoulder; and, best of all, he may receive some little sign that, in spite of all disturbance of the surface, the current beneath runs strong and true. These may seem little things, but they are of

enormous and cumulative effect; and 'very slight things make epochs in married life.' " (pp. 317, 318)

"Jealousy is the grand preservative of family life and marital faithfulness. If one's partner were really incapable of jealousy, as some foolishly pretend to be, why should one not indulge any wandering fancy and flirt or make love at large?" (p. 319)

"In my view it is foolish for young married people to attend dances . . . The young people will continue to dance; but each young wife must face the question for herself. Let her remember this: when she swirls about, half-naked, in the arms of another man, one or two things must be true; either she is causing pain to her husband, or his love for her is of a very tepid quality. And when she forces him to cultivate indifference to this situation, she is teaching him to be indifferent to herself and training him in the gentle art of seeking compensations." (pp. 326, 327) [17]

"Unfortunately, the practice of reading letters and newspapers at the breakfast table is very widespread. To read letters while at breakfast with husband or wife is bad; to read the newspaper is worse. I can see no excuse for it. Why begin the day by soiling your mind with the sordid pages of a newspaper?" (p. 331)

"However important your professional work may seem to you, try to give your wife a sense of sharing in it and its rewards; and, if at any time there arises conflict between what you owe to it and what you owe to her, put her claims first. That is implied in the marriage-contract. Whatever your work may be, even if you are leading a political party, making a world-shaking discovery, or composing a supreme work of art, it is of very much less importance than you are apt to suppose and can in no case justify you in cruelty to your wife, not even of the most refined sort." (p. 353)

"Do not expect your wife to be rational on all occasions; and, even if she is seldom what you would call rational, do not feel superior on that account. She probably has more good sense and much more of intuitive insight and understanding than you have." (p. 357)

"Death is not a matter for fear and shrinking. Most of us slip out of life very easily when the time comes. We may feel sure that, if there is any life after death, it is of a very tolerable kind." (p. 362)

"More unhappiness of civilized folk is due to constipation than to any other cause." (p. 376)

Gilbert and Sullivan, at the heights of their humorous glory, never achieved anything as side-splittingly funny, as devastatingly silly, as this erudite *comédie humaine* of Professor McDougall. Only one element is lacking to make perfect his delightful volume: cartoons by Art Young.

McDougall is one of the greatest humorists of our age.

What a difference between a theologic and a civilized view of sex and life! Contrast with McDougall's Calvinistic doctrine of sex as sin and degradation, the sweet and clean courageous candor of the views embodied in Ellen Key's *Love and Marriage*, Olive Schreiner's *Woman and Labour*, Havelock Ellis's *Little Essays of Love and Virtue*, Marie Stopes's *Married Love*, Margaret Sanger's *Happiness in Marriage*, Fielding's *Sex and the Love Life*, Carpenter's *Love's Coming of Age*, Blanchard's *The Adolescent Girl*, Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*, not to omit Calverton and Schmalhausen's *Sex in Civilization*.

Professor McDougall's great authority on sex and love and marriage and morals is—George Eliot. *Character and the Conduct of Life* is not quite as modern as Milton's *Comus*.

And if virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her.

Though our analysis has taught us how vast the background, how complicated the series of events leading up to the sexual revolution, I shall consider it permissible to stress the psychopathological experience called by historians (whose minds are strangely innocent of the profound truths unearthed by the new psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, clinical psychopathology) The Great War as the most significant immediate "cause" of that radical modification in behavior which the contemporary mind is learning to think of as the sexual revolution.

I am not aware that any one writing in this general field has been sufficiently conscious of the overwhelming rôle played by the clinical incitations of The Great War in remolding the conventional mind in the direction of sexual anarchism, permissible nibbling and contactual experimenting, probings into life of a pathological complexion, dark flirting with perversion, candid appraisal of promiscuity as a conceivably excellent way of compensating for the drab inadequacy of daily life under a régime of mechanistic peace and desiccating routine.

The Great War is a study in psychopathology on the grand scale.[19]

To understand what I conceive to be the most novel event in the history of modern life, the laboratory nature of human behavior during The Great War, I must call attention to a surprising discovery first published and brilliantly argued for by Freud and later

reaffirmed by the animal psychologists and by the behaviorists. I refer to the fundamentally undifferentiated nature of the sex impulse.

For many centuries, philosophers and scientists had been serenely assuming a certain large reliable stability in the Order of Nature and a corresponding fixity and permanence of human nature, at least at the instinctive level. Even to-day, with our newer knowledge at hand to correct our natural lazy bias in favor of permanence and static universality in the Order of Things, most writers think of nature in Newtonian rather than in Einsteinian terms, and of human nature in terms of McDougall's speculation concerning the nature of instincts rather than of Watson's experimentation in the same field. Few persons are prepared to believe that there is nothing in our human make-up very stable or naturally durable or reliable. If you apply this novel perception to the logic of behavior, you feel yourself in the presence of an astonishingly new world of observations and insights. To Freud more than to any other one talent we owe our deepest psychologic and psychopathologic knowledge of the undifferentiated and unstable nature of the instincts.

Though nature, by its bungling method of trial and error, of blind chance and hit-and-miss, has contrived to bring about the mating of the sexes as the prevailing pattern of so-called sex love, we should be living in a world of sheer deception and self-delusion if we took this blind fact too seriously. The primary fact is body restlessness and tension, accompanied by unconscious groping toward relief and release, the organism instinctively seeking discharge of tension in the ever recurring quest of equilibrium. Nature does not stand by and like a morally indoctrinated mama teach the little boy or girl the Christian way of salvation in matters sexual. Undifferentiated impulse exists—of a colorfully erotic character—in the veriest newborn child. Sex is a reality in infancy. How this restless body-manœuvring and manipulating and yearning shall be expressed is a question that Nature seems little concerned with, though moral men and women never cease being troubled by. Hence the amazing keen insight of Freud in characterizing the period of infancy and childhood as "polymorphous perverse."

The psychoanalytic doctrine of the polymorphous perverse nature of the libido of the child is based on a series of important observations indicating the youngling's amoral willingness to experiment with its own body autoerotically, to play with the bodies

of boy friends or girl friends, as the occasion permits and provokes, to toy with the sexuality of cats and dogs and cows and horses (if the sexual milieu allows it), to try out a repertory of erotic stimulation that is surprising when first candidly confronted by the make-believe mind of the adult mentor. The fact remains that children (Nature and God consenting) are promiscuous and polygamous and innocently libidinous. The innocent little darlings! [20]

Those who think themselves capable of facing the raw reality of life, however unseemly and unpalatable it may at first flush appear because of traditional attitudes that assume an innocence and virtue where in the nature of the case they cannot and do not exist, must be willing to think of the erotic urge as vitally alive even in earliest infancy, undifferentiated in texture, amoral in direction, innocently incestuous, perverse in the sense that it does not reckon with the elaborate ceremonial taboos of morally intimidated adults in lifelong fear of sexual spontaneity, especially on the part of very young persons (much younger, for example, than themselves),—in a remarkably real sense, pathologic: the sobering and stabilizing concentration of desire in selective sexual and marital aims being irrelevant, non-existent, for the crudely empiricistic youngling. A keen chapter in contemporary psychology and psychopathology could be beautifully labeled Sex Among the Moderns—having in mind the erotic experiments and experiences of innocent darlings between the ages of one and fourteen years.

If we combine the relatively novel Freudian insights into the distortion and perverted evolution of the sexual impulse with the unprecedented opportunities and incitations of The Great War for experimenting with erotic behavior at every level of normality and abnormality, we shall understand what may be implied by referring to that colossal catastrophe in the habits and values of men and women as a study in psychopathology on the grand scale. Life had become, more luridly and compulsively than ever before, thanks to the intolerable tensions and felicities of the general situation involving unendurable contact with the mutilations of life and death as all too familiar realities, clinical and desperately unconventional: the restless searching of harassed and troubled organisms for outlets, reliefs and releases, behaviors that would divert the body and distract the mind, as a compensatory solace for unbearable pain and anxiety. It's as though the very unnaturalness or The War itself, with its aftermath of inhuman wreckage, created a rhythm of abnormality which in turn could only be equilibrated by an emo-

tional readjustment requiring perversional patterns for the full relief of abnormal internal tensions and pathologic restlessness.

The moral equivalent of war in the realm of personal deportment is pathology and perversion. Inevitably so, from a psychopathological point of view.

In what penetrating sense may we conceive The Great War as having provided the laboratory situation—out of the warm materials of human life itself—for transforming in so brief an interval, in a most topsy-turvy manner, the morals of the modern mind?

The facts, once honestly recorded, speak luridly for themselves. The compulsory concentration of vast bodies of men in war areas, in the essential absence of women companions (in the human, homelike and social sense); the long absences from reasonably normal sexual contacts and loves and endearments; the nightmare of the war zone with its biologic challenge to the organism to seek a brief and bitter happiness before the hour of doom; the sheer psychological influence of her pressure and social imitation and casual sexual discovery of this or that new bit of information; the familiar presence of exuberant flighty vulgarity and lascivious jests meaningful as stimulants and distractions for the harried and fatigued rebuffed mind; the sheer clandestine opportunity for promiscuity, homosexuality, autoeroticism, perversions, and novel stimulation-fulfilling experimentation;—what have we here but a Freudian reaffirmation of the polymorphous-perverse tendencies in human nature, when so-called normal object love and sweet heterosexuality and reproductive felicity are absent from the sexual scene?

When we consider the erotic status of women during this self-same torture period, we get further evidence of the clinical and laboratory nature of The Great War, from a sexologist's angle. In the neverending absence of their husbands and chosen mates; in the unendurable presence of death and disaster and the hideous sequence of many dark and loveless to-morrows; caught in an unsolvable situation proffering no normal and morally secure outlets for sexual desire—what else remained for multitudes of women, married and unmarried, but secret resource to erotic behavior themselves had been taught to call immoral and abnormal? No one need close his analytic eyes to the wide prevalence during this lonely period of every variety of sexual behavior usually described in special texts on pathology. Experimental homosexuality, rather innocent perversion, polymorphous experimentalism, all became, in the very nature of things, increasingly familiar and plausible.

The overshadowing fact we must learn to absorb and make our peace with is the substitution of an abnormal for a normal rhythm of desire and fulfillment as a direct consequence of the unbearable pressures and tensions, external and internal, precipitated by the death-and-deprivation psychology (more accurately, psychopathology) of The Great War and its aftermath. Men, as driven and desiring males, behaved as they felt they had to in a pathological environment. Women, as stirred and restless females, were under a compulsion to pursue modes of erotic appeasement that appeared to be the best available under abnormal circumstances. Psychoanalytically, men and women regressed to the more undifferentiated animal status of males and females, unable to be selective and discriminating, unable to choose goals for sex desire, compelled by social and personal pressure to yield to unfamiliar, frankly abnormal, pathological outlets and fulfillments.

If this account of the drastic influence upon modern morals of The Great War and its unstabilizing aftermath is reasonably intelligent and true, we need not seek much farther for the realistic background of that sexual revolution which perturbs the minds of all of us, even of those who think of themselves as equipped to face the facts of life, however novel and disquieting and radical.

The Great War has precipitated not only an economic revolution (as every one sees with his naked eyes), but a moral revolution: *the very direction and quality of life have been deeply altered.*

Every illusion and reticence and taboo on natural impulse—and its direct unpremeditated expression—have been shattered to smithereens by the public experimentalism carried on by vast armies of men and women who practiced passion and love with a clinical directness under the abnormal stimulation of The War. What we witnessed, graphically and vividly, was Passion's Coming-of-Age.

The most novel of the phenomena out of that perturbing and revaluating period is the birth of sex-*consciousness*. To me it seems wonderfully clear that the hectic emergence of a specifically erotic consciousness is a most novel phenomenon in modern behavior.

If this were definitely a treatise on sexology or a chapter in psychopathology, I should continue with a detailed recital of those experiences which pathologically underlay Passion's Coming-of-Age, the new acquaintance of conventionally moral men and women with every kind of experimental sexuality ranging from the most innocent to the most pathologic playful abnormalities in erotic technique, the almost complete amnesia for the reproductive and marital

aspects of sex impulse, the somewhat drunken surrender to the cult of stimulation as the one rescuing fact in a dying world. This mad quest of stimulation is the alpha and omega of that sexual transvaluation of values which occupies the center of the stage of thought at this moment everywhere.[21]

Normal desire, conventional stimulation, familiar fulfillment, sober satisfaction, all seemed—and indeed, were—far too tame for men and women whose nerves had been shell-shocked for years, whose minds dared not think, whose bodies usurped the mind's ancient function, leaving each nerve-agitated male and female restless and unappeased, drug addicts emotionally, abnormally famished and sexually outraged by deprivation and inadequate appeasement, passion quite inevitably raising its red flags of rebellion against an older order of restraint and civilized etiquette that were good enough under the stabilizing inspiration of loyal love and marriage, but could be nothing more than vague sick reminiscences in the presence of homes in chaos, love and marriage in sad ruin, happy desire for a true mate made a silly mockery of by the daily intrusion of conscription and coercion and the tumult of alien war unceasing.

Let us, as tender-hearted psychologists of the love life, sagely realize that the unleashing of passion in The Great War was the one unhappy beautiful evidence of the ultimate desire of tortured minds to prove (to themselves, most urgently) that their living bodies were vital still. To me there is something profoundly spiritual in all that rush of desire to do something happy and eager with itself, sexually, in the disheartening midst of life that at every dark moment for endless days and nights was kissing the white lips of death. Passion courageously revealed itself as the final testimonial of the electric body to the presence in its innermost depths of a love of life. To speak of that passion's promiscuous expression as immoral is to say something so empty-hearted and dwarfish as to be unworthy of real sympathetic consideration.

Passion is what love is like when death is near.

Since the graphic characterization of a change helps to fix that reality in mind, giving it a local habitation and a name, I have thought it permissible to speak of the Copernican revolution in sex. The logic of procreation, inherent in the living universe, construed to be a sacred function of man lording it over the habitable world, was insidiously undermined first by the Copernican disillusionment and later by the Darwinian and Freudian disenchantments. The

humiliating realization of man's reduction to a merely casual by-product of cosmic evolution is a rather momentous background fact in the narrative of disintegration the final pathetic term of which is the emotional disharmony of the sexes no longer able to discover great satisfactions in sexual behaviors that scientifically take on the aspect of simple experimental performances, washed clean of mysticism and madness.

The dethronement of man as the center of the universe quite inevitably necessitated in due time the equal dethronement of sex as the center of the living universe of men and women for so long inspired by ideals which an impersonal and inquisitive science reduces to sheer infantile make-believe and illusion. I consider it reasonably correct to say that the Copernican revolution in sex and morals is properly so-called because the profoundest of all human experiences, the vital essence of life itself, has been reinterpreted by skeptic and scientific minds until every enlightened person now looks upon sex even in its most radiant moments of fulfillment, as an episode in human behavior.

This simplification to the last degree of an experience that for centuries was surrounded with mysteries and taboos and ceremonial elaboration and poetical make-believe, symbolizing the very ultimate meaning of life, nestling, as it were, in the heart of a throbbing universe, is a scientific fact that our superstitious and infantile and dreaming human nature cannot yet acclimatize itself to. Our emotions cannot behave logically and impersonally and scientifically, though the facts in the case, as discovered by experimental inquiry, call for some such detached and cool attitude toward the deepest intimacies of our life.

The result of this unpalatable disillusionment is an internal disquiet that spells our modern neurotic malaise and sick restlessness of soul questing a happiness that eludes because our logical minds have been debauched by a scientific candor that will not easily brook naïve states of delusion and contentment. My point is that the scientific reduction of the relation of the sexes to one of episodical simplicity and elated routine is the largest fact of a sinister and disheartening nature in our contemporary confusion concerning sex and morals.

The inherent tendency of science is reductive. The inherent tendency of poetry is elaborative. This contradiction and duality destroys our modern peace of mind. Our hearts are divided against themselves because our emotions in learning to be scientific cannot

congenially accept the objectivity and reductive matter-of-fact simplicity of science. Hence our touching attempts to believe at one and the same time in the science and poetry of sex. It's as though we unconsciously perceived the crisis in life of which we are the personal perturbed victims and in our genuine plight sought the false harmony of a reconciliation between the irreconcilables: science and poetry. There is no felicitous solution in sight for this cleavage in the emotions of modern men and women. For illimitable centuries sex has been a strange sacred inwoven part of mythology, religion, poetry, dreams, the ceremonialism and minstrelsy of life at heightened moments of desire and exaltation, and of a sudden, overnight as it were, men and women have been rudely waked from their dreaming to confront a world in which bodies are simple objective realities, sex love a parenthetical episode very imperfectly related either to the life of reason or to the practical absorbing activity of folk, a kind of interloper in the more significant behaviors of men and women.

A lovely problem for poets to ponder is the conceivable lyrical resuscitation of sexual attraction by means of a new sophisticated dedication to the subtle poetry of love as sung by profound poets, schooled in scientific attitude, but not disillusioned as a consequence. Can the modern mood of disillusion become creative and give birth to a genuine poetry of love, reminiscent of the more naïve days of Shakespeare, Burns, Wordsworth, Shelley? There is, I doubt it not, a creative pessimism in fine minds, of poets and philosophers and thinkers, which contains within its intense self a lyrical principle of life, even of love. Creative pessimism sees with scientific clarity the abiding imperfection of things but dreams greatly of a perfection of man through a generous increase among humans of fellowship and affection. If love among the moderns becomes a shallow thing, incapable of sublimity and pathos and tragedy, there yet may emerge a greater human love, a radiant fellowship, erotic camaraderie, to compensate for a lost sublimity. Somehow, we shall be healed only when the disintegration of a reductive science shall have been neutralized and compensated by a poetry and a wisdom, scientifically candid and sincere, that shall yield a sense of loving communal fellowship, a sexual passion made beautiful by its dedication to life.

Because our ultra-modern way of living has shifted its central axis from privacy to sociality, from the self-centered ego to the self-conscious herd; because the social logic of latter-day life,

mechanistically determined, subordinates the individual to the mass in every phase of activity; because sex under these socialized conditions can no longer remain private and sentimentally introverted, sick with yearning, wooing tragedy (congenial to the private ego spurning the larger loyalties to life, indifferent to fellowship and cosmic concerns);—revolutionary revaluations must and do occur which finally eventuate in a conscious and morally sanctioned subordination of the individual's ancient private instinctive preferences to more public rational acceptances, as, for example, the increasing subordination of motherhood to childlessness, of maternity to sexuality, of the mother ethic to the mistress ethic, of love to passion, of procreation to recreation, of profound dedications to casual intimacies. The very rhythm and quality of life have undergone a most drastic change.

If we were speaking as clinicians, acquainted with psychoanalysis and the new sexology, uttering ourselves bluntly and rather accurately, we should simply say that the ultimate incredible result of the scientific revolution invading our most personal lives, has been the rejection and (rather liberated) repudiation of the primacy of the transcendentals in favor of the primacy of the genitals.

Dr. Iva Lowther Peters, in her extraordinarily enlightening chapters on Taboo and Genetics, writes: "In sharp contrast to the woman who conforms to the standards thus created for her, is the prostitute, who is the product of forces as ancient as those which have shaped the family institution. In the struggle between man's instinctive needs and his mystical ideal of womanhood, there has come about a division of women into two classes,—the good and the bad. It is a demarcation as sharp as that involved in the primitive taboos which set woman apart as sacred or unclean. In building up the Madonna concept and requiring the women of his family to approximate this mother-goddess ideal, man made them into beings too spiritual to satisfy his earthly needs. The wife and mother must be pure, as he conceived purity, else she could not be respected. The religious forces which had set up the worship of maternity had condemned the sex relationship and caused a dissociation of two elements of human nature which normally are in complete and intimate harmony. One result of this divorce of two biologically concomitant functions was the institution of prostitution. . . . So long as we have a sex ethics into which are incorporated the taboo concepts, the lady cannot exist without the prostitute. The restrictions which surround the lady guard her from the passions of men. The

prostitute has been developed to satisfy masculine needs which it is not permitted the lady to know exist." [22]

Passion's coming-of-age dramatizes the kind of spontaneous erotic eagerness on the part of reputable women which, throughout the Christian ages in particular, would have been looked upon as appropriate only for women practicing sacred and profane prostitution.[23] The complete divorce between sex and sin becomes the most significant moral phenomenon of modern life. Sex love takes on a meaning and dignity and potentiality which had been laboriously confined for infinite decades to marital love. Marital love had been praised as virtuous because of the unconscious wish that it would allay and finally extinguish sexual love. Sex love was damned because of the unconscious fear that it would rival and oust and finally supplant marital love. Under the terroristic auspices of Christian morals and ancient degrading taboos, marital love apparently achieved the triumph, compelling sexual love to flee the marriage bed and seek disreputable consolation in the shameful arms of prostitution.[24]

The strange sexual awakening of woman (outside the brothel) is one of our great modern themes. Great essentially because of the complete transvaluation of values it describes. It is marital love that is now most unhappily on the defensive, seeking rather desperately to rescue its threatened stability and challenged superiority by practicing a novel frankness and naturalness that had been deemed proper deportment only for improper females. Woman, cultivating sexual personality, finds herself shedding the garments of marital inhibition and reserve, and sweetly learning to enjoy erotic comradeship as a most precious experience, promising a rediscovery of her true self.

The keenest alteration in behavior and desire registers itself in a delightfully insistent wish on the part of women (wonderfully shared by lyrical-hearted men) to experience the sex relation in all its rhythmical adequacy. The happy slogan of the newer generation of feminists, honoring love as radiant passion, is: orgasms for women. Under the regimen of marital sobriety and dutiful routine and uncontrolled fecundity, the happily married woman knew nothing of her right to sexual felicity. Every sexologist, every psychiatrist of the new school, is in possession of sufficient revealing evidence of the absence of sexual love, sexual joy, sexual fulfillment, on the part of married women who might actually be willing to be called satisfactorily mated!

The psychology of the orgasm is an undeveloped theme deserving of profounder consideration on the part of psychoanalysts. We know, those of us who are not ashamed of the quest for sexual felicity, that men and women are more sweet and human and companionable, in their private and in their social relationships, when they experience sexual fulfillment adequately, delightedly.[25] Orgasms for women is the next stage in the perfection of the love life of men and women, attempting to build sexual and marital happiness out of the tumultuous unstable desires of their bodies and emotions and minds. The solace resident in sexual intercourse, tranquilly consummated, is a theme so largely under civilized taboo still, that we must unfortunately wait for more light and wisdom on one of the deepest unsolved problems of our lives.

Lest no one naïvely think human nature's problems of sex and love are newly resolved with utter adequacy under psychoanalytic encouragement to freedom and self-expression, let me discuss briefly the need of a more perfect understanding of that subtle interrelation between sex and human nature which alone can create equations of harmony between the sexes. And, incidentally, I want to leap somewhat boldly into the psychoanalytic future and indicate what I think will be the direction of the new trends in post-Freudian analyses.

To put it succinctly: the great Freud has helped to solve the moral problem: we shall need a greater Freud to help solve the immoral problem.

We can express it by saying that the cult of Puritanism has precipitated neurotic conflict of a kind to invite criticism and finally therapeutic remedy, the cult of Impuritanism is precipitating a different series of perturbing problems that will require sane criticism and new therapeutic remedy.

In psychiatric terms, we may refer to the repression-neuroses and to the expression-neuroses.

The whole matter is of the very greatest importance to us as friends of a new order, who wish to continue the privilege of perceiving and announcing the limitations and foolishnesses and unconscious cruelties of that newer way of life. If it is permissible to say that psychoanalysis (of what must now be called the conventional type) has done the world a marvelous service in uncovering the neurotic bondage that tied parent to child, causing unconscious incestuous and neurotic fixations and compulsions, in stressing the staggering moral cost of fear and shame in the realm of sex, in liber-

ating the younger generation of candid boys and girls, sex-wise and unaffrighted in each other's naked presence, in making it overwhelmingly evident to all of us that sex fulfillment is indispensable to happy and satisfying living, we must not forget that Freud and his brilliant associates in analytic insight and therapeutic wisdom, had to extract from total human nature one vital ingredient and to give a fragment the exaggerated emphasis and importance which rightly and wholesomely belonged to the organism as a whole. This dramatic falsification of human nature, under psychoanalytic inquiry, has led us into the very plausible blunder of assuming that sex fulfillment somehow automatically guarantees human nature's harmony. This Freudian assumption is enormously untrue.

The primary fact, psychologically and psychiatrically, is human nature as a complicated series of internal tensions and drives and goals interacting with social situations and environmental pressures. Human nature is the fundamental datum. Hence, the primary reality is a moving equilibrium of forces any one of which, when out of harmonious relation with the others, can precipitate neurotic disequilibrium, emotional discord, malaise. To single out one of these pivotal forces—for example, sexual desires—and assign to it a prepotency and overshadowing dominance, is to do what is quite necessary from the point of view of microscopic analysis for the sake of more perfect knowledge, and at the same time to invite that disproportionate emphasis in thinking which is the begetter of many quaint fallacies.

Sex, however important in our lives (and its import can hardly be overestimated), derives its manifold meanings from a live environing context called human nature: a human nature that knows an ancient animal history; that carries the obscure deposits of a considerable savage inheritance and heritage; that functions always socially, in congenial or hostile herds; that wrestles unendingly with ego tendencies and fears and inferiorities and inadequacies, personal, familial, social; that is handicapped by hereditary taints and queer predispositions and twisted conditionings in babyhood; —all of which disorganizing and potentially pathological influences combine to present us with a human nature that is loaded with contradiction and turmoil and deficit.

In so complicated a situation, what could the genius even of a Freud do? Exactly what he did. To pretend that the interfering and overlapping factors in that complicated situation could be ruled out, held at rest, for the sake of a more perfect scrutiny of what

appeared to be the central motivating force: sex. The error was almost inevitable,—and it was most gorgeously concealed from the founder of psychoanalysis,—that sex should be overgeneralized as equal to human nature, dynamically envisaged. This thesis happens to be so very true (especially in a sex-starved universe), it seems a little ungenerous to insist upon its untruth. But that insistence is a saving fact in a baffling situation.

Christian capitalistic civilization, more concerned with efficiency than with human happiness, did everything in its power to curb the instinctive desires of men and women lest a too free indulgence of those spontaneities might drain off their limited original energy from the true pursuit of productive proficiency. Hence the sterilizing of human nature, particularly of its emotional and sexual yearnings, under the constraints of an exploitative ethic and a lucrative objective environment. Under these influences of an economic and sociologic and theologic kind, the rulers of the common destiny did not scruple to subordinate what was vital and innocently alive in the hearts of men and women, and of course, of boys and girls (who had to be disciplined into being properly Christianized and sterilized and mechanized human beings) to the drastic requirements of efficiency and conformity and self-abnegation—for the greater glory of the religion of moneytheism.

Sex, as the most anarchic, uncontrollable, unreliable force in human nature, came under an especial system of strait-jacketing restraints and inhibitions, the crucifixion of many grotesque taboos, in order that moral control (self-castration) might reaffirm and invigorate social proficiency—for the enhancement and unhindered expansion of the exploitative ethic so necessary to Christian capitalism.

"Freud has made himself a wise and wonderful scientist of sex, and has given a gift of illumination to the world not second to that which Hobbes gave, and so we can forgive him if he somewhat overstrains the generalization, and tends to carry us back to a contemplation of oneness almost as bad as that of the sickly mystics whom he knows how to cure. He has at least lifted a great incubus of shame from the shoulders of humanity, and given the boon of candor to a poor animal desperately endeavoring to become a man."[26]

Freud came upon the psychological scene to solve the moral probe. In helping us to understand the true nature of sexuality, he also persuaded us to feel more at home erotically. His amazing

discovery of infantile fixations of a sexual character, more particularly the so-called Oedipus complex, convinced the civilized minority capable of reëducation that parents play a surprisingly large and handicapping rôle in our lives. Educationally and therapeutically, the great new desideratum was therefore the dissolution of this infantile neurotic bondage, the liberating of the distorted and darkened libido from moral and immoral subconscious desires and clingings, the freeing of the mind from shame and fear, the final emergence of a maturity of thought and feeling which would prove itself mature and self-determining by participating in the life of natural impulse, of sexual experience, without apology or anxiety or backward-glancing at the parental censors.

In condensed recapitulation: Freud helped to solve the sexual (and therefore, the moral) problem by making us aware of the handicapping neurotic influence of the mother, and of the father imago. The sexual revolution, so far as psychoanalytic discovery is concerned, consists in the separating out of sexual love from parent love. In essence, practically, this means the release of natural erotic impulse in the therapeutic absence of censorious elders, the moral guardians of behavior, especially of the young. What we witness is a Freudian war of the generations, the parents struggling blindly and obsessively to hold on to the affection and emotional dedication of their children, the children striving painfully to break loose from the thralldom of neurotic bondage to parents whom they ambivalently envisage as sexual and yet somehow as super-sexual (almost sexless).

The sexual revolution precipitated by the Freudian enlightenment has simultaneously deprived woman of her mystic status of all-controlling mother (and man of his godly status of omnipotent father) and candidly presented our sacred mothers and fathers as astonishingly profane males and females. I doubt if any one of us, however learned in the language of psychoanalysis, however speculatively wise in the matter of our perturbed and disharmonious human nature, is as yet sufficiently aware of the terrific impact of this Freudian transvaluation upon that ancient system of beliefs and assumptions which inform our minds still. Freud has shed a most uncanny light on the sheer maleness and sheer femaleness of those who have been thought of—certainly by the conscious, moral, habitual mind—as rather intangibly sexual, almost sexless in relation to one another, like mother, father, daughter, son, brother, sister.

If it is the first biologically sane duty of children to throw off the yoke of their parents, to go forth in search of love's natural fulfillment like uninhabited males and females, are we not trying out a behavior which is startlingly new at least in the important sense that it is brazenly conscious and aggressive and sexually candid in an almost unbelievable sense? Sexual love rides into a prominence which is unusual and unconventional, from a traditionally moral point of view. Mother love recedes proportionately. The mother image fades into obscurity and out of that strange obscurity emerges the image of the sweetheart as the enduring inspiration of man's life.

Assuming that the Freudian therapy has known how to solve the repression-neuroses—by liberating the primal libido neurotically fixated upon mother or father and re-directing its effectively toward life and uninhibited heterosexuality—and has given a new psychoanalytic content to modern morals, encouraging boys and girls to honor maleness and femaleness, to accept nature like poets and pagans, not like shamefaced theologians and tongue-tied Puritans, the residual question in our skeptic minds, sensing future complication and disharmony, is this: What of the possibility of expression-neuroses, the quite inevitable resultant of conceiving human nature as synonymous with sex? If, in casting off asphyxiating taboo and hampering moral censorship, the sexual nature goes forth in pursuit of experience happily anticipating new fulfillments for its primal desire, what analytic surprises are in store for the naïve ego suddenly confronting its Freudian house in chaos and emotional disorder because sex had been too simply conceived of by the newly emancipated?

Without belaboring this critical theme, let me a little dogmatically assert that the new psychoanalyst, enlightened by the deep internal conflict between the sexual determinants of human nature on the one hand, and on the other hand, the narcissistic and the egotistic and the humanistic influences that shape and misshape personality, will have to open his eyes to a different order of reality than the one to which Freud had accustomed him. He will have to give an increasing attention to the disharmonies of human nature provoked by a psychology and philosophy of sex, seemingly good, that contains the seeds of neurotic bafflement, cleavage, tension, disquiet, though sexual impulse has apparently fulfilled itself uninhibitedly, shamelessly, even sweetly.

The next illuminating chapter in psychoanalytic literature will

tell us some impressive truths about the expression-neuroses, as I choose to call them.

We need, as educators and psychoanalytic social scientists, a more interrelated insight into human nature so that more subtle and therefore more sane equations of internal harmony can be worked out on the basis of many clinical studies of sexual fulfillment in its dependence upon the other vital dynamic determinants of human behavior. The inter-relation of sex *and* human nature is the still untapped challenging theme of our chaotic day and age.[27]

To return to our more direct discourse, it is interesting to note the spiritual evolution (or is it devolution?) of woman's morals. In its most ethereal phase it was the kind of transcendentalism that worshiped woman as the Mother of God. Under the stress of a practical necessity, since the majority of women found themselves accepting the earthly realities of wifehood and motherhood, this excessively spiritual and subtilized conception of woman was toned down to the plane of humanism, the cult of the Virgin Mary, the adoration of the Madonna and Child, the more humble conception of woman as the Mother of Men.

Only about a century ago or so, with the courageous proclamation emancipation of Mary Wollstonecraft did a theory of woman's rights come to existence that may be called feminism. Personal practice and philosophic rationalization of her behavior made George Eliot our first true feminist. The radical essence of feminism, as conceived by so stern and moralistic a woman as George Eliot or by so flexible and unmoralistic a woman as Emma Goldman, is the doubleheaded assumption that marriage means consent, not coercion, and that love means freedom of choice, without benefit of clergy. From the point of view of one feminist this means free marriage, from the viewpoint of another feminist, it means free love. The difference is by no means merely a distinction between tweedledom and tweedledee.

The theory of freedom and flexibility in marriage implies an antecedent respect and reverence for the principle of stability and permanence and loyalty in the relations of men and women. The theory of free love generally quite definitely repudiates marriage as bourgeois and antiquated, unworthy of really civilized men and women, an institutionalized experience fit only for sexual serfs and marital morons, in essence violating the glory presumed to be resident in a liberty utterly free. In the latter conception of freedom the traditional principles of loyalty and stability are rather light-

heartedly cast aside as foolish hindrances to self-expression and the reign of personal impulsive happiness. The difference in emphasis is not negligible in reality.

In our freedom-intoxicated age (the compensatory search for fun as a counter-addiction to the drugged routine of mechanistic servility), we witness the interplay of both these vital conceptions of freedom in the love live. For example, Havelock Ellis accepts the principle of freedom as essentially good, whatever its complicating and disturbing accompaniments in a time of transition. For all that, his most eloquent emphasis is upon freedom as a more perfect architect of beautiful marriages.[28] Whereas, Mrs. Dora Russell half-heartedly accepts marriage as a sort of compulsory concession to a far from blessed interregnum of morality for the sake of the children, to be halted so soon as the situation permits, in behalf of variety and spontaneity and impulse-fulfillment. Her loyalty is rather to freedom as the underminer of marriage, the anarchic creator of love more abundant in recurrent episodes of sexual felicity.[29]

Feminism as a doctrine of a woman's right (and spiritual duty?) to be primarily a sweetheart, and only incidentally a wife and a mother, finally by swift degrees, slides into sexualism. Under the inspiration of sexualism, the young feminists—and some not so young—with increasing brazen good humor, ridicule the sacredness of marriage, the category of husband—and wife!—, celebrate erotic companionship as the only really worth while relation between men and women in a world in which economic independence for woman, political equality, biological enlightenment, psychoanalytic insights, and contraceptive wisdom, are part of the realistic education of sex-conscious young women, whether flappers or virgins.

This fairly smooth downward curve from transcendentalism through humanism and feminism to sexualism represents rather graphically what might be neo-scripturally called The Fall of Woman. Whether this fall is to be thought of as genuinely traumatic in its effect upon the female of the species must be left to the expert opinions of the organic neurologist and the functional psychiatrist. We may state as a lucid fact that woman has made a fairly speedy descent, as a sexless angel in the skies, down, down, to the coarse and inesthetic earth, as a most sexy flapper.[30] And so habituated are we becoming to the fascinating sight and fragrant omnipresence of this new species (a biological sport!), her hectic jazzy freedom becomes increasingly a fairly sober way of living in an age like ours.

The sexual revolution is revolutionary still because we cannot

yet accept—we may never be able to accept—woman as sex, when our oldest attitudes have been saturated with an emotional and spiritual evaluation of woman as sex *plus*. The sex *plus* was best embodied in the complicated thought of woman as the Mother of Men, not primarily as the Sweetheart of Men. Indeed, man committed the unhappy exclusion of woman from the sacred category of mother if she showed any special gifts in the direction of sweethearting. Out of this dark cleavage of fundamental loyalties to life and love came that unclean conflict between the male's rhetorical acceptance of the mother and the wife as too good for sex, and his realistic acceptance of the sweetheart and the prostitute as not good enough for marriage.

What are likely to be the neurotic and disintegrating by-products of an ethic that stands ancient values on their heads and enthrones the sexual female (the sweetheart and the whore) as man's true object of attention in lieu of the human female (the mother and wife)? The distinguished anthropologist, Robert Briffault, raises this question in a very interesting form when he writes:[31] "I particularly beat time to what you say on the dualism of tendencies in modern woman. But that is precisely the point which most perturbs me—I see that dualism, that antinomy, not only in woman's mind, but in the whole situation created by her emancipation, and, to be quite frank, do not see clearly a wholly satisfactory issue. The advanced women here are overtly and undisguisedly heading for promiscuity pure and simple, and are quite logical about it, so logical that they are bound to prevail. What then is to become of the human male's biologico-cultural complex which persists in seeing in every woman not only the female, but the surrogate of the mother?

"Investigate and educate, that is the only therapeutical indication visible, but above all educate the women to see that it ultimately rests with them to solve the antinomy and to reconcile emancipation with that spiritual motherhood which is no less (more?) a psychological motherhood."[32]

Woman becomes, under the reign of scientific candor and sexual experimentalism, a literally shameless female, making unabashed bids for erotic adoration and pelvic experience.[33] This new behavior on the part of the reputable women of the race had always, until the invasion of the sexual revolution, been the special mode of appeal only of the clandestine mistress, the free courtesan, the outcast whore, the street-walking prostitute: the "bad" woman par excel-

lence. In short, the woman who was thought to be erotically and socially disqualified for wifehood and motherhood!

There is a notion among nice people that promiscuity is good enough for savages but beneath the dignity of civilized folk. There is no reliable evidence of an ethnological nature for this self-deluding superstition. Life is inherently undifferentiated, unselective, promiscuous. Part of the problem of man in society (an engineering rather than a moral problem) is the creation of criteria, moral, esthetic, social, by the disciplining persuasion of which males and females, under the hypnosis of social suggestion, will consent to aspire to be men and women behaving thus and so for the greater honor and prestige of the special clan or tribe or sect or coterie to which they most accidentally belong.

Promiscuity is natural enough.[34] Promiscuity manifests itself within a given range from extreme looseness to comparative sobriety. There is a decent promiscuity as well as an indecent varietism. We might even speak of civilized promiscuity and mean pluralism in behavior under dignified and esthetically enriching auspices. If we are not under the silly dominance of static moralistic categories, if we do not take seriously the melodramatic antitheses so dear to visionless conventional minds, we know very well that behaviors are not mutually exclusive but rather overlapping, so that a curve of distribution of human deportment will show a subtly ranging series of gradually differing reactions, each one in close affinity with its neighbors, no behavior being unrecognizably different from the others in the plotted distribution.

A pure woman was not to be understood to indicate a Darwinian origin of species. Nor must a pure man be interpreted as a startling mutation in line with the discoveries of De Vries. A psychiatric survey of the behavior, real and fantastical, of the most innocent boy or girl, will make us aware of desires and gropings and experimentings that make the concept of innocence naïve and disingenuous.[35]

In the most conventional and censorious society, by pretense and moral make-believe Puritanic to the finger-tips, we discover a rather wide permissibility in relation to such delicately intimate matters as engagements, friendships, ceremonially camouflaged flirtation, little secret indulgences somewhat sexual in coloration: of course! Nature will have its obscene triumphs even among Puritans. Fortunately so.[36]

If this were the relevant place to do so, I could supply a few

lucid clinical histories of typically moral men and women to help set at rest whatever grotesque delusions many evasive minds still cherish in relation to the presumed deep difference between monogamy and promiscuity. There is a surprising capacity even in the most ordinary minds for compensatory reverie. The erotic fulfillments we cannot find in reality or aggressively look for in life become part of a guilty-innocent attitude that pieces out the sexual imperfection of our intimacies under moral-monogamic dominance and permits an amount of sensual dreaming and orgiastic desiring that are by now quite familiar to the sexologist and the psychoanalyst.

Nature is not moral. If man aspires to be, he comes into fierce conflict with natural forces that his constraining pretenses and moralistic poses dare not outrage without very drastic consequences in the sequel—to both nature and man. This desire on the part of pretense-haunted men and women to over-correct nature is for the greater part a work of folly and futility, a sad instance of love's labor's lost.

Those who speak with a certain theological dogmatism (sometimes also called Christian ethics, the ethical culture attitude, the civilized way of life, and other picturesque mythological epithets) about morality and purity and monogamy, seem to have a very inadequate notion of the nature of the sex impulse, especially in childhood, and of the possible outlets for that undifferentiated eagerness to experience life tumescently which the Freudians generalize under the concept of the libido. There are the following outlets for erotic eagerness: autoerotism, homosexuality, heterosexuality, sublimation, asceticism, art, pathology (psychoneurotic or psychotic), criminality, incest (conscious or unconscious), oral and anal fixations, "pollutions," voyeurism and exhibitionism, athleticism, nudity, religion.

To mention so varied and complete a list of outlets for the libido is to indicate the complexity of the theme, the irrepressible nature of libidinous desire, the subtle ways at the disposal of the perturbed human organism for the relief of tensions and drives beyond simple biological endurance. To speak of such static and inflexible concepts as innocence and purity and virtue and chastity and morality and self-control and monogamy and decency and "being good" is to speak a language that is no longer either meaningful or truthful even in the nursery, let alone in the post-graduate departments of life.

Promiscuity is in the nature of things the fundamental reality. The only important problem for civilized minds is the discovery of educational and social and artistic and recreational forms of behavior that shall assist the polymorphous perverse erotic nature to express itself with ease and dignified naturalness from the cradle to the grave. It is not monogamy that is really important but the harmony of the sexes, internal and external, possible of attainment only in a society that cares infinitely less for categories (stereotyped superstitions) than for human beings.

Let us not be troubled by terms, however ancient their status. Let us simply think of human beings as worthy of psychiatric tolerance and social love. Such an attitude is sane and healing. No other attitude is equally so. In an age like ours of luminous chaos, natural impulse lasciviously in charge of human affairs, sexual love keenly rivaling marital love, bodies shedding restraints, the straitjacketing limitations of an unsympathetic and cruel-hearted competitive civilization, we who perceive not only the promise but the peril of the sexual revolution must repose our faith in the stabilizing influence among boys and girls of esthetic selectivity, biologic pride, social idealism, the poetry of sex, honor born of fellowship and compassion.

Fear can no longer terrify our dreaming hearts. Love triumphs radiantly in the modern mind. Why should we, as reminiscent Puritans wooing shame and dwarfish experience, bemoan this modern miracle?

"The peak of a man's sexual activity is reached about the age of twenty-eight or twenty-nine. If marriage is delayed on account of financial considerations, the man may, and probably will, suffer through his association with undesirable women. I prefer the scheme of early marriage with contraceptive practice. I do not expect a man frequently to be with a woman he adores and yet not desire her body, or she his. I do not expect them to practice such self-control that intercourse does not occur. I would not wish them to do so. I maintain that it is a matter of urgent importance to the State and to its homes that methods of contraception that are reliable and unoffending shall quickly be devised. I do not think that it is reasonable to demand that every man shall remain continent until he can afford to have, and wishes to beget, a child, or that every woman shall dedicate the whole of her sex-life to procreation. He who holds a Bible in his hands is exalted no doubt, but the stimulus is not that which radiates from a beloved woman in one's arms. Until exhibitionism and voyeurism have been extirpated from the human female and male, so long will body call to body. The love of the

senses is as wonderful and as beautiful as lovers make it; it need not be, or remain, beastly." [37]

It is surprising how much of the vulgarity of the world and the degradation assigned to certain human behaviors are traceable to a false and dwarfish psychology. Any partial or fragmentary view of life produces a distorted conception of reality and an equally wrong-headed evaluation of behavior. A bit of conduct, viewed as complete in itself, may get a low estimation, precisely because it is conceived partitively, unrelated to a whole. That same bit of deportment envisaged as belonging to a vital context undergoes a transformation in the direction of acceptability and integrated satisfactoriness.

There is a rather new psychology in the world that goes by the name of the Gestalt psychology. The significance of the Gestalt movement resides in the subordinating of the analytic or fragmentary view of human nature to the synthetic or integrated attitude toward the mind's reactions. This Gestalt psychology can be of the greatest utility as a corrective of our dwarfish and partial evaluations of the more intimate behaviors, especially the sexual.

For example: because of that duality in our traditional thinking and feeling which Christian ethics and theological philosophy and moralistic make-believe are responsible for, we have learned to separate out body from mind, sex from personality, behavior from value, assigning to body and sex and behavior a lower status of significance in the eyes of God and *Homo sapiens* than we customarily allot to mind and personality and value. As a dark consequence of this unclean cleavage we have been guilty of moralizing overmuch, simple behaviors and reactions which, detached and torn from a total living context, an indissoluble humanistic setting, have in their fragmentary and esthetically unlovely incompleteness, appeared to be vulgar and obscene and spiritually shameful. Hence our mad emphasis on certain kinds of sexual and erotic technique as low, abnormal, pathological.

If we bear in mind not only the sane corrective of Gestalt psychology, but the wise emphasis of psychoanalytic discovery, we shall be better prepared to accept with intellectual ease and emotional generosity every kind of human behavior that is motivated by tenderness, within a setting of love and good will, whatever its traditional misunderstood evaluation may have been. The only fine ultimate test of any bit of human conduct is tenderness. All other

methods of evaluating human response are relatively inadequate. Thus, a considerable body of behavior traditionally thought of as vulgar and perversional may sweetly be conceived of as wholesome and life-enhancing provided the participants in the behavior find themselves contributing joy and significance to one another's lives.

The silly infantile doctrine of "private parts" is no longer meaningful to a mind that perceives behavior in terms of total context, fluid reality, humanistic setting. By whatever technique lovers bring the precious gift of happiness to one another will be regarded as good precisely because the human being is newly evaluated, no specialized part or zone being under taboo, as a thing of screened shame or evil.

Any attempt, under the bullying authority of theology or conventional morality or Puritan estheticism, to give a special status to any part of the human body must be looked upon as childish and vulgar, since the very essence of obscenity, psychoanalytically and spiritually, is this never-ending sick-obsessive absorption in a veiled zone of the human anatomy in behalf of some ultimate conception of decency and good form. The only decency and good form we shall learn to honor will be the happy and simple-hearted acceptance of the body in its living wholeness as good in every part. The partitive habit of mind is the quintessence of those distortions that miserably underlie prudery and bashfulness and vulgarity.

Nudity is the cleanest and sanest and sweetest of all possible conceptions of the human body. The psychological beauty of nudity lies in that balanced distribution of attention and absorption which subtly produces an esthetic sense of symmetry and balanced loveliness: the diseased over-concentration of the visible eyes on some invisible part of the body is healed in a ventilated and candid observation of bodies in all their unconcealed natural integrity: works of art, however imperfect, worthy of love, even of adoration. There is in nudity a liberation of exhilarated feeling and esthetic exquisiteness that promise profounder therapeutic resolutions of tension than we are yet aware of.

Who would have imagined that the sober and abstract Gestalt psychology would finally be meaningful to us because of its reaffirming intelligence in the matter of sexual candor and the body's rights to natural joy?

At this point it might be worth our while to pause to consider a number of challenging questions that run their dark roots deep into the tangible earth of contemporary reality. For example:

What type of mind still needs to think of sex as sinful?

Why does the moral mind shun experience?

Is passion less honorable than love?

What sex behavior shall we sanction during adolescence?

How shall we dignify sexual intercourse except it be by honoring it as pure?

Shall we oppose freedom because it is subject to abuse?

What shall we do with the disconcerting discovery that women want to be as sexual as men?

How shall we resolve the deep contradiction between man's conception of woman as female and his mystic evaluation of her as female *plus?*

If the choice realistically lies between marriage, mitigated by prostitution, on the one hand, and freedom in love, on the other hand, which is the more civilized acceptance?

If traditional marriage is psychologically bankrupt, can we create a more lyrical type of marriage?

Suppose an absolutely perfect contraceptive were soon to be available: what, most likely, would be the effect on sex behavior and Christian morals?

Underlying these questions and their experimental answers is the never-to-be-solved problem of freedom. We are up against a painful fact, discouraging to those who want to believe profoundly in wide stretches of freedom in the personal life: that painful fact is the crude and brutish history of freedom in actuality, especially as practiced in the vital field of economics. *Laissez faire* tells a gruesome story of man's abuse of a theory of behavior very inspiring, as originally conceived, outrageous in reality. Man's experience on earth is the narrative of botched behaviors, unimaginative, loveless, cruelly competitive, animalish in instinctive blindness and ruthless self-assertion. Exploitation: parasitism: cunning: irresponsibility: insincerity: acceptance of the superior-inferior relation: rationalization of his dirty and dishonest conduct by actually propounding the compassionless ethic of—Getting something for nothing.

Man has used his fund of anarchic energy not for the beautifying of life or the happy building of congenial fellowship, but wickedly and blindly for the exploitation and cunning aggrandizement of everything material and spiritual in sight. If the innocent libertarian doctrine of *laissez faire* has wrought what must surely be considered an illimitable havoc in the affairs of men, substituting willfulness for responsibility, egotism for fellowship, cruelty for

justice, hate for compassion, how can we too swiftly accept that tempting philosophy of behavior for a field of conduct where the problems of human nature are even more subtle and sensitive and liable to wounds?

The blunt pivotal question is: How will *laissez faire* work out in the sphere of sexual relations?

A talmudical point that troubles my mind is this: Man's experience of spontaneity and freedom in relation to intimacy has been largely associated with prostitutes, almost never with women whom he honored and loved and married. This psycho-sexual conditioning has given the average man a set of emotional determinants that predispose him to think of sexual joy in rather a low context of associations. A very important query in sexual and social hygiene is whether man, for so long conditioned by experience and tradition and bar-room jests, to associate the recreational aspect of sex love with vulgarity and silly obscenity, will not proceed quite automatically to transfer his old habits and unclean values to the new erotic relations which a wider freedom, economic and passional, permits, greatly encourages, to-day?

Prostitution has been the form of *laissez faire* congenial to man's emotional nature through the moralistic centuries.[38] Will not the prostitute-psychology and ethic almost inevitably be incorporated in the new experiments in sexual freedom, inasmuch as (O pathetic fact) sexual freedom and fun have not been part of the sacred and humorless and pain-saturated conception of holy matrimony? Since the history of human behavior is primarily the story of determinisms and compulsions, why should we—who dream beyond the conventional order of reality—accept so hopefully the finer potentials presumed to be resident in personal freedom, particularly as applied to the intimacies? [39]

By means of the social pressures of compulsion, coercion, limited opportunity for fulfilling spontaneous desire, shame and fear, herd mores, punishment, parental responsibility and sobriety;—if it be true that only under these powerful constraining social pressures did men (and women) build up a community of interest and obligation and sympathetic interaction, how can we ignore the historic relevancy of constraining forces in the conduct of men and women?

Can civilization now dispense with all of these social pressures?

We can take heart from our knowledge of the direction of what is civilizing in civilization as being due to the increasing substitution of consent for coercion, in every realm of activity, from the most

impersonal to the most personal. Freedom magically exhilarates us because it widens the boundaries of consent and simultaneously confines coercion within narrower limits. Freedom is the precious thing it is, abuse or no abuse, because it takes up arms against the tyrant, coercion. The subtle point for skeptic philosophers of freedom is the perception that civilization cannot possibly dispense with rules and regulations and hindering bars to personal *laissez faire* (group life cannot possibly exist purely by anarchistic cement) but, on the other hand, civilization as it evolves toward humanization, can get rid of the more gross and irritating forms of *external* coercion and compulsion and constraint, relying with increasing intelligence and social wisdom, upon harmonies of purpose and performance because the groups within society are working out their psychological salvation by means of *internal* bonds and acquiescences that, however seeming-compulsive, wear the aspect of voluntary say-so, of genuine consent.

Freedom is not the wild antithesis of coercion. We live within a predetermined social situation, impinging upon our individual lives none too smoothly, constraint being of the essence of the case, the precarious balance between compulsion and liberty being solved for every special problem, not by naïvely ruling out relevant compulsions, but by ruling in acquiescences and reasonable acceptances of social necessity.[40] What we have learned to accept as in furtherance of our well-being we do not interpret as unwelcome coercion. Hence the vast amount of acceptable paternalism in the modern world, agreeable coercions, pleasant compulsions, reasonably happy bondage.

We might say that when a man, through ignorant habituation or intelligent acceptance, gets used to liking the state of necessity which hedges him in (by external or internal compulsion), he does not complain of chains and slavery—even if the cynic philosophic eye keenly notes their vivid dangling presence—but may actually glory in his freedom. Freedom finally means acceptance, a sense of personal harmony, however motivated. To the critical mind the motivation may be a study in darkest tyranny. Pragmatically, we must be content with the judgment of those who find their chains not too irksome. Freedom cannot mean free will.

That man has developed many external drives toward fair play is true enough. Under certain favoring circumstances, he plays the game almost decently. But his preoccupation with externals has left little energy for the study of human nature or for the discovery and

socially harmonious application of internal drives toward harmony and fellowship and civilized decency. Nothing in man's historic treatment of woman need delight us with any assurance as to his suddenly becoming a fine fellow in his attitude toward her, under egalitarian and emotionally easy-going circumstances. Woman has been, for the greater part, a sexual serf, a human drudge. The true explanation of woman's chattel-status is by no means only economic, but also psychological and psycho-sexual. Woman is still —for all her noisy aspirations toward male dominance and exhibitionistic security—in a state of ego and sex stultification, emotionally and psychologically in a state of subordination and servility and inferiority and inadequacy.

Woman is still available, as of old under more coercive and loveless auspices, to the highest bidder and the shrewdest exploiter.[41]

Woman is still a means, a tool, a way of solving a distressing problem in man's life—instead of solving her own profoundest problems of life and work and love. Man, for all his rhetorical croaking about woman's rights and freedoms, does not *sincerely* accept woman as an equal, except as she consents to be a good sport and a fellowman and to dance to his music. Even when he honors her freedom, he has little compunction about dishonoring her personality. His most crafty technique for the diminution of her personality is the quasi-comradely exploitation of her sexuality—which he can now rationalize as a simple behavior of perfect equals. The trick works.

In what sense can we honestly say that human nature is equipped for freedom? What actually do we *know* about human nature? If we take history as a basis for judgment, we know that life has been a record of torture. The torture has had something to do with intellectual ignorance; emotional insensitivity; the infinite rôle of fear and shame in human behavior; the illimitable sick sway of narcissism and egotism; the sheer congenital imperfection of the nervous system, including most particularly the brain; tainted heredity; a multitude of ailments, physiologic and psychologic; darkness physical and spiritual throughout the squirming centuries when men and women were under compulsions utterly beyond their control to bow down to the merciless realities of fecundity and poverty and stupidity and cruelty.

The radical economists and the new psychologists are contributing an abundance of penetrating light on the hidden mechanisms of animal and human behavior (and misbehavior) that give critical pause to the mind too eager to forget in moments of exalted think-

ing, the unspeakable history of human nature, its incorrigible lack of any talent for living beautifully or deeply.

If we bear in mind, as philosophers of human nature, what human beings have been so desperately incapable of realizing in their lives—though, ironically enough, even ordinary minds are capable of responding to the rhetoric of idealism, to the exquisite call of vain deluding hopes, to the hypnotic power of Utopian longings—and therefore, how delusional it is, to believe as some of us so sanguinely do that botched human nature, unless surgically healed, can contrive beautiful or humanistic things with an uncensored *laissez faire* in the realm of old romance or in the complex sphere of personal deportment, we shall be on our guard against fetish-worship even when the beloved fetish is FREEDOM.

We need, most urgently, penetrating knowledge of human nature in all its ramifications and of the social milieu in all its settings as a sane scientific check on the exceeding simplicity of our dream-logic.

Does freedom spring from impulse? How dependable or noble is impulse? Does freedom spring from reflection? How much freedom does reflection allow? Shall we understand by love what men in their erotic fevers mean by passion? It becomes pellucidly clear that a widening gulf opes up between passion and love in these nibbling experimental days.

What new disharmonies, troubling the Freudian dreams of the newer psychoanalysts, will arise out of behaviors that rudely shatter the quondam indivisible harmony of passion linked to love and love linked to marriage, sex achieving its sublimation and stabilizing equilibrium in the unrevolting doom called marriage?

That freedom for personal fulfillment is the subtlest and perhaps the sweetest ideal of which human nature will eventually be capable, I do not doubt. What troubles the ultra-modern mind is the ease with which lovers of perfection, neurotically haunted by ideals that never were on sea or land in the long dark course of human history, forget in their theoretic ecstasy the unutterable complication of life hour by hour, day by day, as human behavior and misbehavior disclose themselves to be, in raw reality.

Man has been an exploiter. Woman has been a serf. Out of such a twisted historical context, what can be expected of the sudden unhindered practice of freedom, in the subtle unequal intimacies of sex?

Woman's "masculine protest" is a bid for fair play.

Interestingly enough, since her experience in relation to personal freedom, assertively in contact with the opportunities of life for loose natural deportment have been mostly non-existent, woman, in the heretic attempt to prove herself a full-fledged person, endowed with a real ego, has not known how to manifest her "masculine protest" except by copying man's freer behaviors, picturesquely called vices. An illuminating little exercise in the new psychology would be to list man's vices (special privileges self-conferred and with moral fervor withheld from woman) and then to note—such a parallelism is not without its ludicrous pathos—the utter absence in modern woman of emotional individuality, of intellectual originality, of genuine resources sprung from her own unique needs and desires. Woman's new freedom is a rather smudgy carbon copy of man's petty, grand, and glorious "vices": to wit, smoking: drinking: playing cards: crossing legs: dressing unconventionally: committing adultery: consorting with prostitutes: begetting illegitimate children: neglecting parental duties: flirting: playing with fire: being promiscuous: *sowing wild oats.*

Modern woman's magna charta was written by her ancient lovable enemy, man. The quintessence of her bill-of-rights is her newfound male prerogative of sowing wild oats. Under male debauched inspiration, modern emancipated woman has extended the bounds of feminism. Beautiful instance of osmosis.

What we dare not overlook, if we are to get our bearings, in the perilous seas of modern experimentalism, is the venerable historic fact of the existence of a very special class of women, considered disreputable and quite unwholesome, who were set apart, physically and metaphysically, from the respectable and cautious sisterhood of wives and mothers, to cater in blind alleys and sometimes in red light districts, to these proverbial male vices and weaknesses, so-called with an unshakeable conviction of truth and righteousness, by both the decent men and the virtuous women of the Christian persuasion.

Where are the Christian morals of yesteryear?

A compromise had been reached between obstreperous instinct and becalming ideal which half-grudgingly permitted man a special low status in certain crises of uncontrollable maleness, and for the rest, he was expected to be a gentleman, an honorable father, a devoted husband, and a contented eunuch. Man, conceived by moralistic consensus to be the kind of beast who could not control himself in recurrent crises of passion, was secretly and sometimes openly

permitted the prostitute indulgence of his irremediable low desires. Hence the strange existence of Temple Prostitution, lending a kind of religious sanctity to the tabooed passions of men.

What strikes the critic mind as rather ironical is the realization that woman's new freedom consists in the eager acceptance and exploitation of the rights and privileges and low indulgences belonging historically to man seeking disreputable bliss in the unclean arms of prostitute types. My intelligent guess is that the contemporary revolution in sex and morals is really revolutionary.

If our awakened minds seek further graphic proofs of the topsy-turvydom we must as historians appropriately call the sexual revolution, we might draw a lyrical parallel between the visible and invisible reality called prostitutes, vintage of 1914, and the equally appealing reality called virgins, vintage of 1929. If we compare these twain (or twins) in the following particulars, we can no longer remain innocently ignorant of the qualitative change in the very substance of human life within the unbelievably short period of fifteen years. Let us try comparing virgins, vintage of 1929, with prostitutes, vintage of 1914, in relation to these vital attributes and behaviors: dress: make-up: language: casual sexing: ethics: drink: exhibitionism: fondling: perversion: sex fixation: the cult of the body: the glorification of passion: contempt for marriage and motherhood.[42]

Those who think of prostitution as altogether a cash-nexus affair, envisage a vast phenomenon too naïvely.[43] Admitting that the commercial aspect of prostitution is its most nauseating side, setting off that bought-and-paid-for parenthetical behavior, generally without the refreshing accompaniment of ceremonial make-believe, we cannot content ourselves with an economic interpretation of a relation that is so human and psycho-sexual in its innermost context. There has been an overstress on the commercial side of prostitution-behavior as if that were the only vital point of differentiation from the more honorable and free-hearted and therefore acceptable forms of sex love.

The prostitute is usually thought of as the woman who accepts money *directly* for her favors. Is this, in all honesty, a profound characterization of prostitute deportment? I think not.

There is a psychology of prostitution that is just as important for our true understanding of human nature as is the endlessly repeated inadequate description of prostitute behavior as an economic and commercial reality. I emphasize this point because I am

interested in showing how deeply infected innocent and virtuous and respectable conduct (so-called for many centuries by the moral and spiritual guardians of the race) has become in the short course of our own young lives. The technique, the exhibitionism, the "sans souci" attitude of our light-minded and not too deep-hearted flapperish females, the daylight bids for sexual attention, and, most impressive of all, the surprisingly successful ousting of the commercialized prostitute from her status of dominance in the lives of young men, are all living evidences of a psycho-sexual and human transformation in habits and values that have made the sexual revolution perhaps the most original and certainly unexpected phenomenon in the history of modern civilization.

Passion's coming-of-age is a good title to remember this novel phenomenon by. The birth (possibly, the re-birth) of sex *consciousness* in woman, an inevitable by-product of the sudden withdrawal of her libidinous energy from a lifelong dedication to, and fixation upon, wifehood and motherhood and emotion-absorbing fecundity, is the underlying psychoanalytic fact in Passion's coming-of-age. In the absence of what might be called a normal sublimation of female desire in lifelong fecundity, what other alternative was there available as an outlet for this tidal libido except a most intense concentration upon love as sex, sex as passion, passion as sheer stimulation?[44] Only one other adequate alternative is conceivable: great dedication to *social* aims and ideals. If neither family life nor social consecration is persuasively present to channel off the vast reservoirs of erotic energy resident in woman, but one powerful outlet temptingly remains: sex as personal passion, the lascivious triumph of the body, the reign of exhibitionism. It is as though the individual female, no longer being under extra-egotistic compulsion to give herself to life and society, to racial and human fulfillment, can do nothing but specialize in personal erotic states, her private body's availability.

Psychoanalytically, it seems correct to say that woman has regressed to an infantile stage of brazenly auto-erotic indulgence and exhibitionism.[45]

Out of this colossal change in erotic fulfillment from the stability and sociality and morality of procreation to the instability and egocentricity and immorality of recreation springs what we shall have to accept as The New Morality. Abnormality becomes the new normality. The new psychology is a study in pathology and perversion. The central axis of sexual mores has shifted perceptibly.

We are living in the midst of the most meaningful and emotionally deranging transvaluation of habits and attitudes in the history of civilized life.

We confront a new world. In that new world certain novel sexual problems exist challenging our subtlest powers of analysis and comprehension. How to extract a certain psychiatric sanity and serenity from so much bright chaotic material is the really important problem for the new type of educator. If we simply accept two bold facts —the inadequacies of traditional marriage [46] and the quite inevitable spread of the theory and practice of experimentalism in intimate behaviors—we are fairly well equipped to understand, sympathetically, why the newer freedom in love and marriage must not only appear to be, but actually must be, crude, unbeautiful, raw. Life, in so deep a crisis of change and readjustment, squirms and tortures its way into novel forms that may, when in a state of happier equilibrium and internal affirmation, prove to be lovely and most acceptable.

The stink in a chemical laboratory is not a very effective argument against the wonder and utility of science.

Love is a strange subtle coalescence of wonder and disgust. The beauty of love is the triumph of adoration over nausea. Mother love illustrates keenly this truth. The newer freedom must go through its birth pangs that are anything but beautiful and delay awhile in disgusting swaddling clothes (which intense compassion and psychiatric affection can accept) until freedom in sex and love creates an individuality of its own, a fine model of spontaneity, infinitely superior to the formularized affections of the preëxperimental days. Freedom, in the perilous chemical laboratory of life, may disastrously blow up the living universe: we cannot be blind to that anarchic possibility. Freedom may re-assort the chemicals of desire and produce such marvels as life has never yet known. *Qui vivra, verra.*

In the cruder aspects of the new freedom in intimacy, appetite will tend to usurp the spontaneous dominance of hunger: the gourmand will undoubtedly set the pace. The cheapening mechanistic tendency of the times will get itself embodied in the substitution of quantitative experience (there is no shallower concept than "experience" in the entire range of philosophy) for qualitative selection and beautiful intensity. The extraverts will dominate the sexual scene. The introverts will suffer exquisitely. But that has been their separate and unequal dooms always. The typical extravert lusts for

experience. The typical introvert, fearing his competitive visible inadequacy in real experience, compensates for this vital non-participation by a sensual hankering after the delights of reflection upon experience. The new equations, wrought by erotic experimentalism, will be largely invented by fairly unselective and experience-lusting extraverts, polished and perfected by the dreaming introvert who, enamored of life as intensity and spontaneity, will contribute the philosophic and poetic rationalizations to cloak with charm and subtlety the crude wonderful indecency of the newer sexual behaviors.

The young extraverts of all sexes will come running in the early dawn from their stuffy rooms out into the clean open, their naked bodies still sluggish and unkempt, unbeautiful in their bed-besprinkled sleepiness, all ready for a hectic plunge into the river of life, in their crude immersion revealing no special exquisiteness of body or grace of motion as swimmers in the river of life, a little polluting the fresh dawn of day by their noisy assassination of the day's wonder and beauty, strange fishes in awkward contortions posturing their glad way through the exhilarating waters of life. At a comely distance, the shy introvert, looking with a not unhappy envy upon these lusty youths, crude and contactual, libidinous and raucously alive, joyously obscene, at ease in this natural milieu, will ponder many a subtle sweet thought in celebration of the crude beauty of desire, honorable even when dwarfish, a container of magic even when yearning is sordid and inert. The extraverts will teach the magnificence of sensuality by being natural. The introverts will teach the magnificence of sensuality by being philosophers and poets of nature.

When we survey the weird evolution of taboos, primitive in their potency even among civilized groups, we agree finally with Freud when he says that the unconscious motivation of taboos is the fear of indulging in behavior that humans desire with a most insistent urgency. The very superstitious respect for the taboo is itself an emphatic indicator of the resistance underlying. The ambivalent attitude which the taboo psychologically epitomizes springs from the human desire to behave in certain natural uncensored manners deemed, for sufficient tribal awe-inspiring reasons, wrong, not-permissible. We fear what we desire. The desire being strong, we must fear proportionately for the neutralization of that obsessive desire. The universal taboo on incest is the most brilliant evidence of this ambivalency that roots so deep in the behavior of humans.[47]

The taboos on sex all simmer down to one simple obstructive command: Don't indulge in sex. The radical essence of the new morality—woman having achieved sexual personality and the prerogatived male status of playful experimental freedom—may be summed up in one sentence: No more hindering bars to SEX CONTACT AT ALL AGES. The violation of taboos has gone even further. Not only is the new world dedicated to the doctrine of no more hindering bars to sex contact, but the further permissible liberation is enacted of the right to renewal in episodes of sex and love whatever the erotic status of the participants be, premarital, marital, ex-marital. This civilized (and conceivably, civilizing) promiscuity is the touchy problem at the radiant center of the contemporary scientific revolution in intimate behavior.[48]

To express it all melodramatically: Males and females, old and young, married and unmarried and unmarriageable, honorable and quasi-honorable and dishonorable, all mixed up, with a guilty innocence, in an aboriginal protoplasmic mess of desire, as in the darkest dawn of life when the first sperm looked with incest-laden eyes upon the first shameless ovum. BACK TO INCEST![49]

The danger (shall we call it that?) is not so much the renascence of an aboriginal primitive naturalness giving birth to incestuous progeny: our contraceptive sagacity will take care of that traumatic eventuality; what we audaciously perceive is the growth and increased welcoming of what deserves to be characterized as an incestuous psychology, or, if you will, a psychology of incest. We need not content ourselves with the findings of the psychoanalysts or with the desperate revelations of the clinical psychopathologists and psychiatric social workers: they know how vividly real is the experience and problem of incest. We can get some lurid light on the new cathartic candor in sexual matters of a pathological nature by recalling certain contemporary literary tendencies and works, if we prefer our proofs from *belles lettres.*[50]

Is there inherent in the experimental mood as applied to sexual behavior a principle of audacity and irresponsibility, of trial-and-error amorality, that makes almost inevitable the playful indulgence in, and gradual habituation to, and final rationalized acceptance of, pathology and perversion?

As psychoanalytically enlightened teachers and parents and philosophizing elders (new style), we must candidly ask and at least tentatively answer such insistent queries as these concerning the status of sexual experience in a civilization that becomes more human

by becoming more primitive: At how young an age is sex experience permissible? Desirable? Wise? [51] How free shall the sex relation be in adolescence? In maturity? How frequently shall the sex act take place, among normal men and women? Among neurotics? Whose shall be the responsibility for the outcome and implication of sexual love, especially out of marriage? Can society be indifferent to sexual intimacy on the anarchistic assumption of its privacy? If sex no longer has as its goal reproduction and racial fulfillment, what becomes of morality as traditionally conceived? What shall be the relation between sex episode and human nature in its totality, if sexual experience is not to slide into exceedingly simple animal functioning without illumination or thoughtful loveliness?

The new psychoanalysis that I have already referred to and somewhat discussed will perhaps give us in due time an adequate insight into these questions and their human answers. In the meantime, we can think it over, not for the sake of morality, but for the therapeutic salvation of humanity.

A paradox that delights the ironic historian of reality is the apparently deeply contrasted attitudes toward sex of the Puritan and the Impuritan. Measured by more analytic, and even spiritual tests, the similarity of their fundamental values can hardly escape notice, if your eyes are psychologically keen. The Puritan reduces sex experience to insignificance by degrading its status to the level of sinful animal indulgence (sin, animalism, and indulgence all being surcharged with shame!). The Impuritan reduces sex experience to insignificance by elevating its status to the level of sinless animal indulgence. Both agree that sex is a rather incidental most casual intrusive kind of interruption in life's major affairs and hardly worthy of the mind's serious attention. What a revelation of the dwarfish nature of morals even when they pretend to be immorals! What a revelation of the failure of men and women to grow in spiritual stature even when they fool around with freedom and the candors appropriate to civilized sophistication. In the self-same marriage bed, strangely intertwined, half asleep, you may catch sight of Puritanism and Impuritanism, miserably wedded.

The Puritan says: Don't eat: the food is not appetizing. The Impuritan says: O boy, do have another; the food's swell. Only a mental hygienist will understand that not two persons or two philosophies are speaking, but only one, for both Puritan and Impuritan wonderfully agree that there's nothing to it. This whole theme of latter-day Impuritanism as a sick reaction to a prurient Puritan-

ism deserves a very considerable attention from psychoanalytic-minded thinkers. Apparently, the poison of repressive Puritanic morality has seeped into and infected the recent neurotic attempts at liberation and expressiveness. We might cunningly put it this way: the sudden practitioners of freedom are still under neurotic bondage that makes them, unwittingly, the sexual serfs of the new freedom.

In the midst of this neurotic triumph of freedom, we must perceive the central important reality which is woman's great acceptance of sex love as in no sense a sinful indulgence but in every sense a wonderful fulfillment.

The greatest discovery of the ages—some meticulous minds will counter-assert, re-discovery—is the realization that woman wants sex love as men want it, desperately, preferring it, once they have tasted its compensations, to mother love. Woman, now that the choice makes her decision real, positively prefers to be sweetheart and mistress rather than wife and mother. Of course, under the depressing compulsory régime of fecundity and loveless child-bearing and sexual shame and emotional fatigue and Christian damnation and male cupidinous control of the sexual moment and sterilizing sobriety and the wounding psychology of repression and concealment—woman could not even begin to imagine the existence of sex love, of delight and playfulness and recreational eroticism.

If love, liberated from the bondage of fecundity and fear, is to be more than a simple happy chemistry of casual desire, a reductive experience in animated mechanical stimulation, if love is to be inspiration, harmonious fulfillment of the ego and sex components in human nature in moments of felicity, we cannot dismiss as of slight significance such powerful elements in the enhancement of life's meaning as the *impulse toward* permanence and perfection; sincerity; intensity, dignity; beauty; passion; compassion; responsibility; fellowship; sweet freedom; joyous acceptance of life: Love as immeasurably richer than simple desiring.

Because of many forces and invitations to change which we have already sufficiently probed, we moderns have shifted from an excessive responsibility-haunted over-valuation of the relation between man and woman to an extreme irresponsibility-infected relation of the sexes. Can casualness in the love life create profound sexual or human values? If it cannot, will human nature be the sufferer thereby? Will love be impoverished and trivialized?

Can men and women, still children at heart, dispense with illusion

and idealism, so long conceived to be divinely desirable attributes of sex and love and marriage?

Can human nature continue to undergo a civilizing, which I define as meaning a *humanizing* development, if the casual sweetheart replaces the more permanent wife and mother types in the experience of the younger generations? What shall be the new relation between the mother ethic in human behavior and the emerging sexual ethic if the minds of men are to remain whole, psychoanalytically in equilibrium? What are the finer potentialities of civilized promiscuity? What are its more insidious possibilities? Can men and women, complexly organized as they are physiologically and neurologically, get along harmoniously and sanely if the principle of inhibition itself becomes subject to taboo? What possibilities for new kinds of servility and ego-humiliation reside in the new freedom? What must be the relation between instinctive desire and reflective realization if civilized men and women are not to convert life into a tortured chaos of emotionalism by a light-hearted, mindless participation in so-called free behavior at the naïve instinctive level of reaction to novel and persuasive stimuli?

Is there, in the paradoxical nature of reality, a genuine contradiction between experience and wisdom? The mass of men want to "live." They do not want to think. Living to them means active behavior, participating in the turbulent stream of events. Shaw reminded us long ago of the opportunities of the corner policeman to be in the very radiant midst of "life" and of the fact that he does not know anything about life, his chances of becoming a dramatist or a philosopher or a poet are dishearteningly small. Thinking implies and requires a certain amount of detachment, aloofness, nonparticipation in experience, detached reflection upon what the participants call life.

Almost without exception, the very great men and women who have for the past hundred years or so re-created the world anew by their libertarian wisdom have been emotionally sober, abstemious rather than sensual, philosophers of life rather than personal participants in it. Whether we mention Ibsen or Strindberg, Olive Schreiner or Ellen Key, Bernard Shaw or Havelock Ellis, Sigmund Freud or Carl Jung or Alfred Adler, we are in the presence of men and women whose love of life expressed itself not in the exploitation of emotional opportunities but in the analysis and philosophic redirection of the blind life of instinct and impulse. Whatever is therapeutically valuable in psychoanalytic technique depends upon the

analyst's affectionate detachment from the temptations and ofttimes perturbing possibilities of the analytic relation, a relation that is charged with sex and longing and love. An interesting question really is whether those who would be psychiatrists to life, compassionate friends of humanity, must not somehow content themselves with being maternal-minded rather than sexual-minded?

Life is wounded by passion. Life is healed by compassion. . . .

An old theme, ever new, is the relation between logic and life. I am under the impression that man's major misunderstandings of human nature have a good deal to do with his logical attitude toward events that have nothing to do with logic in the lucid conscious sense, though they may have a good deal to do with psychopatho-logic—a very different story.

It is comparatively easy for the mind, as a verbal and logical way of looking at reality, to agree to propositions that cannot reveal their complex underlying meanings and difficulties until they have been put to the test of personal participation and realization. The mind deludes itself, in the conscious and rational sense, in evaluating behavior simply, clearly, as if we could reasonably assume the existence of forethought and cautious choice and imagination of consequences as the familiar prerequisites of conduct! The logical view of life, which we can't help applying as debaters and thinkers estimating experience, is enormously misleading. We agree to what seems thoughtful and reasonable mainly because of the pretense, nurtured by logical-mindedness, that we are capable of absorbing the most advanced and wise opinions and evaluations in the field of human behavior.

We suffer in this scientific age from an excessive adoration of understanding as the sure solvent of prejudice and superstition. Our very faith in rational opinion has something superstitious and overcredulous in it. Naturally so. We are not equipped by our experience on earth, phylogenetic or ontogenetic, to absorb into our most unintellectual and sub-rational natures the critical attitude, the difficult pretense, of impartiality and rationality and wisdom. In brief, our emotions, our impulses, our habits, our egotism and narcissism, our whole repertory of personal evaluation, prevent that translation of logical views into behavioristic realities which our pretenses, especially as we deem ourselves advanced and sophisticated and most tolerant persons, demand. We really cannot be as civilized as we rationally feel, and consciously think, we can or ought to be. Logic does not reckon with human nature as a study in irrationality.

If we agree to call the logic of our conscious explicit minds cerebral, we might significantly refer to the logic of our subconscious and implicit human natures as visceral. It is this visceral logic that we do not comprehend clearly enough or very honestly. We still continue in the old habits—sheer intellectual pretense and self-delusion and beautiful make-believe—of cerebralizing our reactions to life as if we could *think* our way through the perturbed and contradictory crises of existence. We must learn to dethrone cerebral logic in favor of visceral logic.

To be more specific: in our intellectual youth, when radical ideas and iconoclastic notions are the very breath of life to us, we absorb with an almost unwholesome avidity all the scintillating smart ideas of the age. We are so delighted with destructive criticism and clever analysis and satiric humor, we can't afford to stop to inquire whether all this fascinating assault upon life, more particularly upon familiar habits and customs and institutions and impulses, has the kind of truth in it which may be way beyond our human nature's real capacity of acceptance and utilization. We simply take for granted that so much bright thinking must, in the nature of the case, be right and plausible, the inspiration of a civilized way of life. Nor does it dawn upon our rational minds, word-intoxicated, to question the human applicability of all this conscious wisdom.

But when we find ourselves caught in the entanglements of emotion and passion and egocentric evaluation, when life as a problem in the far from logical relation between me and thee, self-regard and self-abnegation, throws us off the superficial track of rationality, we are overwhelmed with surprise at the wreckage to our noble pretenses concerning the conscious advanced assumptions we thought we had absorbed into our very blood stream in the logic-worshiping period.

In the intimate matters of sex and love and marriage, we should be incorrigible fools if we continued to believe in the primacy of rational assumption concerning behavior. We cannot practice, sagely and serenely, the freedoms and tolerances and sanities we accept with enthusiastic loyalty before life itself, as personal egocentric experience, has taught us the painful facts about reality versus pretense, visceral conditioning versus rational imagining, revealing to our greatly troubled minds how absurd we must have been in believing human nature capable of applying the clean fairness of logic to the muddied partiality of life.

The newer type of psychoanalyst will be increasingly at his

wits' end to clarify to himself and to his patient-pupil the limited range of logic in the affairs of men and women, the almost unlimited range of psycho-patho-logic. Our emotions cannot submit to the metaphysical test of pure reason and pass that test honorably, or even satisfactorily.

If this is so, if visceral logic dominates the human scene to the dismay and defeat of cerebral logic, we, who in one sense or another are attempting to give the life of instinct and impulse and desire a status of dignity and impartiality and sagacity, must re-think our positions, as educational psychiatrists to the younger generations, and humbly realize what our true backgrounds are, stretching their twisted courses back into animal history of endless record, savage practices and devotions, emotional entanglement and sick involvement in one another's lives, the infantile fixations and insistences that can never be wholly severed without the accompanying danger of exhausting hemorrhage psychically, the adolescent dreaming and idealistic over-evaluation of behavior in the incredible expectation of fulfillment and personal unique realization, the maturity that seems mature only because the conscious mind has grown more clever and cynical and protective, hiding from a verbally brilliant world and from one's own smart pretense-self the bitter surprising truth of the existence of an unbridgeable gulf between the instincts and impulses and egocentric yearnings on the one hand (often inferiority-haunted), and, on the other hand, the audacious pretenses and lucid propositions and wise persuasions of a sophisticated survey of life.

I doubt whether our super-anthropoid attempt to be greater than we really are, viscerally and glandularly and babyishly, can succeed, except in brief stretches, in exceptional instances. The primary fact is passion, not logic. That's reason enough for thoughtful persons to honor logic because life is so desperately and irremediably illogical.

We are language-obsessed chimpanzees playing at being philosophers and scientists.

We are superstitious savages pretending to be sophisticated logicians.

We are broken-hearted children, crying in the dark, afraid in the lonely night, wistfully looking around for mother (sometimes for God), when, in magnificent make-believe, we strut the insecure earth as if we were masters of our destiny, too proud to weep, too mature for conceit, too grown-up for childish caresses.

We are neurotics, all of us. We cannot endure the burden of

reality. We seek compensatory solace in dream, in egomania, in narcissistic self-adoration, in adolescent yearning. We never grow up: we only grow older: we cannot feel at ease except in a world of pretense and egocentric over-valuation and privileged personal status.

For those who believe so sincerely in the logic of freedom and equality and the rights of individuality, the subtle unresting question is: can human nature, on the visceral level, be re-conditioned by a purely cerebral logic to live, in the intimate and profoundly human sense, philosophically?

For the new freedom assumes on the part of very human men and women a novel capacity, under scientific tutoring, for surprisingly rational and self-controlled behavior. Philosophy is lovely make-believe. Life is ugly reality.

Here is a clinical instance of the harsh dissonance created by the intimate juxtaposition of logic and life. An intelligent father decides that he will not submit his growing boys and girls to the kind of ignorant repressive sexual viewpoint which had darkened his own young life. He believes that nakedness is a healing fact, can dissolve in its natural candor whatever residual shame there may linger in sisters and brothers, in so free an environment. That the father happens to be a teacher of literature (English and American!) only makes the instance the more interesting. Father and mother, the several children, all go swimming naked, in the summer time, near their little country home. Splendid calisthenic and spiritual exercise in communal joy.

In the normal course of events, in their large and sprawling household, the bathroom is frequented for this or that relevant purpose. Part of the theory of liberation practiced by a wise parent permits the bathroom to remain always unlocked, so that members of the household may be at their ease in relation to that natural center. Thus we discover a simple scene in which the mother may be bathing in the collectivist bathtub and the young adolescent son entering the bathroom to wash up; or, the adolescent boy is bathing and his adolescent sister suddenly enters the bathroom, quite nude or transparently nightgowned.

Could logic be more sane in its attempt to create a natural situation in which shame shall be absent from the familial relations?

Enter life, in no sense trailing clouds of glory. Our emerging young man one day discovers that he is not only an innocent-hearted brother but co-incidentally a perturbed male. The sweet young girl gets acquainted with the fact that she is not only a natural-hearted

sister and neutral playmate, but a self-conscious female. In this crisis of embryonic realization of the winking forbidden intimacy between the artificial (presumably most natural and fundamental!) categories of brother and sister, and the volcanically natural facts of male and female, a factor enters which a cool and rational logic is unacquainted with, omits as if it were the merest irrelevancy. Life is the complicating factor which makes a mockery of logic, that wonderful simpleton.

There are brilliant men and women in our day who are committing the blunder (the beautiful brave blunder) of assuming that the complex content of human behavior can be re-set in terms of a new rationality, a new scientific sobriety. They assume too much. They lean, unwittingly, on logic as the true prop of life. A false and insecure prop. Life may go down in a heap of brilliant ruins if our excessively rationalistic liberators persuade us to live our lives in rational disregard of the infinite complexities of our irrational human nature.

In the midst of the creative confusion that is modernity, perhaps we can be guided in our experimentalisms by one underlying attitude. The facts of life, whatever they are, even though they be unspeakable and sickening, are tolerable, palatable, almost acceptable, if we construe them with psychiatric compassion, with re-educated tolerance. In this sense, the first modern psychoanalyst was Shakespeare who half persuaded us to believe that there is nothing good or bad, but thinking makes it so. This dictum might be taken as the motto for mental hygiene. Therapeutically, such a view is of the essence of wisdom.

Our faith in civilization is at ebb tide. Our reverence for human life is in a slough of despond. How shall we rebuild in man the music and the dream?

"Logic was, formerly, the art of drawing inferences; it has now become the art of abstaining from inferences, since it has appeared that the inferences we feel naturally inclined to make are hardly ever valid. I conclude, therefore, that logic ought to be taught in schools with a view to teaching people not to reason. For, if they reason, they will almost certainly reason wrongly." [52]

In studying sex let us not forget its indissoluble relation to the underlying human problem of inferiority.

Take the contemporary situation in liberated sex behavior. As a proposition in logic, reasonable-minded men can't help admitting that the right of women to self-determining sex experience is a prerogative beyond challenge. The proposition is all the more plausible

because of man's long experience in promiscuity sanctioned by his will-to-power, his philosophy of passion, his pursuit of pleasure as a great goal in life. As a logician he discovers no violation of his major or minor premises in the similar sexual promiscuity of the female of the species. But logic is not life. In complicated reality, as a creature of psychological dispositions and habits and regards, he cannot so simply accept woman's perfectly logical claim to behaving as indiscriminately as she pleases either before or after marriage. Superficially, one could construe these disharmonies as springing from a specifically sexual situation. Nothing could be farther from the facts in the case.

The crux of the difficulty lies in the relation of two assertive egos seeking dominance in a realm where dominance is most perilous. If it is true that man, once bound in marriage to woman, cannot abide the thought of her having given herself freely (as befits an emancipated egocentric female) to other men who pleased her fancy, the reason for the bitter intolerance of her all-too-human past is rooted in man's sense of humiliation,—ego-frustration,—that he should not have had conferred upon him the godly privilege of enjoying "the lovely first of things" but should have to accept what a courageous and complaining feminist (sexually promiscuous) alluded to as "second-hand goods." Woman is attempting to prove that promiscuity is as natural to her and as appropriate as it is to man. The logic is perfect. Man, baffled and perturbed, enters the psychological rejoinder: my ego, my self-regard, cannot endure the humiliation.

Under the régime of fecundity, woman's primary problem was sexual. Her great need was a technic of contraception. Procreation was her deepest dread. But, under the new régime of prevenception, reproduction being under splendid scientific management, procreation yielding its dark sovereignty to recreation, woman's fundamental problem is not that of sex but of the rights of the ego. Man cannot yet make his peace with the fact that the woman he has chosen to honor in marriage assumes the right to dishonor him at her sweet will and to call this humiliation of his ego, the independence of woman! If the war of the sexes has any meaning, that meaning attaches to woman's uncanny claim to a self-determining personality that (like man's) can do no wrong sexually. The question for psychopathologists is, can woman play the historic rôle of man, the irresponsible anarch, and continue to be honored by man as a creature evoking tenderness and compassion and adoration?

What vital factors are to be taken account of in a drastically

modern theory of sex behavior? The key reality is of course the spreading knowledge of the control of fecundity. This central fact constitutes a complete revolution in sexual ethics and in personal philosophy. Everything significant and perturbing in the contemporary world is traceable to the accessibility of the knowledge of "birth control." The momentous corollary of this new knowledge is the conscious subordination of reproduction to sex love, in and out of the marital relation.

I am not aware that any writer on these themes has sufficiently clarified for himself and his readers the ramifying consequences of this geologic shift in the center of gravity from procreation to recreation as the true goal of sex expression. Not only has old-fashioned sacred behavior been turned topsy-turvy in favor of a thoroughly new-fashioned profane deportment, but solemn obligation and ceremonial awe have been rather ruthlessly cast aside as mere impediments to the joy of living, a gospel of casual felicity that has seized upon the imagination of modern youth with the binding power of a religion.

Other novel features in the situation are the sudden happy realization on the part of woman that she possesses sexual personality; the increasing thoughtful reliance on the technique of prevenception as a reliable and splendid neutralizer of fear and shame; a pagan renaissance in the long tabooed field of natural self-expression; the creation of a new concept of dignity as attaching in the nature of things to sex expression; the general failure and futility of large abstract ideals that somehow succeeded in asphyxiating and sterilizing human nature, with the consequent reaction in favor of a cult of private pleasures and consolations that shall compensate for existence daily without any unendurable waiting for Utopia; and finally, the realization that the only present live option to old style marriage without love is new style love without marriage. These transforming forces are recreating our human universe and giving us an experimental approach to reality which in essence is both scientific and humanistic.

In concrete practice, civilized promiscuity is building sanctions for itself that promise ere long to afford enlightened men and women that pluralistic philosophy of behavior which has invaded every department of modern life. It is this pluralism in the realm of sex that is inexorably recasting the sacred routine of conventional marriage and as inevitably refashioning the vagrant behavior of a clandestine and prostitute variety: hitherto the two major types of permissible sex expression.

If freedom in love, admittedly a perilous experiment with the life force, can even partially succeed in liberalizing and humanizing marriage, if it can cancel out of existence low prostitute relations by giving sex love, however consummated, the status of a dignified and significant experience without shame or fear or tragic complication, then we must generously acknowledge the coming-true of a very great dream indeed, the dream of a world filled with the beauty of sex love, a world in which for the first time in human life men and women will honor the passion and the pain in one another's delighted bodies as a thing of infinite worth and loveliness. . . .

Out of our intense disillusionment with the old forms of life, the ancient false consoling faiths; out of our intense sick creative desire to refashion life in more congenial conformity with our natural desires and instinctive urges; out of our troubled marvelously conscious sense of the dual nature of life as love and hate incestuously intertwined;—the mind of modernity, with its new-won love of reality and truth, may build a fresher civilization, emotionally more anarchic and wild and joyous, and yet maintaining, for all that, a sufficient stability and coherence to guarantee a certain large sanity in the world. How to equate a freer life of impulse and instinct with the constraining requirements of socialization and teamwork is that oldest of human problems which we moderns confront anew in our disoriented civilization.

The narrative of life itself is so much the story of illusion raped by disillusion, disillusion made a mock of by disenchantment, the destruction of faith in life spilling its dark dismay into the most unconscious depths of the credulous mind of man, one wonders how hope and inspiration and creative courage have survived in the race at all. The humiliation suffered by man's ego throughout the scientific centuries, the intolerable wounds inflicted upon his vanity, are the continuing record of his pathetic breakdown as man made in the image of God. Disillusionment and disenchantment everywhere.

Copernicus without much ado sent man sprawling and reeling out of the heavens. The true fall of man! Darwin supplemented the cruel disillusion by confronting man with a mirror fashioned by his ancestral apes and most unmercifully compelled that incorrigible narcissist to see himself as he was: a crawling earthworm struggling desperately to be a man. Came Freud, the third member of the unholy trinity, robbing man of his last vestige of pretense and make-believe, persuading him to accept the final dose of disillusion.

These successive *traumatic episodes* in the life of modern man illuminate marvelously that disease in the innermost heart of man

which we may know as heartbreak. Man is divided against himself. Disillusionment has torn his human nature into conflicting elements that war ceaselessly upon one another's sovereignty. The instincts cannot abide the rule of reason. Impulses cannot accept the counsel of reflection. Reason is not at home among the natural impulses. The body and the mind hate each other in queer ways that run the gamut from tenderness to violence. Ambivalence poisons our human nature. We are scientific and superstitious; critical and credulous; conservative and radical; libertarian and autocratic; savage and charitable; intolerant and amiable; educated and shallow; prosperous and empty;—these antithetical moods exist within the human nature of modern man and are the rich source of his internal malaise and his external maladaptation.

We can no longer doubt it. Civilization is a study in disharmony, a research in psychopathology. The preëminent fact is the breakdown of ancient norms that guaranteed stability: new norms have not yet been created out of the luminous chaos that surrounds the contemporary scene in sex and morals. By simply visualizing such radical new realities as the veritable gospel of contraception; the disintegration of family life (thanks to the marvelous mechanical progress of capitalism!); the distressing interval between puberty and marriage that grows ever wider with the complication of a cultural standard of living; the deep invasion of our life by the jazz rhythm of sensational self-indulgence; the hectic pursuit of pleasure as the goal most worth while; the desperate quest of erotic novelty; the prevailing subordination of procreation to recreation; the swift contagious spread of various patterns of personal behavior that have usually been labeled perverse and pathological;—what a kaleidoscope of the contemporary obscene! [53]

The mood of revolt has infected all our behaviors, even the most intimate. The sweeping reaction against repression and theologic hocus-pocus has become a cyclonic force that will not pause in the presence of any obstruction to its will, madly substituting the excesses of expression for the excesses of repression. Extreme inhibition has given place to extreme exhibition. This circular insanity in behavior hints at the feeble stability of the human mind that seeks ever and anon to break loose from restraint and in so doing invites so hectic a display of impulse as to compel, in the sequel, a sobering return to discipline and control. How shall we help the human mind to live more sanely, honoring expression while realizing the relevancy of personal discipline? The logic of the golden mean is not congenial to the modern mind.

Whatever the costs, the sexes are hell-bent for heaven, employing the strategy of unabashed egotists in pursuit of a more candid fulfillment of personal impulses, without benefit of clergy. The younger degeneration is getting its share of the limelight, and whether the show it is putting on is rotten or no, we cannot help paying attention and being wonderfully interested in the comedy of errors that threatens at so many intense moments to become tragedy. The younger generation is behaving like a crazy man who for one lucid moment has suddenly realized that the physicians in charge are all demented, too. The elders who have for so long been the sacred guardians of civilization have bungled their task so abominably as to have lost irrevocably their influence for sobriety and sanity with the youth of the world. The failure of the church to treat sex and natural impulse with dignity and candor is the largest single fact in that disintegration of personal codes which confronts us in these hectic times: the inevitable swing of the pendulum from concealment to exhibitionism, from repression to expression, from reticence to publicity, from modesty to vulgarity. This revolutionary transition is inevitable and essentially wholesome, for all its crudity and grotesquerie.

Spiritually we witness the triumph of moral chaos. A luminous chaos. Perhaps Nietzsche was wise in saying: Out of chaos a dancing star. What would he now think knowing his dancing star obedient to the rhythm of "black bottom"? The mounting evidences of divorce, brief marriages, casualness in the love life, childlessness by intention, the vogue of adultery, abortion, unmarried motherhood, promiscuity, sexual anarchy, are interesting sidelights on that new infidelity which underlies the new instability in contemporary civilization. Loyalty is looked upon as synonymous with stupidity. There is a reputable shamelessness in the behavior of the sexes that constitutes a quite brand new reality in the history of life, for its fascination has affected the most modest and the most sober. *Instability rides the mind of modernity.* Ibsen, the profoundest of dramatists, understood the sick paradox of the age when he wrote: "Suppress individuality and you have no life; assert it and you have war and chaos."

If life has come to such a pass that all of us enjoy washing our unclean underclothes in public; if the observation of Aldous Huxley is sagacious even if not quite true, that modern young people "copulate with the casual promiscuousness of dogs" (is not this an insult to dogs who follow the sober law of periodicity in their matings?); we are still left with the largest unsolved problem of contemporary

civilization, to wit, the equating of naturalness with dignity, of candor with control, of expression with sobriety, of pagan exuberance with humanistic restraint. How to harmonize passion with compassion strikes me as being the profoundest of our personal problems whether we view it educationally or psychoanalytically or spiritually.

What we witness in civilization is a complication of life only too obviously beyond either man's comprehension or his control. Civilization has created the instruments of mastery. No one doubts that. Why, then, are we, by our own troubled confessional, slaves of those instruments? Perhaps the new science of psychological engineering may come to our rescue one of these dynamic days and show us how to construct bridges of accommodation between the unstable elements in civilization and in life. Modern man is a slave imagining himself a master: he lives in a world of delusion and grandiose imagining where insanity is perilously at home. Is not the braggart conceit of modern man the psychic compensation for a subconscious realization of his diminishing stature in the skyscraping scheme of things? He worships quantitative magnificence because he has been robbed of his qualitative appreciation of beauty. Sensitiveness fades out of his life; coarseness enters there, brazenly flaunting its banners of triumph. . . .

The Great War marks a turning point in modern civilization. The illimitable destruction and heartache and pathologic disharmony of that far-off malign event are the sick causation of that flight from reality which our jazz age so perfectly embodies. Our minds have been wounded and rendered unstable. We are simply in a state of neurasthenic exhaustion and disheartenment. We cannot muster the stamina to care what happens. The will to live has been undermined. But since we must live on, we continue in a state of apathy, irresponsibility, giddy light-mindedness, like persons recovered from a long illness, glad to be let alone, at peace in childish thoughts and pursuits. Psychoanalytically construed, our jazz age represents a regression to the infantile, a panic flight from the realities appropriate to maturity. The realities have become too difficult. Hence the hectic pursuit of pleasure close upon the heels of universal death and destruction. Our greatest need is to forget what we find so unbearable to remember; the collapse of the world's ideals. Disillusionment. Disenchantment. The jazz age!

The old values are gone. Irrevocably. The new values are feverishly in the making. We live in a state of molten confusion. Instabil-

ity rides modernity like a crazy sportsman. Civilization is caught in a cluster of contradictions that threaten to strangle it. Modern man is the victim of internal conflicts and external maladjustments that keep rocking his human nature to its psychoneurotic and psychotic depths.

Contemporary civilization is a fascinating study in psychopathology. Both the ego and sex components in human nature are struggling with a mad preservational desire to hold their own against colossal regimenting and mechanizing and annihilating forces that want, under fierce compulsions, to put a tight-fitting strait-jacket upon them. . . .

In humble (not too humble) apology for this long essay, I can plead a kinship with Remy de Gourmont whose ideal perfectly expresses mine: "I think that we should never hesitate to bring science into literature or literature into science; the age of fine ignorance is gone." (Let us hope so) . . .

"Beauty is so certainly sexual that the only undisputed works of art are those which show the human body in its nudity. By its perseverance in remaining purely sexual, Greek sculpture placed itself for all eternity above dispute. It is beautiful because it is a beautiful human body, like that with which every man or every woman would wish to unite to perpetuate themselves according to their race." [54]

The Time-Space logic of relativity compels me to pause at this momentous point. The rest is silence.

Across the shaken bastions of the year
March drives his windy chariot-wheels of cold.
Somewhere, they tell me, Spring is waiting near. . . .
But all my heart is with things grey and old:—
Reliques of other Aprils, that are blown
Recklessly up and down the barren earth;
Mine the dull grasses by the Winter mown,
And the chill echoes of forgotten mirth.
Spring comes, but not for me. I know the sign
And feel it alien. I am of an age
That passes. All the blossoms that were mine
Lie trampled now beneath December's rage.
Ye children of the Spring,—may life be sweet!
For me, the world crumbles beneath my feet.[55]

NOTES

1. Read Dr. H. M. Kallen's brilliant and strangely intelligible essay entitled "Value and Existence in Philosophy, Art, and Religion," in the symposium by John Dewey on *Creative Intelligence.*

2. Doctor Alfred Adler's use of this conception, borrowed somewhat from Vaihinger's critical theory of *As If* (Als Ob), is very illuminating in the study of psychoneurotic personality: the creation of compensatory behaviors and goals as a flight from inferiority-status of the ego or sex components in human nature.

3.

> How charming is divine Philosophy!
> Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute,
> And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
> Where no crude surfet raigns.

4. Bertrand Russell has sponsored almost a revolution in philosophy by taking his stand (with James and Dewey) against system-building and talkee-talkee metaphysics, while insisting upon the valuable function of the new realistic philosophy as an illuminator of the underlying assumptions of the sciences, as witness the tendencies in the new physics. Scientific method in philosophy is probably destined to prove itself a contradiction in terms, a Freudian dream.

5. Olive Schreiner in her inspiring book *Woman and Labor* writes tenderly: "So that it may be that at last, sexual love—that tired angel who through the ages has presided over the march of humanity, with distraught eyes, with feather-shafts broken, and white wings drabbled in the mires of lust and greed, his golden locks caked over with the dust of injustice and oppression—till those looking at him have sometimes cried in terror, 'He is the Evil and not the Good of Life!' and have sought, if it were possible, to exterminate him—shall yet, at last, with eyes bathed from the mire and dust in the stream of friendship and freedom, leap upwards, his white wings spread, resplendent in the sunshine of a distant future—the essentially Good and Beautiful of human existence."

6. If we survey such a varied list as the accompanying one, we gather a pretty sprightly notion of the dynamic and elastic quality of freedom and are better prepared to understand how unlike one another in personality and human philosophy freedom-lovers can be. Our exemplary and somewhat queer list of champions of freedom includes such interesting names as these: Mary Wollstonecraft, George Eliot, Hendrik Ibsen, Grete Meisel-Hess, Ellen Key, Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter, Emma Goldman, H. L. Mencken, Margaret Sanger, Kropotkin, Dora Russell, Dr. Freud, Dr. William J. Robinson, J. William Lloyd, Clement Wood, Crystal Eastman, Robert Briffault, C. E. M. Joad, Bernard Shaw, Charlotte P. Gilman, Dr. W. F. Robie, H. G. Wells, Mary Ware Dennett, Floyd Dell, Freda Kirchwey, Maxwell Bodenheim, Edna St. Vincent Millay.

7. This is the naïve self-deluding error of libertarians like Emma Goldman, Isadora Duncan, Dora Russell, C. E. M. Joad, H. L. Mencken.

8. Dr. W. I. Thomas in his enlightening chapter The Configurations of Personality included in the symposium *The Unconscious* edited by Mrs. Ethel S. Dummer, writes: "Habit is a definition of a situation. And new stimuli, rival stimuli suggest new definitions of situations. Consciousness seems to appear in just this connection. In our present society, where the evolution of the stimuli systems is more rapid than the evolution of the habit systems . . ." (p. 153)

9. A most frank and refreshing treatment of the relation between contraceptive technique and the modern sexual and moral situation is Professor F. A. E. Crew's essay in the symposium entitled *Some More Medical Views on Birth Control,* edited by Doctor Norman Haire. "I regard the sex relationship as a need, as a source of legitimate pleasure, as the most basic, the most beautiful, of functionings. In this relationship I find the sexes most sharply distinguished, and in their respective modes of expression their wonders most perfectly portrayed." (p. 101)

10. The logic of matter-of-fact has been most brilliantly expounded by Thorstein Veblen, the most original mind in the field of social science produced by America, whose amazing volume *The Place of Science in Civilization* (one of a series of remarkable works of scholarship and ironic wisdom) is somehow shamefully neglected both by our liberal and radical writers. Veblen is the only economist in the world whose temperamental and intellectual gifts have made it possible for him to rewrite economic theory in terms of the most modern points of view in the fields of sociology, social psychology, anthropology, general science. The subtlest achievement of the human mind is irony. Neither in literature nor in science has the contemporary world produced as keen and marvelous an ironist as our own neglected genius, Thorstein Veblen.

11. An excellent statement on this point is that of Professor Whitehead whose *Science and the Modern World* is properly heralded as a most original and thought-provoking study of the re-visionary tendencies in contemporary science. He says: "There can be no living science unless there is a widespread instinctive conviction in the existence of an *order of things,* and, in particular, of an order of Nature . . . Fate in Greek tragedy becomes the order of nature in modern thought . . . Science has never shaken off its origin in the historical revolt of the later Renaissance. It has remained predominantly an anti-rationalistic movement based upon a naïve faith." Bertrand Russell comments interestingly upon these remarks of Whitehead's in his recent book *Sceptical Essays,* a fascinatingly readable book, as follows: "Science could only have been created by men who already had this belief [in an order of nature], and therefore the original sources of the belief must have been pre-scientific . . . Can science survive when we separate it from the superstitions which nourished its infancy?" (pp. 40, 42)

12. Dr. John B. Watson, the distinguished as well as notorious behaviorist, has at last caught up with this naïve view of science and is delighted with his reduction of psychology to a real (and, of course, pure) science. Precisely at the moment when pure science is exposing and ridiculing its own naïve, over-simplified, partial assumptions! It is pleasant to realize that just as academic psychology decides to be a real science, real science discovers the necessity of becoming philosophical, not to say metaphysical. At any rate, Watson has almost succeeded in persuading his fellow academicals to take over the simplified procedure appropriate to a physical laboratory (the scientific origin of this technique dating back to the seventeenth century) in the attempt to understand the infinitely complicated problems of human nature. The behavioristic method is a kind of inverted anthropomorphism. Under the older animistic auspices, man tended to ascribe to nature in general, including plants and animals, attributes characteristically human. Under the newer animism, the behavioristic scientist is quite content to ascribe to man the characteristics he discovers in animals (preferably, white rats).

13. The most persuasive book written in our time on the astonishing thesis that the great majority of the presumably biological characteristics of men and women are in genetic reality sociological in nature, is *The Dominant Sex* by Mathilde and Mathias Vaerting. This book persuades us to believe that short of the processes of menstruation and parturition, men may be re-molded physically and emotionally to approximate the typical female type, provided their rôles are interchanged, women attaining to complete dominance in the major human activities, thus assigning to men the historically inferior status of subordinates, with the inevitable accompaniments of physical posture and bodily contour and emotional conditioning that are

traditionally associated with the female of the species. An interesting article entitled "The Feminist's Future" by Miriam Allen de Ford (*The New Republic,* September 19, 1928) applies this amazingly intelligent thesis of the Vaertings to the contemporary situation, especially in America. "The approximation to each other in dress and appearance of the sexes today is obvious. Masculine beauty contests are springing up to rival the feminine ones—even the United States Army has had one instance. Beauty shop operators give testimony to the number of men among their customers. Women cut their hair and men let theirs grow longer. Women starve themselves to achieve a boyish figure. The girl of today is appreciably larger in all her proportions than her grandmother—taller, and stronger as well. More men "make up" than anyone except dealers in cosmetics imagines. First socks and ties, now men's suits are becoming brightly colored. There is a movement to bring back colored dress suits. The tailors' windows are full of green, red, bright brown and other gaily hued clothes. Women, on the other hand, have definitely discarded corsets and petticoats along with hairpins. In many parts of the West they wear "hiking suits"—i.e., trousers—on the streets at all hours. I know one woman who has worn nothing else for years; no one stares at her at a concert or in a store."

14. In this connection, there are several psychologically illuminating chapters by physicians (mental hygienists) in the symposium entitled *Why Men Fail,* edited by Doctors Fishbein and White.

15. The most penetrating book I have read in many a day around the general theme of woman and her tabooed human nature is *Taboo and Genetics* by Knight-Peters-Blanchard. The anthropological and sociological and psychological material contributed by Iva Peters and Phyllis Blanchard is not only extraordinarily interesting but radical and modern in the most scientific and candid sense. Knight's emphasis on the varied biology of sex response, the reality of the intersexes, the need of a new orientation in sex and society, is a study of the first importance to contemporary enlightenment.

16. In Milton's *Comus,* these immortal lines are writ:

> But, when lust
> By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
> But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,
> Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
> The soul grows clotted by contagion,
> Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
> The divine property of her first being.

17. Wither's touching poem cries out for quotation here:

> Shall I, wasting in despair,
> Die because a woman's fair?

Or make pale my cheeks with care
'Cause another's rosy are?
Be she fairer than the day
Or the flowery meads in May—
If she think not well of me,
What care I how fair she be?
. . . . . .
If she love me, this believe,
I will die ere she shall grieve;
If she slight me when I woo,
I can scorn and let her go;
For if she be not for me,
What care I for whom she be?

18. Unquestionably, the brightest book in this general field, whether measured by the test of sprightly and dare-devil information or encyclopedic allusion and commentary, all within the current challenging situation in the world at large, is V. F. Calverton's *The Bankruptcy of Marriage.*

19. Read an original analysis of this as yet untapped theme, meriting much more attention from our historians and social psychologists, entitled *Psychiatry to the Rescue,* in the Psychoanalytic Review, April, 1928, by S. Daniel House.

20. The college professor who defined a virgin as a girl between the ages of five and six, preferably five, was speaking with a kind of insight which it is our duty as moral men and women to condemn and suppress and, if nothing else will do, hysterically deny. Freud's overwhelming evidence for the "polymorphous-perverse" nature of the child's libidinous interest in attachments will compel us ere long to revise our notions of purity and innocence.

21. Of the ultra-innocent virgin (vintage of 1929) you may observe: With her lips she addresses the man she dines with. And with her visible thighs she carries on sexual discourse with all the circumambient males. Sensual darling!

The eloquent-insidious plea of the magical *Comus* sounds far too modern:

List, Lady: be not coy, and be not cosen'd
With that same vaunted name, Virginity:
Beauty is nature's coyn, must not be hoorded,
But must be currant; and the good thereof
Consists in mutual and partak'n bliss,
Unsavoury in th' injoyment of it self.

If you let slip time, like a neglected rose
It withers on the stalk with languish't head.
Beauty is nature's brag, and must be shown
In courts, at feasts, and high solemnities,
Where most may wonder at the workmanship.
It is for homely features to keep home;
They had their name thence; coarse complexions
And cheeks of sorry grain will serve to ply
The sampler, and to teize the huswife's wooll.
What need a vermeil-tinctured lip for that,
Love-darting eyes, or tresses like the Morn?
There were another meaning in these gifts;
Think what, and be adviz'd; you are but young yet.

22. In *Taboo and Genetics* by Knight-Peters-Blanchard, pp. 223-224; 226, 227.

23. For an elaborate discussion of the general theme *Is Prostitution Petering Out?,* see The Modern Quarterly for November, 1927. The crux of the matter is epitomized in these sentences: "Is prostitution petering out? Almost every wise student in this field thinks so. Speaking statistically, no one knows. Speaking morally, we may intelligently guess that every wise student is right. Speaking psychologically, there can be no doubt that prostitution as a commercialized method of fulfilling sex desire is wonderfully on the wane. What has happened is startlingly interesting. Our reputable girls have taken a leaf out of the unprintable diary of the prostitute and have with brazen courage equipped themselves with the tricks and technics and modes of self-display which belong by long historic right to the *filles de joie,* whom H. G. Wells once graphically referred to as the "painted disasters of the street." One need not be a cynic but only a realistic analyst to remark that the latter-day painted disasters of the street include such nice people as our daughters, sisters, sweethearts, wives, and intimate lady-friends . . . By the weirdest of ironies the triumph of the whore marks the downfall of prostitution."

24. The triumph of prostitute technique among the *reputable* women of the race is the most revolutionary event in the history of human behavior.

The freedom to be our natural selves—our great modern ideal—is precisely what slavery is, *in reality.* At the instinct and impulse levels of conduct, where there is little conscious guidance or control or insight, behavior tends to be automatic, compulsive, "self"-sufficient: a fraction of human nature functioning as a totality and dominating the personality obsessively. As a consequence of this quite new pelvic dominance—to the subordination of the human nature and personality factors—in the behavior of reputable females, we witness the origin of a new species: *the fractional female.* In

the history of the race, only the prostitute (or a kindred variant) was deemed "low" enough for this servile status. Wife or whore: that "choice" troubles the psyche of modern woman (free and the equal of man!—who dare deny it?) more pervasively and hauntingly than ever before on earth. What a problem for the "mother-component" in human nature!

Woman is trying an experiment that must end in disaster: she acts the part of courtesan and is disappointed when man will not accept her as true mate. She yearns for the consolatory and protective status of wife, but, exhibitionist that she is (under the new morality's uncensored incitations) plays her rôle as light-hearted mistress. She hasn't enough cerebral integrity to realize that while woman is so easily accessible, man cannot *value* her highly. The market being glutted with femaleness, any fool (gender, male) can "buy cheap" . . . "Gresham's Law" applies in sexual as in commercial transactions!

Woman lacks self-respect, for the transparent reason that she has no self to respect. Sexually she is content to be a serf—especially if she can speak with masculine braggartism of her freedom: Pathos of emancipation!

If woman continues to depend upon man's adoration of her (sexuality!) for happiness, she will never rise beyond the humiliating status—and stature—of serf, dupe, parasite, victim of the exploitative tendency in man's nature. Her true emancipation (from sexual servility: free or fettered, is the difference so great in reality?), her genuine salvation resides in a threefold dedication: to the larger aspects of life as human fulfillment: to motherhood—the profoundest source of self-development and self-respect; to ego-adequacy as the way of growth for her unique capacities; and incidentally (not trivially!) to narcissistic pursuit of male adoration. If she depends upon man alone, she woos tragedy—in the sobering sequel.

25. For scientific and reasonably statistical evidence on this momentous point, consult the very important research conducted for three years under the auspices of The Bureau of Social Hygiene by Doctor G. V. Hamilton, entitled *A Research in Marriage.* Kenneth MacGowan is the co-author of this work which popularly will be called *What's Wrong With Marriage?*

26. Quoted from Max Eastman's delightful and penetrating book *The Sense of Humor,* the only work in the English language that makes an attempt to combine the philosophic and the psychoanalytic conceptions of wit and humor.

27. This inclusive theme, the interrelation between sex and human nature, I look upon as the most important post-Freudian approach to the problems of the sexes under the newer scientific and psychoanalytic invitations to freedom on the instinctive and impulsive levels. *The Sexual Revolution* is a fragment of that larger analysis (in preparation).

28. In an article entitled *What Is Marriage?* (Forum, January, 1928) Havelock Ellis writes: "And when we put aside the question of children—for marriage nowadays does not rest merely on the fact of procreation—and consider only the facts of personality, a permanent union is still required for development. In a series of transitory unions no two people can ever really know each other and the possibilities each holds; they only take the first step on a road which beyond all others leads to the heart of life. To the career of Don Juan no goal of achievement is placed. And on the other hand, all development involves difficulty and pain. The ideal of an easy and comfortable existence of marital bliss, the 'happy marriage' of which so much has been heard and so little has been known, even if it were possible (save for those simple folk who live in a kind of spiritual sty), would be a false ideal. It would not even be true to human nature, wherein indeed its chief falsity lies. Difficulty and pain, at least as much as ease and pleasure, are demanded by human instincts."

29. The attitude of Bertrand and Dora Russell is pretty well expressed in his letter to Judge Ben Lindsey concerning *Companionate Marriage* in which Bertrand Russell writes: "With regard to *Companionate Marriage,* I think, of course, that the recognition of it would be an advance on the present system. But I go further than you do: the things which your enemies say about you would be largely true of me. My own view is that the state and the law should take no notice of sexual relations apart from children, and that no marriage ceremony should be valid unless accompanied by a medical certificate of the woman's pregnancy. But when once there are children, I think that divorce should be avoided except for very grave cause. I should not regard physical infidelity as a very grave cause and should teach people that it is to be expected and tolerated, but should not involve the begetting of illegitimate children—not because illegitimacy is bad in itself but because a home with two parents is best for children. I do not feel that the main thing in marriage is the feeling of the parents for each other; the main thing is coöperation in bearing children."

30. In Dr. Phyllis Blanchard's essay entitled *Sex in the Adolescent Girl,* you may read these significant lines: "These adolescent girls sit in on drinking parties where 'strip poker' may be played and where the words and phrases are such as were restricted to prostitutes, so far as women were concerned, not so very long ago. That they can emerge from these situations preserving physical—if not mental—virginity may sound fantastic, but it does happen. Ask the boys! They will tell you of their amazement at being repulsed by some of these girls whose speech and conduct in the group might reasonably lead one to expect even greater freedom in private. 'You never can tell till you've tried 'em' is the way the boys sum it up: they know their Kipling—and their girls. But what of the girl's reactions? How

does she feel when she is taken at her word? Very often her indignation at being mistaken for 'that kind of a girl' would be ludicrous if we could not comprehend the conflicts which underlie her inconsistency. Having permitted the sex impulses of which she is, if anything, over-conscious rather than unconscious, to carry her into a situation which provides the maximum of visual and verbal stimulation and very many tactile stimuli as well, she recoils from the final consummation with all the force of the inhibitions which have been temporarily disregarded. In order to protect herself, or perhaps because she believes it is the proper line to take, she assumes the guise of outraged innocence and insulted maidenhood. The facility with which her emotions force her from the rôle of pseudo-prostitute into that of the traditional good woman could only be equaled by the skilled performance of a great actress, and one of unusual versatility."

31. In a letter, critically appreciating *Why We Misbehave,* and stressing the very problem that has apparently been engaging our interest and attention, quite independently of one another.

32. I have been analyzing out the relation between erotic love and parental love, between sexual love and marital love, between the biologically natural status of male and female on the one hand, and on the other hand, the biologically artificial but sociologically natural categories of mother, father, sister, brother, son, daughter, with a view to determining the experimental area of sanity which our newer sexual logic permits and encourages. There is the very real danger of the emergence of behaviors (crudely violating both the biological and the sociological categories) which we shall have to interpret as pathologic and perversional, winking at incest as the ultimate tempting novel experimentation with sexual impulse. This enormous theme I am elaborating into a separate volume to be entitled *The Sexual Revolution: An Analysis of the Interrelation Between Sex and Human Nature.* Interestingly enough, Robert Briffault is working independently on a similar theme and his book will bear the title of *Sex and the Present Age.*

33. Now that woman has been so considerably freed from fecundity, and can accept as pleasurable the cult of self-indulgence, the pose and psychology of the narcissist, she continues into her maturity her infantile demands upon life and love, never wearying of her child rôle. Expressed a little more unceremoniously, women want to be little children, narcissists and exhibitionists at all ages, indulging the precious baby privilege of lifting up their dresses and showing off their bodily beauty. Exhibitionism, both in the sexual and the egocentric manifestations, may be considered the innermost craving of woman's soul, most especially under the liberating auspices of contemporary civilization. Freud reminds us: "Even the most modest of girls, the one who otherwise avoids the least intimate contact

with a man, once her inhibitions are canceled, as in mental disease, endeavors to entice the male by the exposure and the display of her charms." One need not be a philosopher of sex to realize that the behavior of the modern female is rather accurately described in this citation. Perhaps, it is fairer to quote a distinguished woman, Grete Meisel-Hess, who says in her brilliant book *The Sexual Crisis:* "Dread of the witchery of love is especially characteristic of the male. Man has always been afraid of woman as the temptress, the sorceress, embodying the forces of destruction. He trembles before her for the very reason that she allures. Millions of women have been the prey of adventurers, liars, cheats, and seducers; and yet woman has never dreaded man generically as the tempter, the destroyer. It is her mystical mission, it would seem, not to fear man, but to deliver herself up to him for life or for death. Whatever the consequences, she must and will be sexually mated. But man trembles, hesitates, takes to flight, when faced by his own desires."

34. Margaret Mead, in her *Coming of Age in Samoa* tells us: "In premarital relationships, a convention of love making is strictly adhered to. True, this is a convention of speech, rather than of action. A boy declares that he will die if a girl refuses him her favors, but the Samoans laugh at stories of romantic love, scoff at fidelity to a long absent wife or mistress, believe explicitly that one love will quickly cure another. The fidelity which is followed by pregnancy is taken as proof positive of a real attachment, although having many mistresses is never out of harmony with a declaration of affection for each . . . If, on the other hand, a wife really tires of her husband, or a husband of his wife, divorce is a simple and informal matter, the non-resident simply going home to his or her family, and the relationship is said to have 'passed away.' It is a very brittle monogamy, often trespassed and more often broken entirely. But many adulteries occur —between a young marriage-shy bachelor and a married woman, or a temporary widower and some young girl—which hardly threaten the continuity of established relationships. The claim that a woman has on her family's land renders her as independent as her husband, and so there are no marriages of any duration in which either person is actively unhappy. A tiny flare-up and a woman goes home to her own people; if her husband does not care to conciliate her, each seeks another mate."

35. The young psychiatric social worker who spoke of a man of twenty-eight as being "pure," adding "he has not yet experienced sexual intercourse," represents the universal attitude toward purity. A similar attitude obtains in reference to girls. There is one residual bit of good sense in this otherwise preposterous conception of purity: the knowledge that the sexual relation, especially if it is likely to lead to visible consequences and complicated obligations and by-products, is unique and momentous. From an evolutionary point of view, certainly from a Freudian standpoint, not to mention from the angle of a genetic and behavioristic psychology, the

graphic symbolization of purity or innocence or virtue in terms of one specific behavior is scientifically untenable. In prosaic reality, what the clinician and sexologist and psychoanalyst become aware of, is the existence of a quite surprising number of erotic experimentings, colorfully sexual, that deserve to be bundled into the picturesque category of *nibbling.* This nibbling at sex (a biological and poetical prelude to profounder knowledge and experience) engenders a kind of conventional unconventionality in the permissible behaviors of boys and girls, young men and young women, that sets the limit of decent exploration just perilously close to the threshold of utter sexual intimacy. Now that we know the omnipresence from infancy up of erotic eagerness and sexual experimenting, it is high time that we revised our static concepts of innocence and purity in the direction of a more flexible and realistic portrait of sexual behavior. If we serenely bear in mind, without cynical exaggeration or moralistic resistance, that natural desire never sleeps or rests but seeks ever and anon opportunities for fresh and exhilarating little experimentings with life in its most vital manifestation, if we understand that all roads lead to sexual intercourse, or, at any rate, to those tentatives toward sexual intimacy that may be characterized as nibbling, we shall know how to view human nature at every age as more or less frankly in quest of love. Why do we continue to pretend to be shocked when we discover, as recurrently we must, that Nature insists upon being natural?

36. "It is related that, of old, certain Christian devotees of chastity, desiring to battle with Satan at the closest possible quarters, would sleep in the same chamber or even in the same bed with persons of the other sex. Gibbon, who mentions these moral athletes, adds the comment that 'outraged Nature sometimes asserted her rights.' Few moderns, perhaps, would carry the combination of stupidity with moral heroism to this extravagant point. Yet many persons who have no intention of indulging in sex laxities come very near to the same pitch of folly, lending themselves to situations that cannot fail to excite the sex impulse in any normal man." This interesting excerpt is taken from McDougall's *Character and the Conduct of Life: Practical Psychology for Everyman.*

37. From an essay by the English scientist, Prof. Crew, in *Some More Medical Views on Birth Control* (pp. 105, 106)

38. Doctor William J. Robinson, the well-known sexologist and expert in venereal diseases, of Paris and New York, writes in an essay entitled *Prostitution:* "If in spite of all the humiliations, risks, obstacles, atrocious punishments, ostracisms and fear of hell, prostitution has continued unabated up to the present time, it is fair to assume that it will continue to persist in the future; but it will persist not because it always has; it will persist because it satisfies a definite and important biologic need, and

answers it in a way that no other present arrangement does. But while it answers a definite need and is therefore to be considered as a pro-social agency, it is not an unmixed good. It carries some evils in its train, which must be eliminated. And they can be eliminated by an intelligent handling of the problem, and by a proper attitude towards the prostitute. The profession of prostitution must be declared perfectly legal and legitimate; nay, it must be judged as an occupation of public utility; if the idea were not so shocking to those who have not freed their minds of the cobwebs of traditional dogma, we would say that it should be placed among the honorable occupations."

39. Havelock Ellis, in a recent letter, writes: "I read with much sympathy the remarks in your letter about 'Puritanism and Impuritanism,' and about 'Freedom without let or hindrance.' I entirely agree, and if I am not so troubled as I might be it is because I feel that the 'Younger Degeneration,' as you call them, is merely a passing thing, a temporary phase of reaction. I believe in Freedom *but only because I believe at the same time in Discipline.* This I have tried to make clear in various of my writings. I hope it will find proper expression in *Sex in Civilization*—more than could be given in a corner of my paper. With regard to Freud and repression, although his name is used (as even mine is) by those who abuse repression,—and, of course, he is much concerned with the *mechanisms* of repression—you will hardly find him uttering any opinions about repression *in itself.*"

40. The history of behavior is the narrative of the idealization of necessity: raw reality cloaked in the refined pajamas of pretense.

41. Olive Schreiner, an exquisite writer and penetrating thinker, concludes her beautiful work *Woman and Labor* in these haunting lines: "Always in our dreams we hear the turn of the key that shall close the door of the last brothel; the clink of the last coin that pays for the body and soul of a woman: the falling of the last wall that encloses artificially the activity of woman and divides her from man; always we picture the love of the sexes as once a dull, slow, creeping worm; then a torpid, earthy chrysalis; at last the full-winged insect, glorious in the sunshine of the future."

42. In Dr. Blanchard's study (already alluded to) *Sex in the Adolescent Girl,* there are some penetrating observations worth quoting here: "A striking contrast to the too-innocent girl is the type who finds compensation for a feeling of inferiority by demonstrating her power over men. There are many girls who find adequate satisfaction for the will to power at intellectual levels, through scholastic and vocational achievement. But others, especially those who feel inferior because they have believed themselves unattractive to men, lacking in sex appeal, can only be reassured by sex triumphs. Some

of them take one lover after another, in order to find adequate compensation for the feeling of inferiority; they must prove that their attraction for men is unlimited in order to rid themselves of the fear that it is really slight. There are also girls whose compensatory behavior consists of dominating completely without any final yielding. Their most intense pleasure lies in leading a man on, in making him a victim of passionate desire, and in remaining the object of this desire even while repulsing his ultimate advances.

"No better description of this type of adolescent girl can be given than Jacques Leclerc's story of Rosalie Dwyer—*An American Virgin.* Rosalie leads each lover on, works him up to the highest pitch of expectancy, shares his couch at night, but eludes the seemingly inevitable consequences of her behavior by a clever appeal to his tenderness and protection. In the morning she is a virgin undespoiled, who slips triumphantly out of arms still aching to hold her. As thus described, Rosalie is more than a character in a story; she is a type of modern adolescence. An increasing interest in the kind of sex expressions which we have been taught to consider abnormal or perverted seems to be characteristic of still another type of modern girl. An insatiable curiosity to see and experience all things is the motive of her behavior . . . In fact, the outstanding characteristic of her sex life is avidity for new sensations."

In another section of her informative essay, Dr. Blanchard writes: "As for the adolescents themselves, when once they have broken away from conventional standards and taken to indulgence in promiscuous relationships, whether normal or abnormal in type or, as is more usual, a combination of the two, they have none of our misgivings. So many of the old social controls have disappeared—the fear of pregnancy partially removed by information about birth control, the use of the automobile to bear one away from the observation of critical parents and neighbors, the decline of belief in old-time religion which promised punishment in a future life if not in this. The loss of virginity and decrease of opportunities for marriage as a result has also ceased to figure very largely, for the girl knows that her bridegroom would have no way of discovering whether she were virginal or not. She is ready with the explanation that physical exercise in modern athletics causes a rupture of the hymen, and the layman is in no position to challenge the statement. As for the boys who are her playmates during the pre-marriage period, it is her belief that it would be unethical for them to betray her, and she expects them to live up to this belief. We must simply face the fact that some of our adolescent girls are demanding masculine privileges in the field of sex behavior as well as in drinking and smoking. Judge Lindsey's insistence should indeed have made us aware of this, for he has cited enough cases for our conviction."

43. The utterly human, even innocent motivation that may lurk in prostitute experience is profoundly presented in *Maya,* the French drama that was

not permitted to continue in New York City on the grounds of "immorality." Our humorless and sadistic censors do not seem to be even remotely aware of the fact that life's deepest interest and significance and principle of growth are, in the very nature of things, intertwined with immorality, evil. A significant novel could be written around the theme: Maya, The Madonna of Modernity.

44. In the November, 1927, issue of "The Modern Quarterly," in an article entitled *Is Prostitution Petering Out?*, you may read these intense lines: "Speaking psycho-sexually, the triumph of the whore means nothing more perturbing than the incorporation into the technique of reputable deportment of the spontaneity, natural candor, appreciation of sensuality, love of body exhibitionism, and a certain innocent self-display, which we suffocated moralists of the race have, to the unspeakable detriment of life and love, ungraciously attributed as hall-marks of evil to those happier and more light-hearted women, the charming and tempting females endowed with passion and piquancy. Out of our pathologic fear and distorted shame, we have ignobly branded these gay women, these lure-women, with epithets of ignominy which, in sober truth, revealed our own frustrated state of heart much more than they symbolized the degradation of the creatures whom we were morally bound to despise, lest, despising them not, we might in an all-too-human moment reveal how much we might love them.

45. The current exhibitionism among respectable females has gone as far as the custom of the country will permit. It is still a violation of good form to expose the sex organs—except in the spiritually elevating and higher grade Musical Comedies. By a mechanism of transference known to psychoanalysts as a shift of behavior from "below to above," our exhibitionistic females, incorrigibly infantile emotionally (the better to serve Nature's divine purposes), have carried the painting of the lips and the red adornment of the mouth to a point of advertising attractiveness that is a revealing study in oral eroticism, the visible counterpart of a conventionally concealed sexuality. If nice girls understood the true meaning of their exhibitionism! Nudity were, forsooth, more sane and sweet—and moral. This genitalizing of the lips tells us eloquently what we need to know about woman's *natural* modesty!

Our lascivious lassies in their freudian hearts sing blithely:

Who loves to lie with me,
Under the polymorphous tree,
Come hither, come hither, come hither!

Our libidinous ladies of the co-educational finishing-schools have not in latter years been heard by bard or minstrel to sing:

Sabrina fair,
Listen where thou art sitting
Under the glassie, cool, translucent wave,
In twisted braids of Lillies knitting
The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair;
Listen for dear honour's sake,
Goddess of the silver lake,
Listen, and save!

46. "If you would know the whole evil indictment against marriage, simply remember that it is neither radiant nor free; it cannot be radiant because it is not free. No poet has ever written an ecstatic sonnet in celebration of conscription. May it not be that the poets have with a crushing irony ignored marriage in their beautiful lyrics because marriage has been the cruelest of conscriptions?

"If the temptress, the siren, the shameful female, the scarlet woman, the courtesan, the street walker, the semi-reputable whore, if this interesting crew have ruled the hearts of men so persuasively (albeit so disastrously) for so very long a time, must we not candidly confess that there was something quite impossible for human nature to endure in that fixed, cramped, oppressive pattern of life called marriage?

"If by the prostitute-impulse we understand psychologically the anarchic desire of the heart to experience passion in unconventional and illegitimate ways outside the familiar bonds and bounds of sacred routine, we shall understand with more tolerant minds and compassionate hearts the dark poetry of passion that flowers more luxuriantly in disreputable ecstasy than in respectable wedlock.

"Can marriage be as delightful as love? If it cannot, can it survive? If it survives, will it continue to be marriage in the old-fashioned sense? What is the future of marriage in a world that grows daily more youthful by accepting the blessings of spontaneity and sincerity?"

Excerpted from *Why We Misbehave,* by Samuel D. Schmalhausen.

47. Read one of the most original and brilliant expositions of this baffling theme by Freud, entitled *Totem and Taboo.* The psychoanalytic conception of taboo is the most illuminating that we have at present. Incidentally, I should like to add that Doctor W illiam A. White believes that ambivalence is the profoundest concept in psychoanalytic thinking. No doubt, it explains a vast array of emotional reactions otherwise beyond the range of psychological insight. Most particularly, the troubled love-hate relation between parents and children, and in due time, between men and women in love and marriage. It may well be that the final irremediable cleavage, engendering neuroticism in human nature, is due to the internal inevitable presence of conflicting aversions and preferences, glandular and

psychological in nature, that make it impossible for men and women to escape the distracting persuasions and compulsions of ambivalency; the deep-seated reactions of approach and avoidance.

48. In a letter commenting on *Why We Misbehave,* Aldous Huxley says: "With Dr. Schmalhausen's ideals of freedom I am in perfect agreement—tho' I doubt whether the kind of cold promiscuity current in youthful circles today is much more satisfactory than the restraints it has replaced. It is as much an expression of the consciousness's hatred for instinct and the body as was puritanism—puritanism inside out. A more fundamental change involving an alteration in our evaluation of consciousness (at present, too high) is required." In a second letter to the author, Huxley continues his interesting revaluation of the contemporary situation in these remarks: "My own feeling about the present sexual license is that recreative love is apt to be as killing to passion as the most repressive puritanism; in a sense more so, as passion is the product of sexual impulse and some inward repression. When the repression is removed, the impulse wastes itself emptily. I have developed this idea in an article which will appear within the next few months in *Vanity Fair,* suggesting that the restraint now acceptable is the restraint arising from a mythology of Personality, in which the myth of the Personality-as-a-whole takes the place of the now incredible myth of an absolute god or good. That is to say the interests of part of the personality are to be restrained in those of the whole. But in any case the essential thing is the restraint, without which, it seems to me, there can be no passion or love, only a cold lasciviousness."

49. If, through the innumerable centuries, we have been taught to think of men and women as somehow more than mere males and females, as sexual *plus,* can we now try, without infinite havoc to life, the desperate original experiment of behaving as if the biologic (animal) categories were self-sufficient *sans* sacred overtone, and mystic meta-physical elaboration? How shall we dispose of the sacrosanct, sex *plus* categories of mother, father, son, daughter, sister, brother?

If the *plus* totters and destroys itself in the naturalistic logic of the new freedom, can we carry on life serenely? The unsolved problem presses for solution: Is Taboo Necessary?

A father who knows that his daughter is playing her sex rôle promiscuously can no longer continue to regard her naïvely and purely as daughter: he must perforce visualize her as female. Not only his Freudian Unconscious but his post-Freudian Conscious mind is perturbed by winking (if not wide-eyed) incest! That way dwells insanity.

50. He who does not perceive the psychopathological texture of the most significant literary works of our time must be gravel-blind, or, better yet, emotionally color-blind. If we mention plays like *The Captive, Maya,*

Strange Interlude; the poetry of Jeffers; the narratives of Joyce, Anderson, Cummings, Bodenheim, Lawrence;—if we understand how saturated contemporary thinking and feeling and reading are with psychoanalytic and sexological and surprisingly clinical revelations, we cannot escape the conviction that the subject-matter not long since called abnormal has become quite normal. The triumph, for good and evil, of Impuritanism in literature and life! Pathology and perversion divide the contemporary obscene between them. Perhaps, we can console our infantile minds with the analytic belief that the very crudity and unabashed naturalism of these newer trends in literature and life argue a painful but necessary transcendence of the infantile make-believe of our natures in the ego's unfoldment toward maturity.

The reader will be interested in a group of short stories (soon to be published) by V. F. Calverton—the only social scientist in America who is also a creative critic and artist—entitled *The Strange Lover, The Return, The Undertaker, Thy Will Be Done,* which employ with astonishing ingenuity the psychiatric view of human nature and the psychopathologic technique in short story writing. Calverton's artistic affinities are with Anderson and Chekhov. The surgical analysis of the innermost depths of human nature is by all odds the most unique literary development of an age that can love Gorki and Freud and O'Neill and May Sinclair and D. H. Lawrence and Aldous Huxley!

51. Three authors have recently shed a superabundance of light on these perplexing queries that presumably are appropriate to a primitive environment, but now astonishingly prove themselves to be even more emphatically relevant to our so-called civilized life. I refer to Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead, Katherine Mayo.

52. Quoted from Bertrand Russell's most brilliant book, *Sceptical Essays,* a series of discourses that illustrate how very psychological, logic can be.

53. There are but two commandments in the new sexology: Mate and Sublimate! If it be our Darwinian doom to mate, and our Freudian doom to sublimate, what wonder we are all psychoneurotics?

54. Quoted by Joseph Wood Krutch in an article entitled *The Nihilism of Remy De Gourmont* in The Nation, October 10, 1928.

55. From *Sonnets of a Portrait Painter,* by Arthur Davison Ficke. For those who love sheer exquisiteness in writing, this little volume, containing some unforgettable poems, is one of America's immortal contributions to literature.

IV—SEX AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

NARCISSISM

BY FRITZ WITTELS

According to the Greek myth, Narcissus was a beautiful youth who fell in love with his own reflection mirrored in a pool of water. This image alone could awaken love's longing within him, and he either pined away or took his own life. A white flower which replaced his beautiful form was given his name, Narcissus. So the idea of being in love with oneself is part of the very conception of a Narcissus, the idea of a glass in which we see ourselves and grieve because of a never to be satisfied longing.

These three requirements, a mirror, a beloved Ego and a sense of grief, do not exist for a new-born baby. He knows nothing of a mirror in which to recognize his own Ego, he knows nothing about an Ego at all. He does not know grief because his wishes are gratified, and he is so far from the resignation of a Narcissus that, should he consider his needs unattended, he at once opens his floodgates of expression. However, we must conclude that the infant brings into the world with him the capacity for narcissism. The suckling, it is true, soon employs objects for its satisfaction, such as its mother's breast, its own warm coverings, its thumb, a rubber sucker, any object which it can put into its mouth. As yet it knows no difference between the real and the adapted use of these objects. It is alone in the universe with its small body. Its own muscles give it satisfaction. Its almost constant muscular activity would lead to its own destruction, were it not carefully protected from injury and falling. When fed it falls happily asleep. As yet the world outside does not interest the infant, though it gradually begins to respond, in its happy solitude, to the tone of a rattle, the smile of its mother, the gleam of a light. We may say of the little child what has been said of our sense organs: its own eye is sunlike, its ear is harmonious, its lips are glad to be touched. It has not yet projected its world to the outside.

In consideration of these qualities the infant has been called

autoerotic. It could not be called narcissistic, because to be in love with one's own ego anticipates the experience of such a thing as an Ego. But the infant and little child do not yet know themselves as a distinct Ego, different from and infinitely more important than anything else. Nevertheless, one may call the attitude of the infant described above as primeval or original narcissism.

Libido is the energy which seeks for pleasure, and which generates the power to get pleasure. This energy, like all the instincts, originates from within and is supported by physical matter in a way not easily described. As we know, our "instincts" depend upon nerve centers, located at the base of the brain, and in addition, upon secretions produced by glands in the body. The psychologist tries to understand the processes of instincts from another point of view. He compares the libido with a tenacious liquid, a kind of psychical fluid, which leaves the place from which it originates, and flows round the objects which then become love objects for that particular individual.

Let us mention in this connection the monocellular beings, which send out parts of their bodies (the *pseudopodia*) in order to seize food and to slowly flow round it. Such pseudopodia are sent out and drawn in again. In the same way, comparatively speaking, the pleasure urge of the infant floats around the breast of its mother, and thence round the whole personality of the mother. Later on, the infant can distinguish the few persons whose love it feels as a *you* from the greater number felt as *he*, *she* and *it*, in the direction of which no libidinous *pseudopodia* are sent out. The infant has either no relation at all to the strange world, or it has the relation of fear and defense.

We have reason to believe that the little child rcognizes the *you* first, and then later, its own Ego in the mirror of the *you*. It is possible to separate a pre-Ego period in its life from a second period when its own Ego is discovered and stated in an intoxicating experience. The child, rather suddenly as a rule, recognizes itself to be just such an Ego as those around it. This recognition overwhelms it. It looks long and frequently in the mirror, whence it sees, viewed objectively, its new knowledge. In fact, we could not recognize ourselves without a glass. During our whole lives we know ourselves less well than we do others, because we have only now and then the opportunity to throw a glance in the mirror, whereas we can always look at others. The fact that we need a mirror to see our own countenances forms almost a ludicrous contrast to the absolute certainty

with which we think we know ourselves. One may see a child, intoxicated by the recent recognition of its own Ego, standing before the mirror, calling out its name to the reflection, and kissing it again and again. It is in love with its own little Ego. It seems to be happy over its discovery. At this time the investigator awakens in the child, postulating the questions: Where did I come from? How did I reach you? What world did I come out of? As we cannot answer these questions adequately and as the child soon begins to feel that there is a dark secret behind them, it speculates widely upon its own origin—while seldom remaining perfectly free from fear. In this phase the child prefers stories of heroes with whom it can identify itself, such as the small rising triumphant over the great, cunning defeating brute strength, and the exposure of sanctimonious villains. All these give pleasure to the nursery. A little later, children become interested in great treasure (Aladdin and his wonder-lamp), the defeat of threatening dangers (Robinson Crusoe), and other stories of adventure. Throughout our entire lives we enjoy tales according to the degree in which they can be brought into relation to ourselves. The child shows this quite frankly, and you may easily recognize in lively children that they are the heroes of the tales they retell.

After the intoxicating stage of the Ego's birth, we see a renewed flowing out of the libido directed towards objects. This second sending forth of libido remains under the control of the Ego. It culminates in what men call love, but it includes all the less eager relations of men with living and non-living objects. Our language possesses but one word to express all these different forms of love. With a rather peculiar economy language sums up in one word all the different forms of love belonging together. This fact is stated for all times and with the greatest solemnity in the famous letter of the apostle Paul. A portion of love must always be kept for one's own Ego. He who failed to love his own Ego would lose it. There is a certain economical administration of the libido in work. Men know how to separate that part of the libido due to objects from that other part due to the Ego.

In case satisfaction is lacking or refused on the part of the outer world, then the libidinous energy not utilized outside comes floating back again to the inside, and to the primary narcissism born with the Ego a secondary narcissism is added, as a consequence of experiences more or less unhappy. The primary narcissism forms a normal part of sound development. The secondary narcissism is

a dangerous thing, and in its higher degrees may even become a disease.

Let us summarize the phases described thus far. We find five: the original narcissism, the autoerotic investment of objects, the primary narcissism, the investment of objects by the Ego, and the secondary narcissism. These conceptions may seem rather theoretical, but they have been gained by observation and represent an attempt to put an axis through the mass of phenomena. You comprehend many phenomena and relationships when you have once accepted the concept of floating or unattached libido.

One best realizes the love which one feels for a fellow creature when the danger of losing him arises. In the same way, one learns best and most clearly the narcissism, *i.e.*, the love which one bears for one's own Ego when this Ego is endangered. It need not be an illness, or other endangerment of life—though, in fact, the amount of narcissism invested in one's Ego appears to be considerably increased in the event of illness. The Ego can be endangered by joyful events, by an unbearable overabundance of happiness. In an Arabian tale the cobbler, Hassan, is changed for a time into the *Khalif*. In the midst of his new splendor an idea suddenly emerges, he may have lost his Ego, either by death, or by change from his cobbler's estate through magic. He is frightened by this idea and pinches himself on the arm. The sharp pain which he feels convinces him that he has remained Hassan the cobbler, in spite of all the inexplicable events. Now he is happy again. He could not enjoy all the glory, the power, the beautiful women, if he had to relinquish his own Ego in exchange for it. Though only a slave, he does not wish to pay for the position of ruler of all the faithful by parting with his Ego:

> Volk und Knecht und Ueberwinder
> Sie gestehn zu jeder Zeit:
> Hoechstes Glueck der Erdenkinder
> Sei nur die Persoenlichkeit![1]

One must not overrate the idea of personality by regarding it as something paramountly great. During the last years of the War, when food became scarce and even well-to-do people suffered from lack of calories in their food, Europeans may recall that many an

[1] Goethe: *Westoestlicher Divan.* Literally translated: "Be it a whole nation, a slave or a conqueror, they all feel in any time, that highest happiness of children of the earth is but one's own personality."

investigator whose personality had been devoted hitherto to the deciphering of cuneiform characters or to theoretical mathematics was astonished to realize that the longing for a decent piece of bread and butter ruled him so completely that not much more remained of his famous personality than this very longing. This means that hunger brings the narcissism to the fore, and even more so with men not used to it than with those who have known what hunger is and have learned to suppress their narcissism.

Hunger is a feeling of tension, which leads eventually to illness and to death, if not relieved. Illness and the fear of becoming ill cause an increase of narcissism. All the available libido is attached by the ill organ. In the gravely ill man we see a "decay of the world," that is, interest is totally withdrawn from surrounding objects. We recognize this decay of the world as the chief symptom of psychical change in some nervous diseases which are unconnected with any special physical pain. What one calls the conscience of health means that the ill man should concentrate his whole psychical energy upon the subduing of his illness, so that little or none of the libido remains invested in objects. We admire a suffering person who still evinces love for the outer world in spite of his pain, his weakness and his fear. We consider it natural, we pardon it, if the ill man is more egoistic than another man. We even give him a part of our own libido in the form of compassion. We consider physicians tactless who talk with their patients, during or after the medical consultation, of their own business affairs. Similarly tactless is the plaint of the nurse, who welcomes the physician in the morning with the words, "I had a terrible night,—couldn't sleep a wink. The patient groaned and lamented without ceasing!" To be sure, the nurse is human and needs to rest. But he should know that a detailed description of his protégé's condition must precede his own complaints. Neurotics who show by their queer attitudes their nearness to psychotics behave regularly like the above-mentioned nurse. A young man, suffering from delusions of reference, was always indignant when his father, who suffered from a heart condition, had a seizure. On these occasions he rang me up and complained about the injustice of it as one complains about the injustice of a tax board. "What shall I do? My father has another attack." One would be inclined to think that the young man expected some advice from me as to how to help his father. Nothing of the kind. He could not be induced to visit his ill father, although the latter asked eagerly for him, and was longing for his son. The

struggle within the young man was this, on the one hand he wished to be let alone, and on the other he could not quite escape the mandate of society that one should care for one's ill parents. He was not far from believing that his father had fallen ill with the express aim of making things disagreeable for him, his son. Narcissism follows the principle of the wealthy man who bursts into tears at the sight of a poor beggar, and calls to his servant, "Throw this man out, he is breaking my heart."

Another patient, more advanced in insanity, had to meet the insult of a healthy sister falling ill and requiring an operation for appendicitis. The girl complained, "Why should I have to bear this? I am sure Daisy will die and it will be terrible for me if Daisy dies." In case one should again be inclined to see in this a touching affection between sisters one should be informed that this hard-hearted psychotic said repeatedly to her sister, pending the operation, "You will certainly die. They always say this operation is not dangerous. But it is very dangerous. Annie, my friend, died of appendicitis. It is terrible. . . ." And with this she began to weep, ran to her doctor, and filled a whole hour with wailings about her misfortune. With this example you see, as through a magnifying glass, what takes place in all of us, that is to say the love of ourselves, which is called narcissism by psychoanalysis.

Narcissism is not quite the same as egoism. For the egoist the outer world means much since he can use it for his own benefit, to provide pleasure. The egoist needs the outer world, including the objects in it for his own advantage. The narcissist is not ready to use the objects of the outer world. He is living alone and regards the outer world as an annoyance. The more narcissistic a man is the more completely has the outer world disappeared for him. The disappearance can increase to an extent—and this seems to be a contradiction to the very idea of narcissism—which makes the consciousness of the own Ego vanish. The girl of whom I have just spoken, who protested so violently against the illness of her sister, complained of a bewildered self; that is a depersonalization, an alienation, or estrangement of her own Ego. She had lost herself, was by no means her former self, felt like a strange person and could not find the way back to herself. The narcissism here on its way back from the outside to the inside has overstepped the threshold of primary narcissism and this girl feels like a little child that has not yet recognized its own Ego, which means she has returned to the stage of primeval narcissism. Such a situation must

lead to total dissolution of personality, if we do not succeed in stopping the morbid backward flow and in redirecting it outward.

He who returns to the state of primeval narcissism is no longer fit to be a member of human society. The lunatic asylums are filled with creatures of that kind. There one sees girls, lying motionless on their pillows, with eyes closed and smiles frequently passing over their countenances. One would like to say that they are asleep. But the situation differs from sleep by the chief fact that these girls cannot be awakened. Their breathing is slackened, they refuse food, object to chewing and must be fed by a throat tube which is entered through the nose. These creatures have regressed far beyond the stage of babyhood. One could say that they have gone back to the state of the unborn child as far as the mother's womb—had they also ceased to breathe, whereby they maintain the final connection with the air covering of this planet.

Megalomania, or mania of magnitude, is a particular product of narcissism. Overestimation belongs so generally to every Ego, that no one can escape this subjective attitude toward one's Ego. Ideas of littleness can regularly be exposed as a compensation for a repressed overestimation of oneself based upon wounded narcissism. Men who flee into solitude, who shrink from joining others because of fear of eventual defeat, suffer from a too easily injured narcissism. When Timon of Athens was subjected to so grave a disappointment by his friends that he had to withdraw his love from them, the whole sum of this love was flung back upon Timon himself, and changed him into a man-hating narcissist. There are philosophers who see an error in the very statement of the existence of an Ego and in the certainty with which we acknowledge our Ego. The portion of libido which we invest in the conception of the Ego, that is the narcissism, seduces us, they say, into an admission which fades away in the light of the naturalistic philosophy of a Mach and a Nietzsche.

Paranoia is a form of insanity which the community cannot tolerate in its higher degrees, and has to isolate. Lighter cases change very little through years and decades, and we see them among us as querulous, easily-offended people, incapable of permanent real work, afflicted with ideas of grandeur and delusions of reference. These lighter forms of paranoia often succeed in putting to one side the pathological part of the personality so that a social existence can just be maintained. When I was a student we had a colleague who told his intimates that he had the power of a terrible

glance, with which he could annihilate all men if he were so inclined. We challenged him to show us something of this reputed look, whereupon he placed his *pince-nez* horizontally on his nose and assumed a piercing glance. We laughed, and the matter was finished for us. The colleague graduated, carries on a practice somewhere, and I happen to see him from time to time in a public house. As a rule, he then takes aim at some other customer of the house and fixes him with a wild glance. Obviously he still believes in the omnipotence of his look, but he separates this part of overestimation from the rest of his personality, which has remained more or less subject to reason.

One may study the concealed narcissism of those men in small matters, as psychoanalysis generally learns more from trifles and unconscious errors than from the conscious behavior of a man. One of my patients, when entering my office for the first time, proceeded directly to the chair behind my desk, where I am usually seated. On this account I had to take a chair usually occupied by my patients. By this I could see that this man did not easily suffer the authoritative relationship of a doctor to his patient. He came to me for help but did not permit me any authority. One may argue that the first time he had erred through confusion. But on the subsequent visit and for several weeks he took his seat at my desk. In order not to injure his narcissism I let him continue, until his treatment was so far advanced that I could explain to him what I was doing and why. But even then he took my explanation amiss. "Why did you not tell me this at once?" he asked. I answered that I had waited until I considered him fit to bear the enlightenment. He was annoyed. He said that he did not care to have his doctor give him explanations in careful doses, that he was not a little child, and he objected to being treated as such. One may realize from this example how difficult it is in psychoanalysis to handle the more advanced cases of narcissism. The aim of the treatment is to free the narcissism which is too closely attached to the personality, and to put it at the patient's free disposal. But if one injures this highly explosive material the whole treatment may blow up.

Once when I was living in a provincial town I was asked for an expert opinion on the case of an unfortunate youth. He was described to me as a model of modesty, who sometimes waited for hours in the hall without daring to ring the bell of the physician. We sat down and I listened to what he had to say. For a time he talked like a normal man. Then he suddenly looked at his watch

and said, "Doctor, it is one o'clock, you have to go to lunch." This considerate remark was accompanied by a scornful glance, so that I answered, "You do not need to concern yourself about my private affairs." Then he remarked, "Do you think that it helps me to have you sitting here with crossed legs in your comfortable chair? I know these psychoanalysts, they are all alike. And I am through with them!" Many patients harbor similar ideas, but few lose their self-control to such an extent as to throw their objection to an authoritative relationship directly into the face of the physician.

The cases described here show a moderate degree of megalomania. Frequently megalomania remains unchanged at this stage. In other cases it increases and finally extinguishes the former personality. Especially after injuries to the narcissism, which produce a lasting depression, one may observe an ending in megalomania. A radiologist in Vienna, who was not inefficient in his science grieved for lack of professional acknowledgment, and to this were added some difficulties in his love life. Rather suddenly his depression changed to megalomania, he imagined that he was a governing prince and, later on, an emperor. He received his callers ceremoniously in fitting costume and addressed them as court counselors and professors. When his friends accosted him too familiarly he protested with gentle dignity, "One must not be too intimate with majesty!" His bad humor had gone forever, he felt well, and his intelligence at first seemed altered only to the extent of the mania. He continued studying his scientific literature and talked reasonably on all matters in which his megalomania was not concerned. But he could not possibly remain at this stage. He became more and more reticent, stopped studying and reading and his intelligent expression gradually gave way to a foolish one. He reduced his eating until he became almost a skeleton.

One could follow in this case the process known as regression and observe how the investment of interest in the outside world was more and more drawn inward, until finally nothing remained but an automaton, whom one could scarcely call megalomaniac any more. In the beginning, the narcissism, though pathological, was clothed in an idea. Later the megalomania faded away. For a year he responded to all remarks with this harangue, accompanied by a dignified nod of his head, "I thank you." "Would you like me to go?" "I thank you." "Would you like me to bring you some books?" "Do you want something to eat?" "I thank you." Finally he stopped speaking at all. He had, speaking historically

and somewhat poetically, returned into the mother's womb from which he had come.

Another psychotic whose destiny brought him back some years later to social life was induced by terrible experiences as a war prisoner in Siberia to satisfy his narcissism in a peculiar way. He projected mentally a division of cossacks, whose commander he was and by whom he could operate arbitrarily, as though an invincible power. One regiment was delegated to conquer the girls he liked, who might exist in imagination as well as in reality. Another regiment dealt with matters of friendship; a third stormed strongholds and acquired wealth. Upon his return by way of Vladivostok he added a navy—as it was so easy for him—to his division of cossacks. In Europe he sent the marines on furlough, whereas he himself roamed over the countries, fighting, conquering, seldom defeated. And yet he succeeded in concealing the existence of the division from all strangers. It is true, he wore an old khaki uniform in spite of ten years of peace, but no one would have guessed its hidden meaning. He was always more or less capable of work. If asked directly, "Does this division of cossacks really exist, or is it but an imagination of yours," he parried the question as primitive tribes do when asked whether the totem-animal is but an imagination or a real animal. This man had split his personality in parts, he saw those parts as regiments, and succeeded in this way in projecting his narcissism into an imaginative world. Sometimes when he felt better—had regained a part of the outer world—he sent his division to a castle in southern Spain for a "reëstablishment." Finally, when he became definitely better, he forgot the whole delusion and did not like to be reminded of it.

Though we separate psychotics from other persons by a strict line, we must not forget that we all spend nearly half of our existence on earth in a state of rather complete narcissism, namely, during our sleep, when we draw the covers about us and remain alone as in the mother's womb. At these times we either sleep dreamlessly, so that no psychical news reaches the light of the next day or we recall a dream structure with characteristics which would startle us, if they occurred during the waking state. The dreams nearly always appear irrational—at least in part. As we see figures which, we must admit later, did not really appear, we call these apparitions hallucinations. Imagination and reality are the same in dreams, and for a long time dreams were thought to be senseless. When Freud recognized that every dream was sufficiently well-

determined, the next step was to regard the utterances of psychotics as meaningful also. Possible meanings have been studied within the last decades, and the instinctive root of paranoia, schizophrenia, melancholia, and its contrasting mania and, lastly, hypochondria, has been discovered to be a dislocation in the economy of affects. One can describe this as a floating back of energy toward the Ego and, on the other hand, an attempt to regain the lost outside world; that is, a struggle between the narcissism and the libidinous investments of the objects.

The *hypochondriac* has put his libido in a narcissistic investment of an organ alleged to be ill. From the psychological standpoint it makes no difference whether such an organ is really altered, or whether the hypochondriac but imagines it so. He strokes the suffering organ, expends his interest upon it, thereby diminishing his interest in the outer world to that degree. The perfect hypochondriac has no other interest left except his disease. In case medical science with all of its resources can find nothing wrong with the organ, the triumph of narcissism over reality is complete. Since we have enlarged our conception of sex life, we may say that the nursing of the ailing organ represents the sex life of such a patient. He has no other sex life left, or at most, mere remnants of it. The libidinous energy is consumed inwardly. By methods of psychoanalysis we can learn the origin of the floating backwards of the libido. The path from the normal investment of an object of the opposite sex to narcissism leads through a homosexual phase, which is never missed, though nearly always pushed into the unconscious. Obversely, homosexuality always contains a distinct portion of narcissism. The homosexual loves the partner of his own sex because the latter is more like himself than the partner of the opposite sex. Hence we can see that narcissism in itself is akin to homosexuality. One loves oneself and thereby loves a representative of one's own sex. The hypochondriac takes a part for the whole in selecting a certain organ of his body to represent himself. Very often the nose is chosen, not quite so frequently the tongue is selected as an object of libido-investment. Both are single (unpaired) and outstanding organs. In psychoanalysis we are not surprised to find again and again a shift from below to above.

Humor is a powerful weapon against the narcissistic philosophy. For the humorist there is nothing awful, nothing of great value, nothing sublime. He laughs at everything, and his comforting and educating effect consists in his power to convince us that all the

world stands for nothing. The humorist destroys the world by annuling its value. He succeeds in doing so by laughing at it. This might be considered as pessimistic, but it consoles us in all our difficulties of existence. East Indian philosophy does so in its somber formulas: "Pass the world by, it is nothing!" The humorist is more efficient than this dark philosophy, which still contains something of a regret. "The week is starting all right," said the gypsy, who was led to the gallows on Monday. Using this jest as an illustration, Freud explains the effective comforting power of humor. One must have completely put aside the values of this world, in order to laugh at its frightful insinuations. His own execution means no more to the gypsy than the breaking of an *E string* on his fiddle on Monday.

Narcissism splits off from the entire, integrated personality a worthless part which belongs to the outer world that may do with it what it likes. The remaining precious part cannot be destroyed. Narcissism, that is, the love energy with which we charge this part of the Ego, makes this very same part of our Ego immortal and invulnerable. The most complete self-critic, he who regards himself as the vilest individual, even he has remaining a part of his Ego which he does not scorn along with the rest, and that is the part which does the scorning. This portion of the Ego is the narrow but solid platform of narcissism. An illustration of this is the saying of the Viennese satirist, Nestroy, "I have the worst possible opinion of all men, including myself, and seldom am I wrong." The part of Nestroy which seldom was wrong, which nourished a bad opinion even of himself, is obviously excepted from the criticism. Still more clearly you may see this piece of invulnerable narcissism in the humble Christian, who stands always before his God, full of self-accusations and reproaches. He asks consciously for an elevated position in Heaven, as a reward for his humiliation on earth.

These thoughts and insights originate with Nietzsche, but the idea of an invulnerable part of personality becomes clear only by the postulate of narcissism. The humorist triumphs over the world by annihilating it. Every narcissist withdraws his libido from the objects of the outer world. Whereas the psychotic loses the connection with well men by withdrawing his interest from the outer world, the humorist—like a real conqueror—forces his fellow men to laugh, and by this to acknowledge his way of viewing the world. When we speak of a diabolic humor, we recognize by this very adjective the destructive component of humor. Thus, the saying,

"the ridiculous kills," has reference to the destructive force of laughter.

The conqueror, whom we call a criminal as long as we feel ourselves capable of hindering him, changes the world according to his will. A hero of Wedekind's says, "The world and I, we do not fit together. So the world must change." Here we see a narcissist at work. He is so full of love of himself that he does not hesitate to challenge the whole world to change if it does not agree with him. He feels more respect and more love for himself, tiny as he is, than for the great universe by which he is surrounded. Here we perceive the egocentric standpoint, which leads, on the one hand, to defeat by insanity, and on the other, to the hero, who has succeeded repeatedly in changing the world, especially in the spiritual realm. It was a single individual who moved the earth ball from its assumed position in the middle of the universe to the modest place of a small planet in a little sun system. Another scientist expelled man from his arrogated place to a provisional end of the line of life development. Still another man, wrapped in hairy vestment, has triumphed over nations bearing dreadful weapons and marching over the earth's crust, the very names of which are now forgotten. Men like Voltaire were victorious over the evils of the church which aimed at chaining the world in the name of the man in hairy vestment.

So we see narcissism triumphant, the solitary man victorious over the outside world, and we would like to draw a sharp line between such summits of achievement and the errors of the human mind. But it is not possible to make a sharp distinction. Psychoanalysis describes the instinctive part of such a performance and calls it narcissism. Here and there psychonanalysis has something to add to the statement of narcissism, but psychoanalysis can not teach anything of the real nature of the performance, and is far from predicting the constellations which could lead to the heroic result. In his history of Charles XII of Sweden, Voltaire considers the question of success. This commander of armies, famous for his obstinacy, intended to conquer Russia, then Turkey and Asia and the whole world. He was disastrously wrecked, and died in Turkey while still young. The world calls him a fool. Voltaire says that Charles intended nothing more than Alexander the Great did. Whereas Alexander gained the praise of all because he succeeded, Charles is regarded as a fool because he failed. Shortly after Voltaire's death the world was permitted to see another world conqueror at work. The ideas of Napoleon were similar to those of

Alexander and Charles of Sweden. He too is praised as a hero, and psychoanalysis does not contest it. But psychoanalysis knows that he who would conquer the world must possess a good deal of narcissism. A humorist would never think of conquering the world. The very idea would seem ludicrous to him. He knows that such an undertaking is not in the least worth while. I like to quote the half-humorous, half-philosophic remark of a country official, who once said to me, "I do not understand why men always want to rule each other. To me nothing would be more boring than to rule somebody." The world can be destroyed only by big guns. A saying like the above annuls the world in a less bloody and more complete way than does powder and lead. The conqueror and the humorist are two representatives of narcissism, standing at opposite poles of this conception.

In Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*, the clever archbishop listens to the maid while she talks enthusiastically of her religious mission. The bishop says, "You are in love with religion, Joan!" The girl asks, "Is there any harm in it?" He replies, "There is no harm, but there is danger." Later, when the girl goes upon the field and talks with similar enthusiasm to the Bastard, Dunois, of her determination to lead the French against the enemy, the general says, "You are in love with war, Joan!" The girl, startled, replies, "Why, the bishop said the same to me about religion!" Psychoanalysis understands that this girl is in love with herself and expresses it by a career unusual to woman. That she finds an entrance into world history makes her great. We shall not understand the psychic mechanism by attributing it all to narcissism. In the case of Joan, there is a considerable amount of rejection of sex in the unconscious, she being in flight from her own homosexuality, the accompaniment of her masculinity.

The more a man is in love with himself, the more he is distressed if some one hurts his high opinion of himself. He who thinks of his work becomes matter-of-fact. I once witnessed in a coffee house a scene between a customer and a peddler. The customer cried, "You impertinent and shameless wretch! How dare you offer me goods? You once deceived me in the meanest way. Get away, or you will get a box on the ear," and so forth. The old peddler left the table and without the slightest change from his usual voice he offered his wares at another table. Asked what the matter had been, he only said, "The gentleman is upset." This peddler is fortified against a narcissistic injury. His purpose is to sell trifles, and this he has

continued to do these forty or fifty years. Nothing else, including even what we call honor, is charged with libido for him. For the extreme contrast to this peddler we may turn to Cyrano de Bergerac, who replies to the slightest insult to his nose with bloody duels.

A lack of objectiveness, as a consequence of too high a degree of narcissism, is seen in stage fright. An actor wishes to be Hamlet, an actress, Ophelia. But they cannot rid themselves of their own Egos, which are called John Smith or Angelica Miller. They see several hundred pairs of eyes upon them, feel their narcissism endangered, and are afraid. On the other hand, it was self-amour which induced them to choose a profession in which they must exhibit themselves and perhaps force their contemporaries to admire their personalities. To this position of an exhibiting hero or heroine belongs the heroic fear, which is called stage fright behind the footlights. The old peddler, and stage fright: here we have two fully disparate conceptions. The peddler is not a narcissist, whereas stage fright belongs to a good actor, like jealousy in relation to love. It is inseparable from the vocation of acting. A good actor must be in love with himself to a certain degree. Hence it happens that in just this group we find so much overestimation of self, which sometimes borders on megalomania. An actor who does not unconsciously and secretly regard himself as a great genius is rare. Overestimation belongs to love, and he who, professionally, must be in love with himself must overestimate himself. One must greatly respect an actor, who succeeds in not exhibiting this overestimation of himself to a nauseating degree. It is impossible to play the part of kings, heroes, beauties, and to represent all the passions without becoming infected with the virus of their many personalities. As one permits the actor a free life in the sexual field, so one should grant concessions to these indispensable members of our society in the general human field also; *i.e.*, the concession of a larger narcissism.

Every art is founded upon an augmentation of narcissism. Although in no other arts does self-amour reach such a high degree as in actors, dancers and singers, it belongs to art everywhere, because art produces its achievements by the same mechanism as men engender their real children. The artist fertilizes himself, like a double-sexed plant, and brings a part of himself to life outside. The production is then independent of him and can survive him as the child does the parents. The frequency with which painters

execute self-portraits is related to this mechanism. Tandler, who divides men into hypertonics and hypotonics, according to the weight and impetuosity of their achievement, shows that hypertonic painters like Michaelangelo have always represented powerful men, whereas hypotonics like Botticelli again and again painted delicate, ethereal creatures. So we mean to say that artists always appear in their work and this concerns not only painters and sculptors, but also architects, and lastly, the whole style of an epoch. The epoch appears artistically just as the men and women who form it see and admire themselves. Self-amour is always present as long as there are human beings, who differ from animals by a distinct consciousness of the Ego. The forms in which self-amour appears vary with the times. At present we live in an age of sport, which has diverted the attention of men to their own bodies. He who wishes to accomplish something in a sport must considerably limit his love for outside objects. The sportsman in training has little interest left for the opposite sex. Physically this means that he needs his strength for the training. Psychically it means that he has to concentrate his libido upon his own body. All gymnastic exercises aim at nakedness. A homosexual component is not to be overlooked, and by this path we come to narcissism. Unions of students, which nowadays tend more and more away from drinking to exercising and sports, have at all times been rather impervious to female charms. In any case, a student preferred unions with meetings ending in alcohol and sports to festivities with the opposite sex, and was censured if his interest in a woman was greater than his passion for the drinking bout. Here we arrive at the indistinct division between narcissism and homosexuality.

It would be fascinating to trace the development of human narcissism in all the intertangling connections of civilization. We allow the woman a larger amount of narcissism than we do the man. There is a beautiful type of woman to whom, some twenty years ago, I gave the name of *child woman.*[2] This type is based entirely upon narcissism. She is alone in the world with her mirror. Man's development to beauty of body is in itself a gift of narcissism. Similarly, the rather slow development of society to social beauty has a narcissistic origin. The whole problem of the rights of the individual versus the demands of society and social institutions is directly connected with the amount of libido invested by the indi-

[2] This conception anticipated Freud's brilliant analysis of the narcissistic type. Vide: Wittels' book, *Die Sexuell Not,* 1908. [The Editors]

vidual in himself. But this essay may not become a book, so we will bring it to an end with the following consideration.

Nowadays every one talks of feelings of inferiority, indeed, there is a psychological school which teaches that these feelings are the very cause of nervousness. As a matter of fact, you cannot go wrong in telling every nervous person that he suffers from feelings of inferiority. In all probability there is no individual who does not carry somewhere, more or less secretly, the unpleasant feeling of inferiority. Nervous people are, as a rule, more narcissistic than others, and therefore this feeling worries them more. The feeling of inferiority has nothing in common with actual inferiority. Many well-appearing persons suffer from a sense of ill-looks; successful persons because they are not more successful. On the other hand, decidedly ugly persons often do not suffer from a sense of their own ugliness and unsuccessful persons frequently accept their fate without question. A feeling of inferiority connotes a hurt narcissism, and whatever a person may assign as the cause of his feeling is but the "rationalization" of the wounded libido. By methods of psychoanalysis the real cause may be disclosed behind the rationalization. We can trace it back until we touch experiences of early childhood. In women these experiences mean their very womanliness. All girl children pass through a period of wishing to be boys. This is probably related to our man-made institutions, which girls soon recognize as being partial to men. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why hysteria and other forms of nervousness seem to be more frequent in the case of women than of men. In men the feeling of inferiority is based upon a primeval fear of childhood, and psychoanalysis can show that the girl's lack of the phallic organ and the boy's imagined danger of such loss are identical with the feeling of inferiority. Behind the feeling of inferiority appears the so-called castration complex.

Metaphysically speaking, one can understand how narcissism, enveloping the whole Ego, shows a predilection for the genitals. There is the organ which makes man immortal. There the individual man touches the immortal species *man*. Upon the same philosophical foundation rests the elemental character of sexuality, which so many hesitate to admit. They are deceived by the tremendous noise and traffic of human activities. They do not see that Eros, the love instinct, is throbbing in all activity, and shows itself in manifold forms, thereby making difficult the recognition of its elemental form.

THE THEORY OF THE LIBIDO

BY SMITH ELY JELLIFFE

If one could define life, one could also define sex, for without sex there could be no life; *i.e.*, life in the form in which it is of chief significance to human beings. It is true that there do exist certain simple and elementary forms of living organisms that can continue to reproduce without any biological process understood as a sex mechanism. Certain bacteria are examples, and even as high up in the animal scale as insects, non-sexual forms of reproduction are known. It is further also well-known that new living replicas of older forms are constantly being produced by processes known as *fission* or *budding*. This is a very frequent form of reproduction taking place in the roots or stems of many plants. Potatoes offer an example.

But the significant fact about life has been and is, that in order that something new, rather than a repetition of something old, should be made, a new process of mechanism came into existence whereby a mixture of substances from two organisms is necessary in order to create a new and different form. In the course of time these organisms diverged in form and function more and more and have been called female and male respectively. These are what are known as the sexes, and any activity that goes on between them which tends towards the production of new forms or new functions may be said to be the result of a sexual function.

This, stated very crudely, may be said to be the Freudian formulation of sex function. The Freudian conception of sex deals with the problems of *creative activity* from a purely dynamic, or energy viewpoint. Such creative activity may express itself at biological, psychological, or sociological levels.

This preliminary statement, however, is entirely too elementary and smacks a bit of an effort to unduly simplify processes which are extremely intricate and subtle. The secrets of nature cannot be

thus dished out in neat little spoonfuls. Hence the necessity for an amplification.

All science rests upon assumptions. Without the method of starting with an *As If*, no science can be built up. One assumption that the modern science of biology finds valuable is taken over from the science of physics—*i.e.*, *energy*. According to this general formulation, or idea-pattern, every living organism, lives and carries out its pattern because it is able to capture, transform, and deliver energy. This is the crude way of saying that all living forms, plants and animals, from the lowest green plant (*Protococcus viridens*) that may be seen on the tree trunks, to the highest human being (*Homo sapiens*) are able to endure and reproduce in relation to their capacity to capture, transform, and deliver the energy that is available in the universe.

Biology, the science of life, teaches the details of this pattern. It is inconceivably intricate, and this article will only deal with one aspect of life's patterns. The energy comes from the "cosmos," *i.e.*, the surrounding universe. The *forms* of this energy, studied chiefly by physics and chemistry, are numerous. Those about which the man in the street discusses are heat, light, gravity, inertia, electricity, sound, etc.

It is not necessary here to go into the details. A simple illustration may help the reader to envisage the scheme of man as a capturer, transformer, and deliverer of energy. One does not have to assume that this is the final form. One uses it pragmatically, *i.e.*, for what it is worth. How by means of such a pattern can human conduct be better comprehended and hence give better results just as any other machine may be understood in order to give better results.

In the course of evolution in practically all animals, that part of its form, or structure which has developed in order to bring all of its other parts into an organized unit and thus to make it work "as a whole" has been called the *Nervous System.*

Nearly all of the energy that comes from the "cosmos" is caught by specially modified cells of the body. These are termed *receptors.* They are more popularly known as the organs of sensation; the retina of the eye for light, the organ of Corti in the ear for sound, the semi-circular canals in the ear also, for gravity stimuli and localization in space; special cells for receiving touch, taste, smell are known. Throughout the body the minute structure of some fifteen to twenty special organs for receiving specific energy

stimuli are known. Thus there is built up that "wisdom of the body" about which the ancients used to speak. All of the innumerable energy stimuli beating upon the body are brought together by complicated nervous processes and coördinated. Students of the anatomy of the nervous system can spend a lifetime trying to unravel the details of even a small part of this transforming and correlating machinery. The complicated machinery of an ocean liner is as A. B. C. to that of the human nervous system. Or should one wish to compare the human nervous system to an automatic telephone system one could state that the human brain alone contains sixty million central stations, each of which has many billion subscribers.

Now what has all this to do with Freud's theory of sex? It is this: Most of all this complicated human nervous machinery, just briefly indicated, works automatically. It has acquired this complexity of structure and capacity for automatic action through countless years of time. Experience has been added to experience and finally the most advanced of all living forms was evolved, maybe a million years ago. Little of this activity ever advances into what man calls *consciousness.* It goes on, in the Freudian terminology, in the *unconscious.* And this unconscious is one of the pillars upon which the Freudian psychology is built. Man, and thus his conduct, is infinitely more under the influence of the *unconscious* than he is under the *conscious* patterns of behavior. Fortunately for himself unconscious patterns control him.

One aspect then of Freudian research has been to try to learn how *experience,* through receptor stimulus, passes gradually through stages of awareness (conscious) to stages of automatic activity (unconscious). At least two phases of this process are theoretically open to investigation. One concerns the *racial* phase of this synthesis. The other the *individual* phase. The former is extremely difficult to study: the latter not so formidable. Medicine is trying to understand what heredity and constitution have accumulated. This is the racial phase.

Patterns of behavior which have become more or less fixed and universal for all forms of living organisms, *i.e.,* racial, are often spoken of as "instincts"; and when one speaks of the Freudian psychology as an "instinct psychology"—or a psychology of the "instincts," it simply means that Freud has endeavored to separate out of behavior those more essential, vital and racial patterns, and to learn as much as possible about the different stages of synthesis

that have taken place in the unconscious and are still capable of being studied by a special method; *i.e., the method of psychoanalysis.* For Freud, at least two instinct pattern groupings are recognizable. In this he follows older formulations. "Ego instincts" and Sex instincts"; or popularly known as the *instinct of self-preservation* and the *instinct of race propagation,* are those assumed in his psycho-sexual theory. The name he has chosen to give to the *energy* that brings about the behavior patterns satisfying the creative insinct is *libido.*

His libido theory, then, is his formulation of how this energy is directed and how it operates in any particular bit of behavior. It is a profound mistake to assume that Freud now or ever has maintained that the sex instinct energy, or libido, is *alone* responsible for any bit of behavior. The Ego-interests are always involved as well, but Freud's studies have led him to explore the intricate workings of the libido in a vast variety of behavior reactions, and thus psychoanalysis has been able more or less accurately to gauge the *libido component* in behavior. What makes Freud's libido theory different from all others and so important is his inclusion of the Unconscious in his study of the processes going on in human beings.

It can be seen at once that "sex," then, for the Freudian conception, is something far deeper and more complex than what the popular idea or even the dictionary definition of sex may be. It exists as a bit of patterning, millions if not billions of years in the making. It came into action when life began and has fashioned itself unceasingly, growing in strength and persistency as life itself has unfolded and evolved. It utilizes every organ, every cell of the body in various aspects of its dynamic activity. The Freudian conception of sex is not limited to the idea of the genitals, nor to the act of copulation, which to the vulgarian is about all that is meant by sex.

While any one with sense knows that for the processes of reproduction certain organs must exist and certain behavior is necessary, this activity is but a part of the libido theory—because the libido theory recognizes specific sex energy-patterns as assisting in the regulation of the development of the fœtus itself, the growth of the young child, the adolescent, the mature, and even having something to do with the death patterns. Obvious, conscious erotic activities are but small fragments of the enormously deep and extensive activities of the libido, for it will be shown how and why the libido has built up most of the important aspects of culture and civilization. Such products have been partly derived from the sex instinct

patterns, partly as racial (*phylogenetic*) and partly as individual (*ontogenetic*) attainments.

The unconscious has contained these truths, and the psychoanalytic method has been the tool which has dug them out of the unconscious and made the nature of the pattern-activity comprehensible. As the archæologist digging in the place of a buried city slowly reconstructs the culture of that long lost period, so the psychoanalytic method can separate out bits of organized experience in the rich composite of human activities, and partly lay bare the complex workings of millions of years of accumulated experience which has become worked over into structure. A celebrated English psychiatrist once spoke of an *organ* of the body (the liver, heart, kidney, or what not) as a bit of "structuralized experience." This happy phrase receives ample verification through the psychoanalytic study of man's behavior and the motivations lying behind such behavior. Anatomy and bio-chemistry have shown a great deal and will reveal much more of the nature of organ *structure*, but of the *experience* of that organ, its work and its achievements in furthering the Ego interests and the libido interests of the "body as a whole," anatomy and chemistry are almost mute.

The more complete and complex behavior of man is carried on chiefly through what for the sake of convenience may be called his mental systems. By this is meant that the final objects of man's strivings are described in terms of certain values, roughly named psychological or social. The libido utilizes these mental systems. In the Freudian psychology these mental systems are envisaged as a unit which may be subdivided for purposes of interpretation into different stages, or phases, or functioning parts. Freud has offered a simple diagram to facilitate discussion. Thus he would picture the great mass of accumulated unconscious experience as making up the *It* in the mental life. The deepest and oldest of experiences are handled there. These are profoundly unconscious and are represented, in the diagram, at the bottom. At the top, *consciousness* is pictured and here called the Conscious Ego, or Perceptive System. Much of our behavior goes on without its entering into the perceptive system—unless it goes on badly. The vegetative or nutritional functions of the body are examples of this. Unless disturbed we are unaware of the stomach, heart, intestinal functioning, etc. The *It* takes care of it. More intricate social behavior needs the guiding of the *Ego* and when the energy from the instinctive promptings in the *It* finds its expression (discharge of energy) in

adaptive activity we have physiological consciously guided behavior. This is frequently called "normal living." The vegetative, sensorimotor and symbolic activities of the human being find healthy expression for instinctive cravings.

In a rough metaphorical sense, the mental systems, thus far, may be compared to an automobile, the *It* being guided by the steering-gear, the *Ego*. The brake is the super-Ego. In every human being there has been a gradual series of developments and the instinct life which in infancy and childhood is but little under control becomes more and more under the influence of a censorship—the brake on the automobile. This control in the Freudian psychology is called *repression* for its more unconscious and older stages, and *suppression* (education, good form, taste, etc.), for its more conscious and later phases. Repression is the more significant, since it occurs earlier, is built up out of different racial levels of the *It*, hence unconscious, with varying dynamic degrees of repressive censorship. Most of the automatic activities of the organs of the body have become regulated or censored by the time the child is born and the libido distribution in the various organs is fairly well adaptive. Whether libido disturbances in the fetal stage of development will ever be capable of being investigated by the psychoanalytic method is of great theoretical importance. It is a problem for the expert worker only, but there are a number of unique developments that seemingly take place during fœtal life which as yet have no comprehensible dynamic explanation. Hence this aspect of the possibilities of the further applications of the libido theory is briefly mentioned.

From time immemorial it has been appreciated that within certain limits stimuli to the receptor organs of the body bring about pleasure. Freud has taken advantage of this principle and pursued its consequences throughout various stages of the conscious perceptive system back into the unconscious. The particular feature that has rendered his studies of great value has been his tracing of the libido in its "pleasure seeking" phases. The psychoanalytic method has found many surprising things about the *pleasure-principle*. They are grossly misunderstood and misinterpreted by the so-called *faculty psychology*—i.e., the psychology of Aristotle and all of the reigning orthodox psychologies. It is largely because the truths discovered by deep psychology, or the psychology of the unconscious, stand in such contrast or contradiction to the faculty psychology that among the most obstinate critics of psy-

choanalysis may be found the mass of faculty or academic psychologists. This is slowly passing away, especially when concrete problems are tackled by the psychoanalytic method. Then the insight gained of situations unconceived of in the faculty psychology shows the value of the Freudian conceptions. This is particularly true as one studies the expressions of the libido in the various stages of development of the transition from the infantile seeking of the pleasure-principle to the adult adaptation to the reality-principle. Freud's reality-principle has certain affiliations with what the ancient philosophers used to squabble about so much, *i.e.*, "truth." Conscious philosophical systems have of recent years, chiefly through the studies of Einstein and Pierce, come to a pragmatic relativity series of formulations. Freud has frequently stated he has no particular interest in formulating a philosophy. He is interested in individual situations; in the application of a method for investigating the inwardness of human activities. Early he worked on very sick individuals, then on less sick (*i.e.*, consciously so regarded), and now his psychoanalytic method finds universal application. Sickness is a purely relative term, hence should one care to force the formulations of Freud into a philosophical system they would more closely be allied to a relativity-pragmatic type of philosophy.

The pleasure-principle which the infant seeks to gratify through the libido (sex-instinct energy) at first is to be found diffusely distributed throughout all of the bodily receptors. This has been abundantly proven and even the most obstinate critics are willing to see the working of the libido in infantile activities. The opposition came because for most of mankind sex only begins at puberty. This stupid idea is still too prevalent. The acorn contains everything that the coming oak will develop—so it is with the sex-instinct patterns. They are there from the moment of impregnation. They assume their adult (reality-principle form) when mankind grows up. Very few people are really grown up. For, as it is here understood, libido activity in its reality-principle stage undergoes the developmental process of *sublimation*. Very few people are capable of sublimation, since this would be absolute conformity to reality. The theologian's fantasy-formulation of this is "Oneness with God." Nearly all religious systems have developed related mystical fantasy formulations. They have been found to work—*i.e.*, were useful, and *for a time* pragmatic.

Freud first called this infantile pleasure-seeking phase the

"polymorphous-perverse" stage. For the psychoanalytic worker this is an excellent designation but it has been more or less supplanted by the term "organ erotic"—or *autoerotic* stage of the infantile sexuality. This means that at first, individual parts, organs, or segments of the body are exclusive seekers after instinct gratification, primary infantile cravings or wishes. The more dynamic part of this instinct gratification is the libido rather than the Ego interest. The fœtal stages of this early libido expression are still too little known to say much about them. They must be there, in principle, but whether capable of entering into conscious memory-traces is still an open question.

The act of birth is a momentous one for the child, so far as the libido theory is concerned. For with it a very abrupt change in object attachment takes place. Oxygen, the first great need, no longer comes from the mother's blood. A new adaptation and libido activity is necessary after the struggle (birth trauma). The infant must do his own breathing. Chemically speaking, the accumulation of carbon dioxide causes a reflex in the oblongata; physiologically speaking, breathing begins; psychologically, the child protests and cries in the struggle for the new respiratory libido-fixation. For some time now on it will cry when it "wants" something—*i.e.*, would avoid pain and seek pleasure. Mouth, lips, tongue, swallowing, now become places of pleasure fixation. The breast, warmth (skin) protection, etc., now follow and then the host of primitive pleasure gratifications occur.

The mother still remains the chief *object* of gratification. Air is obtained with but little personal effort. Racial experience has accomplished this. Its deprivation causes enormous anxiety. This may be discussed along with the problem of deprivation in general, and anxiety, fear, and guilt situations in their libido-theory settings and as they occur in later life. When one throws in the clutch in an automobile, or turns on the current in any power machine, a new device or mechanism is used. Power (energy) is transmitted from one place to another. Freud has found it convenient in elucidation to use the conception of *mechanisms* in tracing the energy investments of the libido, hence his terms, all very simple if one knows the most elementary mechanics. These mechanisms are of importance if one is to understand how the creative instinct (libido) brings about its various activities. Just as the devices for transmitting and changing sound wave energy over into electrical wave energy in the radio are extremely complex, so the various mech-

anisms for shifting and modifying libido are not any less complex.

One of the earliest and simplest of these libido transformations is seen in the cry of the child, which originally is started by a blood-oxygen variation. A complex series of adjustments takes place in a certain zone in the nervous system; then a telegram-like discharge goes to certain muscles. They contract and expand; a cry indicates the movement, oxygen enters the lung, the blood variation is adjusted and a reality-principle conformed to sufficiently for the moment. Thus a series of transformations of energy of different modalities has taken place. Or to choose a more obvious bit of mechanism. The infant is hungry, it cries, the nipple is placed in the mouth. To use an alliteration it cannot "holler and swaller" at the same time without choking. *Ergo* some *repression* of the respiratory-libido takes place in favor of the mouth-libido gratification and *displacement* of the main current takes place to the pleasure-reality of sucking and swallowing. If this adaptation does not take place whole-heartedly, as it were, and the infant—child—adolescent or the adult retains the wish to breathe and suck orally at the same time, one encounters a *distortion* and *repetition compulsion* in what may be seen in certain types (m's, l's) of stammering or stuttering. The reader is cautioned that this is by way of an illustration of a mental mechanism producing an "illness." Every patient is an individual case and no generalizations are here intended as to a complete explanation of stammering.

The libido theory has a great mass of evidence in its favor tending to show that up to the age of four or five (speaking in general) an enormous amount of adjustment is taking place between all of these erotic areas of the body and object-libido investment, *i.e.*, to so-called healthy interests.

The *ideal* healthy outcome is to find the child in whom the process of repression has been accomplished with no *fixations* of interest at lower stages of adaptation, in whom the Œdipus complex has passed into a "normal" phase of the *castration complex* inhibition, and in whom a free-movable libido is developing sublimation in active interests free from paralyzing inhibitions or anti-social tendencies.

This statement requires further dissection. As in the understanding of the libido theory the terms *unconscious*, *repression*, *displacement*, *fixation* have all been given a definite meaning and are essential to the comprehension of the conception, so the conception "Œdipus complex" requires further outlining. It has already been

pointed out that the mother is the first object of the child's *identification, fixation* and chief source of pleasure gratification. This is a *female* object. The fetus, whether male or female, already has racially inherited patterns of full creative instinct requirements, *female or male* respectively. It is obvious, then, that the boy or girl is bound to undergo a different evolutionary pathway in getting away from its primary infantile object fixation and reaching its secondary adult love object. The *Œdipus complex* is the term given in the libido theory to indicate the various stages in this evolutionary readjustment. It is all bound up in unconscious processes. Expressing it in terms of conscious adult activity, save as it becomes manifest in cases of sickness—notably in certain mental disorders—is nonsense.

The racial pattern is for males to seek females and *vice versa.* The early object offered is exclusively female. The boy must therefore cleave to the female object—the girl leave it. In the individual evolution of object-fixation, the boy's libido interests must leave the actual mother for another female; the girl, having found the father, must also find a substitute. The stages in this evolutionary process are numerous and intricate and when it is recalled that all the "organs" are involved, as individual bits of experience, unless fixation fails and displacement of energy is triumphant, the multitude of *partial* Œdipus fixations become bewildering in their complexity. One may get some comfort in contemplating this mass of possibilities by recalling that nature has been busy fashioning man for a billion years or so and that he is not as simple as a Jack-in-a Box when one wants to understand how he works.

It is highly probable that no human being has entirely evolved all of his possibilities originally patterned in his Œdipus situation. Even so the great majority of mankind boggle through somehow to adult life carrying with them scars indicative of a large number of blocked-off possibilities. It is familiarly quoted that the steam-engine transforms less than 10% of the energy available for use. The human machine probably transforms even less in proportion and the Œdipus complex may be said to be the first big hurdle in its forward progress. Some are better jumpers and runners than others. *Why* is too large a question to enter into fully here. According to the libido theory, repression (censorship) and sublimation are partly dependent one upon the other. In a rough, mechanical metaphor one pictures the tacking of a sail-boat. The instincts provide the wind power, the keel prevents the boat from

sliding—this represents the work of censorship or repression, the boat sails towards its goal by some diversion of direction; this is the process of sublimation. As Freud has said it, "The energy of the instinctual sexual forces is turned aside from its sexual goal and diverted towards other ends, no longer sexual (biologically) though psychically related, and socially more valuable." Both repression and sublimation are processes chiefly going on beneath the level of consciousness. Conscious suppression and training (self-control belong to the Ego and super-Ego stages of the process, and only partially contribute to the process of sublimation, for the major work of sublimation goes on without the aid of the conscious perceptive activities. Conscious suppression and training are chiefly of service in proportion to their following the same direction as, or harmonizing with, the unconscious repression tendencies.

A recent writer in a very valuable discussion of *sublimation* thus says, "There is no simple solution, such as turning a child to a substitute interest and away from its original goal whether this is effected by force or persuasion. For instance, the child who is given over to some unpleasing bodily habit, say, digging its finger into its nose, or biting its nails, may be diverted, seemingly at least, by getting induced to play vigorous games or to employ his hands very actively in some craft, or by the cruder device of putting its finger-tips into a cover, but it does not follow that any real change of interest has been effected. The more original *form* of the interest may be driven underground and substituted by the newer activity, but, the interest itself, belonging to primitive impulse and linked up with an emotional conflict, may be undiminished. If, however, a substitute which is closely allied to the original form can be provided, say, digging in the ground, picking into a soft substance, or breaking up hard material, then, along with other needful changes in environment, it may be that there will be opportunity for sublimation." [1]

The complex details of the work of sublimation can best be studied in Freud's *own* contributions.[2]

[1] Low, Barbara. *The Unconscious in Actions; Its Influence on Education.* London. 1928. University of London Press.

[2] See Freud's *Collected Works,* for those who read German. English-reading students will find the more important short papers in the Hogarth Press's four volume edition of Freud's works. In Rickman's *Index Psychoanalyticus,* International Psychoanalytic Library, a complete list of psychoanalytic papers is to be found. *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory,* Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, Washington, is the most important single discussion of Freud's libido theory.

This entire process of the division or displacement of the libido (biologically speaking) to non-sexual aims but to socially valuable ends is what separates most widely the human animal from all others, although in many lower animals partial traces of this sublimation tendency is discernible. It may even be argued that the values which have accrued to plant life by cross fertilization are dimly foreshadowed indications of the situation which in man, especially in his primitive types, has come to consciousness in the form of incest taboos, the formulations which have been accumulating in the unconscious chiefly through the reawakening of memory traces of affective experiences.

The "soul life" of the theologian and poet is chiefly the "unconscious" of the psychoanalytic student. "Affective states," (emotions, etc.) writes Freud, "are incorporated into the 'soul' life as precipitates of primary traumatic experiences and are reawakened by the recurrence of these stimuli as memory symbols."

This short essay does not pretend in any way to cover all of the phases of the so-called Freudian psychology, or as Freud himself has called it, *Metapsychology.* Still less would it attempt to offer an exposition of the science or practice of psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalysis presents at least three aspects: First, it is the name given to a method of investigation of psychological processes going on within the human being which, unconscious, as well as conscious, were not able to be investigated before this method was developed by Freud. Second, it is a mode of treatment of neurotic disorders, founded upon the methods of investigation just mentioned. Third, it is a collection of psychological principles, gained by the special method of study which is gradually being synthesized into a scientific discipline.

We are here trying to limit the exposition more closely to but one of these scientific principles, *i.e.* the Freudian conception of the libido—as already stated the term used by him to envisage the patterns of creative energy in the individual. As also suggested this libido occupies itself throughout life at all levels of the organism's growth and function. In man's earliest individual (ontogenetic) expression the libido is of enormous service for the successful growth of the organs of the body.

Here is an interesting issue which comes up alongside of the so-called endocrine constitutional activities. Certain endocrine students assume that the growth of the organs of the body is solely under the influence of the endocrine glands. This is only partly true.

The ancients ascribed the same importance to more obvious organs. Hence the small misanthropic hypochondriac became so because of his "liver"; the impulsive lean, and hungry Cassius was a "spleeny" person; etc., etc. This type of mythological constitutional pathology has been in part passed over to the endocrine glands and some of the most amusing hokum is dished up as endocrinological science.

This is no place to present the entire argument, the pages are not enough. It would involve the whole Darwinian-Lamarckian discussion as to heredity with Mendel thrown in, but what it is wished to be argued is that interest, the pleasure-principle, the nature and character of the environmental object-love stimulus, are really factors of enormous significance in determining the growth of the bodily organs, even influencing the endocrine glands themselves.

Thus if one's attention be directed to a very important conception [3] that the entire structure of the nervous system of the lower animals up to man has been determined by stimuli which are only understandable when put into the psychological form of the pleasure-principle, it can be seen that the libido theory is of enormous intellectual value in showing how our individual organs come to be better or poorer, larger or smaller, etc. Kappers has called this the theory of *neurobiotaxis.*

Many an individual who will freely admit that the libido theory may be of significant value in explaining human personality may find it difficult to see how it can contribute to a knowledge of human form. If however by libido is meant "creative energy," growth is creative and hence the libido is occupied in organ development and be it also stated in organ disintegration.

An organ can therefore be too highly libidinized and excess growth can result. From many points of view thus certain cases of exophthalmic goiter may receive a partial explanation. Just as in the early stages of life the growth of individual organs may be influenced by the libido distribution, so in later life their destruction—death pattern, the opposite of the creative pattern—may be encompassed.

As this is not an essay upon psychopathology as a part of general pathology no further comment will be made, save by quoting one of America's early novelists, Hawthorne, who in the Scarlet Letter wrote: "A disease (the reference here is to heart-disease in the minister) which may be thought of as separate and distinct by

[3] As has been shown by a very celebrated Dutch student of the nervous system, Ariëns Kappers of Amsterdam.

itself, may after all be but a symptom of an illness in the spiritual part of our nature." This very true and penetrating statement expressed in the language of the libido theory is this: That much disease of the various organs of our body which are, in present medical conceptions, thought to be localized only in such organs, are but an expression within the organ of a faulty libido activity of the total personal character—*i.e.* the "spiritual nature." The organ becomes the scapegoat of the faulty adaptation; it is a punishment, seen from the theological frame of reference, for breaking the laws of God; one of such laws, in psychoanalytic language, meaning *libido sublimated to the reality principle.*

In a more or less formal mode of expression such interpretations would follow upon the more or less strict principle that may be phrased in the following manner:

Any libido deviation of object or aim in the unconscious will show as maladjustment at the physico-chemical, sensori-motor or symbolic levels of the individual. Such maladjustment may be benign or malignant, temporary or continuous, in proportion to the libido dynamics involved in the deviation, as judged by the evolutionary stages in the psycho-sexual development of the individual.

The earlier the stage of fixation and the greater the amount of libido investment in an organ activity, the greater will be the individual's distortion necessary to obviate serious difficulties. Such efforts at adaptation—meaning *readiness to be sick* (compromise reactions), may show themselves in what are now known as bodily, mental, or social diseases or disorders.

It has been stated that this is not an essay upon psychopathology. Since faulty libido distribution or investment, however, means faulty adaptation, and consequent various types of compromise reaction within the body, it may be seen that certain aspects of disease, as already indicated, at different levels, social, mental, or of the bodily organs, may receive important interpretations in the light of the libido theory. In the same sense it is a part of the theory that successful libido distribution is what is termed sublimation and hence contributes to bodily health, mental vigor and socially valuable results. Thus the libido theory is a distinct contribution to our interpretation of the social structure, to the mental activities as well as the well being of the bodily organs.

The science of psychoanalysis, in which the Libido theory is a very important part, began its development out of the practical study of a certain kind of very widespread illnesses, now called

the *psychoneuroses*. As is fairly well known these disorders, really disturbances of the instinct activities, have been recorded ever since man has recorded anything. Even in the caves of Altamira one may find drawings made on the walls by artists of the Old Stone Age, possibly twenty-five to fifty thousand years ago, showing ritual activities concerning the sex instinct.

Up to the days of Charcot in Paris no real insight into these "minor" mental maladies had been acquired by medical science. Then came the studies of Charcot, Bernheim, and Janet that partly opened up the real study of these disorders, mostly derided by medical science, although here and there one may see some notable exceptions to this attitude of mind; one outstanding example is George M. Beard of New York who studied and gave the name *neurasthenia* to certain of these maladies.

But it is through the work of Freud, who saw what was going on in the Charcot clinic, that a rational and valuable insight has been gained into these disorders. His manufacture, if one will, of the new intellectual tool of psychoanalysis has been vastly enlightening, first to the understanding of these disorders, and then as the psychoanalytic investigations went further, light was thrown upon complex social illnesses, individual mental maladjustments, disturbances of sleep, of digestion, of all kinds of bodily upsets, and even, as here intimated, of complex bodily diseases.

In an earlier part of this essay *object-interest*, or love, has been spoken of. In its simplest form it says that male must find female and *vice versa* with *creative intent*, if, biologically speaking, the race can continue. The libido theory deals with this "creative intent" or "motive," especially as found in the unconscious. Just as "all is not gold that glitters," so all behavior apparently "creative" may be quite otherwise, judged from a knowledge obtained of the unconscious. The so-called love of a mother to her sons, as shown in the play called *The Silver Cord* is not love of the sons—*i.e.* of female to male, but really love of *herself*—in the unconscious. She "destroys" one son, the other escapes her. Here is an example of an "unconscious deviation of object," as well as one of fixation of the Œdipus complex at an infantile level—on the part of the son. It results in crippling his life, suicide of another life, and just escaped wreckage of a father, mother, and child. For the dramatist has only staged a small bit of a picture which the libido theory shows up in numerous modifications.

Deviations of aim, conscious and unconscious, cannot be dis-

cussed in this essay. They are to be found illustrated in other sections of this work, notably in the study of fetishisms, and other types of perversions.

All that we can add is that there is no bit of human behavior, sleeping or waking, sick or well, from the most trivial to the most complex, individual or collective, man to man, woman to woman, man to woman, or in groups of threes to millions, that cannot be better investigated, or understood, or guided by sincere and enlightened application of the libido theory of Freud.

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH

BY BERNARD GLUECK

Psychoanalysis differs from other forms of therapy in that it is both an instrument of research and a therapeutic technique. A consideration of it should embrace, therefore, a statement of the theoretical and practical significance of its contributions as a method of research into the nature of man as well as its utility as a therapeutic agency. This, it seems to me, can best be achieved through a comparison of psychoanalysis with psychiatry, that branch of medicine which has traditionally dealt with the problems of human personality and conduct.

In doing so, I hope to dispel the erroneous belief that the two modes of approach to the problems of human adjustment are in any way antagonistic or mutually incompatible.

On the contrary. Notwithstanding the wide applicability which psychoanalysis has come to have in fields quite remote from medicine, it can be understood best as an extension of the psychiatric instrument, or rather, as a refinement of this instrument. Psychoanalysis came into being in connection with the endeavor to discover a better instrument for the understanding and treatment of certain disorders of personality. Its entire phenomenologic and conceptual structure has been built up out of the empirical data gained from the study and treatment of the neuroses. Nevertheless, from the very first, it relied upon a point of view and method which radically distinguished it from the methodology and point of view of traditional psychiatry. Freud in comparing the two modes of approach says that psychoanalysis is to psychiatry what histology is to anatomy. It concerns itself with the finest structures of the psychical apparatus and approaches the problem of human behavior with a thoroughgoing belief in the validity of psychical facts and in psychic determinism. Pre-Freudian psychiatry at its best did not go beyond a scrupulous recording of the phenomena of mental disorders and was justly proud of its achievement in the classification of this data.

It never went beyond the question of what does the patient show, and such prognostication as it permitted itself was based upon a knowledge of the usual mode of termination of certain groupings of symptoms.

Post-Freudian psychiatry, while stimulating a still more careful observation of the manifestations of psychical disorder, does not rest satisfied with an adequate picture of what the patient is revealing to us of his difficulties, but aims to discover the meaning of these revelations, "the whys and wherefores" of the patient's symptoms. It goes beyond this and viewing disease as an endeavor, albeit an unsuccessful one, at adaptation, it postulates the question in each case, "what is the patient trying to achieve by means of his disorder?" Or in other words, what need is the neurosis or psychosis endeavoring to satisfy?

This is a very significant step in advance of a mode of approach which saw in these disorders merely evidences of failure. That every neurosis or psychosis represents a failure of adaptation cannot be gainsaid, but it is also true that every disorder of this nature is capable of revealing to us the specific issues which created the problem and which the patient is endeavoring to solve by means of his disorder. Parenthetically, it might be stated that no causal therapy is possible, that we must stand helpless in the face of these problems, unless we discern what the patient is endeavoring to achieve by means of his disorder so that we might assist him wherever possible in gaining this end in a more constructive and socially more acceptable manner.

Thus a psychoanalytic approach to the scientific observation and estimation of the phenomena of a given disorder of adaptation would seek first of all to discover what there is in the symptoms which might be construed as an effort at reconstruction on the part of the patient. It is a most serious indictment of traditional psychiatric methods that these important traces of efforts at readjustment on the part of the patient were regularly condemned and repressed by the *milieu* in which the patient found himself, because they are apt to be the most troublesome of his manifestations. Traditional asylum procedure seems to have been animated by the desire to cultivate good patients and the physician who could keep his ward least disturbed was hailed as a good therapist.

What was frequently neglected was that these active and peace disturbing manifestations were capable of giving a clew to his problem; it was his cry for help, if one could only understand the lan-

guage of his psychosis. In addition to these evidences of efforts at reconstruction a psychoanalytic approach to a mental patient aims to discover such evidences as there may still exist of normality or in the case of a psychosis of a preëxisting neurosis. Here too it is these remnants of a normal sensitivity and understanding which bring the patient into conflict with those who are presumably there to ease his difficulty. It is the protest of these remnants of normality which the patient still possesses against what frequently must seem to him a willful effort at misunderstanding that causes much of the friction and difficulty which the traditional psychiatric approach encounters in dealing with the psychotic patient under treatment.

Finally, the psychoanalytic approach aims to estimate the degree and depth of regression from maturity to infantilisms of various kinds which a given patient demonstrates. This is the only dependable instrument for gauging the dynamics, the moving forces involved in any mental disorder of a regressive type.

So much for the differences in the manner of observing and estimating the symptoms of mental disorder between the two modes of approach which we are discussing. It should be added here that no amount of refinement in the classification of mental diseases, at any rate of the non-organic forms, has succeeded in isolating clinical entities which are actually true to the facts, because the diseases do not exist as static entities.

From the point of view of the symptoms of mental disorder, there is no such pure, constant grouping of symptoms as is supposed to fit the clinical entities of *dementia præcox*, *manic depressive psychosis* or *paranoia*. These groupings have no actual validity. They are merely convenient categories for purposes of statistical classification. Symptoms characteristic of one type of disorder are regularly found in another type of disorder. It is only when one goes behind mere description that certain groupings of symptoms acquire meaning.

Psychoanalysis differs from psychiatry in the tremendously wider range of its applicability as an instrument of research and therapy. Pre-Freudian psychiatry directed itself almost exclusively to problems found within the well defined categories of mental disease, mental deterioration and mental defect. Its influence hardly ever extended beyond the walls of the institutions for the insane and the defective. Psychoanalytic psychology has thrown a flood light upon the question of human motivation in health as well as in

disease, thus making possible a whole range of preventive and curative effort in connection with problems which are quite remote from the well known disease categories. Among them the following might be mentioned as of special significance.

The Field of Child Guidance

Through its emphasis of the fact that "mental" is not synonymous with "conscious" and that "sexuality" is not synonymous with "genitalism," it has made possible a truer and deeper understanding of child nature. This led in turn to a renewed enthusiasm concerning the possibilities of modifying and reconditioning childhood characteristics which were at one time considered fixed and unchangeable. The resultant child-guidance movement, especially where it is materially influenced by psychoanalytic viewpoints, is the first broad and well disciplined undertaking in the field of prevention. It is pointing out the tremendous significance for the destiny of the individual of parental attitudes and parental conduct. It seeks to define the "family" in terms of a dynamic psychology which views the various members of the family group as so many sources of reciprocating influences for good or evil all of which play a very important rôle in shaping personality. It carries the first promise of the possibility of a deliberate training for parenthood which alone can do a great deal towards checking the alarming spread of neuroticism and maladjustment.

The Field of Education

The influence of psychoanalytic psychology and technique is being felt more and more in educational circles. It is helping to shift the emphasis from content to method and in doing so is stressing more and more the importance of the personality of the teacher. Through its emphasis of the psychological mechanisms of transference, identification and projection and introjection it has demonstrated how intimately the attitudes and conduct of teachers and classmates may effect the general fitness of a pupil. It has been more specific and more convincing in pointing out the dangers of a too repressive régime and the positive educational value of a classroom atmosphere which promotes freedom of expression which is conducive to prevention of emotional conflicts. This is particularly relevant in connection with the problems of feeling of guilt and shame and the resultant neurotic means of defense and compensation.

The Field of Delinquency

While the rigid tradition and deep-seated prejudices which dominate humanity with respect to criminal conduct still render a wide application of psychoanalytic principles very difficult, opportunities have developed under the guise of psychiatry which carry considerable promise of a saner and more constructive social approach to the problems of crime. Here again the emphasis on the potency of unconscious motivation in human conduct has cast considerable doubt upon the validity of our traditional notions concerning free will and accountability. The recent elucidation of the repressive forces within the personality, especially by Alexander, furnish a better explanation than has heretofore been possible of the utter uselessness of current punitive systems. Punishment not only fails as a deterrent of crime but not infrequently furnishes the psyche with license to commit further crime. The evidence for this assumption is all about us in the persistence and spread of recidivism in spite of severity of punishment. We shall consider this point a little more fully later on.

The above are only a few of the important fields of human endeavor in which mental medicine is making itself significantly felt as result of the enrichment of psychiatry by psychoanalytic principles.

The aggressive challenge which psychoanalytic psychology is furnishing to our traditional views concerning the relations between the sexes is dealt with elsewhere in this volume.

We might carry the analogy between psychiatry and psychoanalysis a step further and compare the types of data upon which the two disciplines rely for the elucidation of their problems. Pre-Freudian psychiatry has relied mainly upon questions of hereditary predisposition, involvement of the central nervous system, and toxic and traumatic events for the explanation of phenomena of so-called mental difficulties, from the mildest to the most severe. Now it is another misconception of psychoanalysis, and a very serious one, to assume that it ignores these issues in defining the problems which come within its scope. It has merely clarified our vision with respect to these issues and modified the emphasis which we have traditionally put upon them.

It never ignores the question of hereditary predisposition but defines it in terms of dynamic psychology. The fundamental task of life is the task of adjusting to the inevitable necessity of develop-

ing from the state of a social and a moral infancy with its exclusive devotion to the so-called pleasure-pain principle (that is, the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain) to a state of adulthood willing and capable of shouldering the responsibilities and of enduring the inevitable privations which go with adulthood. Human beings undoubtedly differ innately in their capacities to grow up, apart from the great influence which individual experience exercises upon this process. But this difference can be defined most helpfully as a difference in the fluidity of the libido. Some people have a greater capacity than others to detach their libidinal attachments from one object and attach them to another. The capacity to do this determines the ease or difficulty with which a given individual is capable of relinquishing the more protected and more pleasurable phases of development for the new and unfamiliar next steps in personal growth. It also determines whether or not an individual is likely to become fixated at any one of the developmental phases. Thus hereditary predispositions assume a more intelligible aspect from the psychoanalytic view.

As regards the involvement of the nervous system, it is utterly ridiculous to impute to psychoanalytic procedure a neglect of this aspect of the personality. Some of Freud's earliest contacts with medicine were in the nature of some very creditable research into the anatomy and the pathology of the nervous system. But here again the psychoanalytic point of view is the dynamic point of view. The central nervous system is viewed primarily as the carrier and distributor of the energies of instinct and impulse and is of course seriously implicated in the individual's management of instinct and impulse. We have a very interesting illustration of this implication in the recently much stressed organic nervous disorder known as *lethargic encephalitis*. Also in the various forms of organic brain changes that go with advanced age. In both these types of conditions we can discern psychologically a disorder of normal instinct manifestations, in the nature of regressions or habit distortions.

Finally with respect to traumatic or toxic events the psychoanalytic point of view, far from neglecting their significance, has shown in a more incisive way than has ever been demonstrated before the effect of these events on conduct. The weakening or elimination of the inhibitory forces of the personality which goes with the toxemias of various kinds not only substantiates some of the most fundamental contributions of Freud, but the viewing of these

effects in this light enhances very much the opportunity of really constructive work with these patients.

In addition to the above mentioned and well established psychiatric causal categories, psychoanalytic psychology defines its problems in terms of the extent and strength of infantile fixations, of the depth of regressions, of the structure and organization of the "self" and of the sublimatory possibilities in a given case. These latter factors have to do with inner forces concerning which the structural-anatomical formulas as well as physiology tell us little or nothing, although some illuminating relationships may be revealed through future discoveries in bio-chemistry.

This brings us to a further important difference between the viewpoint of traditional psychiatry, indeed medicine generally, and that of psychoanalysis. I am referring to the prevailing tendency to a rigid differentiation between the subjective and the environmental. It is true man has his being in two kinds of environments, the subjective or internal environment and the objective or external one. The two types of environment, in so far as they are capable of psychological influence, are not fixed but constantly interchangeable entities. Through the projection of elements from the subjective environment the external surroundings become modified in a specific and increasingly predictable manner. Similarly, through introjection, elements are selected from the external environment in accordance with the needs or desires of the individual concerned, become part of his subjective self and effect and modify the personality in an equally specific and increasingly predictable manner. The great merit of psychoanalytic or "depth psychology" is its constant stressing of the importance of the internal environment as the source as well as the battleground of those conflicts which are primarily involved in neurosis and psychosis as well as in the less specific forms of personal maladjustment. The antagonisms and conflicts between the individual and his environment have much less potency for causing breakdowns than have these internal conflicts which assail every individual in connection with the necessity of achieving an enduring and dependable compromise between the claims of instinct and the counter claims of an introjected cultural self. The essence of the psychoanalytic approach is in fact the unearthing and dissipation of this internal conflict. Let us examine this subject a little more closely.

In the beginning of this paper we stated that psychoanalysis is a method of therapy which is at the same time an instrument of

research. As is well known it had its origin in connection with the search for more effective means of dealing with the symptoms of the neurotic patient, more specifically with the symptoms of hysteria.

Almost from the very first, indeed in connection with the first case treated by Freud and Breuer jointly, the therapeutic procedure brought to light various problems of a theoretical nature which had not been satisfactorily explained up to then. This close association between the therapeutic procedure and the emergence of psychological phenomena which required an elucidation which traditional psychology had failed to give gradually led to the elaboration of a fairly well organized and clinically thoroughly substantiated psychological framework which in time came to be spoken of as *psychoanalytic psychology.*

It is necessary to sketch at least briefly this psychological system in order to understand the basis for the psychoanalytic method. But it is well to keep in mind in this connection that the conceptual side of psychoanalytic psychology became elaborated only after a rich accumulation of data which came to light in connection with the clinical application of the method to the study of the neuroses and psychoses of adults. When we learned to listen intelligently to what these patients had to say and to interpret the symbolic nature of the behavior of these patients we came upon a constant reaffirmation of the theoretical notions which were developing alongside of the practical application of psychoanalysis. The unmistakable evidences of regressive tendencies with the emergence of various infantilisms, especially in the sphere of the sexual life of these patients, supported quite fully the theories of infantile sexuality which came to play a central rôle in psychoanalytic psychology. The careful objective observation of the behavior of infants and children constituted another very important source of empirical confirmation of the theory. The same was true in connection with the application of the psychoanalytic method to the study of the phenomena of the dream. The later psychoanalytic investigation of the genetic data of folk-lore and religion further affirmed the validity of psychoanalytic theory.

We will review briefly this theoretical framework through a consideration of the several psychological concepts upon which it has been built up. First of all comes the *genetic* or *historical* concept.

The limitations of a psycho-therapeutic approach which defines the psycho-neurotic trouble as a conflict between the organism and its environment are largely due to the neglect to take into account

this *historical* environment which enters into the life of every individual. Indeed psychoanalytic procedure directs itself primarily to the reëstablishment of this historical environment, of the infantile constellations in the new setting of the transference. Simply stated, the genetic concept is to the effect that every event is the outgrowth of events which preceded it and carries within it some indication of the events which are to follow. In line with this, man must be viewed at any moment of his existence as the end product of everything that has gone before. No event in the life of an individual can be thoroughly understood when viewed as an isolated phenomenon. It is always related to other past or contemporaneous events. Behind every human being that one might be studying, stand other numerous human beings, images of father, mother, teacher and others who might have served as surrogates for these personalities, and who have contributed materially in the shaping of personality and attitude. The same is true of a given event or situation that one might be endeavoring to understand. They are linked with other events which must be examined for an elucidation of the present problem. In accordance with this the individual can be understood best when considered in a state of becoming rather than of being. It is this viewpoint which lends force to our belief in the modifiability of human characteristics and human tendencies.

According to the dynamic concept, which is the next concept in the structure of psychoanalytic psychology, man is viewed as an energy carrier and energy transformer. Every manifestation of the personality, whether it be an idea, or feeling, or wish, or whether it be in the nature of a symptom, such as a delusion or hallucination or phobia, etc., is charged with a certain load of energy and capable of performing work. Every manifestation of this sort is capable of furthering or inhibiting certain tendencies, of coming in conflict with other manifestations and of conditioning the conduct of the individual.

The dynamic principle assumes its greatest significance in connection with the life of instinct and it is one of the outstanding merits of psychoanalytic psychology to have stressed the impulse, the urge aspect of instinct. When we speak of internal conflict we have in mind the conflict between opposing instinctual forces which make themselves felt as claims and counter-claims upon the conduct and attitude and striving of the individual.

The topographical concept relates to the psychoanalytic view of the division of the psyche into a conscious and unconscious aspect.

While the tendency of the "self" is to organize itself into a workable unity, and the notion of normality is associated with a personality which has achieved an accord between the various conflicting claims made upon it, we all become aware now and then of sources of desire and impulse within us of which we had had no notion whatsoever. What might be termed the "real self," the self whose attributes are consciousness, intelligence, and the psychomotor apparatus, stands between the objective world of reality, with its claims upon the personality and the subjective or inner world of instinct, that reservoir of unmodified primitive desire and impulse with its claims upon the personality. In the course of individual development certain aspects of the "real self," the imprint of a cultural imagery which is largely concerned with the checking and inhibition of the life of instinct, become likewise relegated to the region of the unconscious, constituting there one of the elements of the internal conflict. The concept of the unconscious is an indispensable concept in the structure of psychoanalytic psychology and the main task of psychoanalytic procedure is the task of bringing as much as possible of the content and tendencies of the unconscious within the vision and control of the conscious self.

Of the remaining conceptual aspects of the structure of psychoanalytic psychology we will consider here only the libido theory and the psychoanalytic view of instinct.

With respect to both, it might be said that they constitute the keystone of the entire structure of psychoanalytic psychology. Psychoanalytic psychology is an instinct psychology and from the point of view of this psychology, the neuroses as well as other forms of personal maladjustment reflect a failure or difficulty to deal adequately with the life of instinct. We will consider this and as much of the libido theory as pertains to the so-called Œdipus situation probably the most important aspect of the libido theory.

The former will probably be dealt with extensively by other contributors to this volume. What is of extremely practical significance in this theory is that it starts out with the proposition that sexual is not synonymous with genital. By the time the sexual instinct has reached the degree of organization and unity which we know as adult sexuality with its central objective of race preservation it has left behind a rich and complicated sexual history made up of the claims of a number of partial sex impulses which play a very important rôle in individual development. The libido theory is concerned with the nature and destiny of the energies bound up with

the sexual impulses. It is important to keep in mind the great possibilities of conflict which might ensue from a faulty organization of the sexual instincts, since the partial sex impulses which enter into the final sexual organization with its race-preservative purpose are egoistic in their aim, seeking solely organic satisfaction. Libido energies are made use of continually in connection with psychoanalytic procedure. They constitute the energizing forces of the *transference* situation which is an indispensable accompaniment of a psychoanalytic treatment.

Instincts are viewed as the sources of internal stimuli as contrasted with the external stimuli to which man is exposed in his contacts with the world about him. They differ from external stimuli in various respects.

As is well known, psychoanalysis has assumed two sets of instincts, the ego-instincts and the sexual instincts, or the self-preservative and race-preservative instincts. The range of indirect expression of these instincts in the life of man is very extensive indeed, some of the manifestations being only with difficulty referable to the original instinct. This is particularly true of the energies bound up with the sexual instincts, or as this energy has been designated, the *libido*. The term roughly corresponds to the word "love" in its broadest significance, including self-love, love of parents and children, friendship, and even love of inanimate objects and abstract ideas, in addition to what is commonly understood as love between the sexes. All these forms of "loving" psychoanalysis has shown to be fundamentally manifestations of the sexual instincts. Instinct in general might be considered simply as a source of internal stimuli, creating a painful tension which is not relieved until the instinct is satisfied in connection with its appropriate object and aim. Unlike external stimuli from which one can get relief through flight, these internal stimuli can only be properly adjusted to through some specific internal arrangement.

It is exceedingly important to stress the fact that there exist important differences between the ego and the libidinal instincts with respect to the internal tensions arising from instinct pressure. Those belonging to the sex group can be to a surprising degree satisfied by substitute gratifications replacing their primary goal, or by gratifications falling considerably short of their primary goal, which is, of course, adult object love with procreative possibilities.

The self-preservative impulse called hunger can neither brook

too long postponement nor accept any substitute for its appropriate gratification, or the individual would perish.

So much for the present concerning these instinctual dispositions. They come into operation with the moment of birth, since it is in immediate connection with this event that the individual is forced to take an active attitude towards life in contrast to the passive pre-natal state of existence.

With the moment of birth, the individual is exposed to the necessity of adjusting himself to two events which constitute the paradigm for future similar situations. The first of these relates to the avalanche of stimuli with which the infant is assailed in connection with the process of birth, stimuli from which he cannot relieve himself either by flight or by some other kind of adjustment. As is usual in such situations the infant experiences what is probably a most intense state of anxiety and this feeling of anxiety becomes the prototype of a warning signal for all future danger situations. Its presence also puts a tremendous premium on the value of the adults in his immediate surroundings who proceed to comfort and warm him and help him rid himself of this anxiety.

The other event relates to the fact of having been suddenly cut off from the source of food supply, the maternal blood stream. For the first time, the infant experiences pangs of hunger. With respect to both these events, the infant is impelled to find certain suitable objects outside himself and on account of their urgency, it is the Ego impulses that lead the way in this process of object finding.

But once this path to the object is opened, the libidinal impulses follow closely in their tracks as is illustrated in the child's relations to the mother's breast. The breast is discovered as a source which stills the hunger tensions but it becomes very soon converted into an object of libidinal satisfaction, in that the nipple stimulates the earliest outlet for libidinal satisfaction, the oral erotic, which reappears in later life in the libidinal satisfaction of a kiss.

When the nipple ceases to be available as a source of oral-libidinal gratification, the infant turns to other objects, his thumb, or a pacified or some other part of his body, thus illustrating two important characteristics of the sexual impulses, namely their relative independence of the outer world, since they can be gratified on one's own body, and their capacity for accepting substitutes in the outer world.

I shall not discuss in further detail the various other partial sex impulses which the individual encounters on the path towards com-

plete sexual organization. All of these childhood libidinal impulses lack coördination and unified direction. It is only when maturity is reached that they become synthetized and focussed in what is ordinarily meant by a sexual impulse. It should be clear, however, that these infantile impulses never completely lose their autonomy. They assert themselves as accompaniments of the adult sexual expression, as normal accompaniments thereof. Much unnecessary anxiety is encountered among married people concerning the expression of these partial impulses in connection with the sexual by-play which accompanies conjugal relations. Like the kiss, they should be looked upon as harmless adjuvents of the love experience so long as they do not achieve a degree of autonomy in which they come to be taken as satisfactory and complete substitutes for the normal adult sexual act.

What concerns us particularly here is the stage of personality organization in which love becomes directed to an outside object. This first love object is regularly and of necessity the mother or some person who takes the place of mother. The first love object becomes for both the boy and girl the source of security, protection, comfort and nourishment; the experience leaves a lasting imprint upon the individual and every successful marriage carries within it satisfactions vaguely reminiscent of this early stage of mother love. Very soon however in this stage of first object choice the infant begins to exhibit certain preferences, to wit, a preference for the parent of the opposite sex. The boy has the advantage here in that he does not have to shift his love object, whereas the girl's adjustment unquestionably carries with it some degree of conflict, as we shall see later on. With this there is initiated the important infantile drama which has become popularized under the name of the Œdipus situation and the form in which it persists in the unconscious in later life is spoken of as the Œdipus complex. According to Freud it is the central or nuclear complex in the formation of the neurosis. It is certainly a fact which can be corroborated by the adults about us that this infantile drama of preference and jealousy with respect to its parents constitutes the prototype of all subsequent love situations, the fortunes of which are largely determined by the manner in which this early experience has been adjusted to. Our treatment of this most important topic will necessarily have to be brief. Let us endeavor to state simply what the normal adjustment to this Œdipus situation is in the boy. The situation consists in a longing and desire for the mother and the wish to eliminate the

intruding rival, the father from the scene. If it happens, as indeed it usually does, that the father is encountered only occasionally, the wish is entertained for his continuous absence, which to the child is synonymous with death. Indeed these death wishes and hate attitudes towards the rival, the father, are often enough expressed quite openly by these young lovers. At the same time the father gradually becomes an object of love and admiration for the boy on other grounds. Balked continuously in his urge to dominate and control his environment as part of the expression of the ego impulses, by the consciousness of his weaknesses and limitation, the boy's admiration for the all-wise and all powerful father who almost magic-like knows everything and can do everything reaches an intensity which drives him to an identification with father. He wants to be like father, and for the child, to be like some one or something means actually to be that something or somebody.

This identification process which plays a significant rôle throughout life with many people of a certain type, carries the promise not only of satisfaction of the Ego striving for power and domination but also the more urgently desired possession of the mother. "If I cannot eliminate father from the scene, I can be like him and thus establish his kind of relationship with mother." Thus the identification with father is in the service of both the ego and libidinal impulses. But something else happens in connection with this identification with the father on the part of the boy, namely the nucleus is laid down for the later structure of the super-Ego or of the inner monitor, the inner conscience which plays a significant rôle in the life of man, and to which we shall return later. The normal solution of the Œdipus situation is initiated therefore by this process of identification with the parent of the same sex. It presupposes a radical change in the attitude of the individual toward both parents.

Continuing our discussion of the boy's adjustment, his ambivalent love-hate attitude towards father loses its hate and inimical qualities, he wants to be like the father whom he admires and respects, makes his peace with him by effectually repressing the antagonistic hate feeling towards him. But as father he still has the problem of his relation to mother as love-object. The change which takes place here from the original infantile love-object relationship is that the mother is retained as a love-object to whom are directed the aim inhibited qualities of the sexual instinct, namely those of tenderness, devotion, respect, etc. The originally incestuous impulses

towards the forbidden objects, the parent of the opposite sex, are effectually repressed. It should be added here that this choice of a normal solution of the Œdipus situation is neither altogether haphazard nor altogether voluntary. There are important elements both in the constitution of the child as well as in his environment which have the capacity of furthering or hampering this type of normal solution. There seems to be within us the tendency to both seek and desire as well as fear and avoid incestuous relations. There is ample evidence for this in the individual conduct of man and in the history of human culture. On the side of the forces which drive towards a healthy solution of the Œdipus situation, anxiety and feelings of guilt, more specifically, castration anxiety, undoubtedly play an important rôle. On the side of the forces that are inimical to a healthy solution of this complex, parental attitudes undoubtedly play a most decisive rôle. Father identification along friendly and pacific lines is unquestionably hampered by a too fear-inspiring and repelling severe paternal attitude, or by such attitudes of husband towards wife which force the young male to take the side of protector with reference to his mother against the brutal father. I once had occasion to study a very intelligent professional man who was serving a life sentence for having killed the brutal father and husband. Or, on the other hand the healthy solution of the Œdipus situation might be made difficult or impossible by a love-starved or infantile parent who from the very first strives to hold the child of the opposite sex in bondage as an object of love and comfort. In those fortunate instances where the Œdipus situation is solved in a normal manner, on the basis of a satisfactory father identification and non-fixated mother love, the youth will proceed in his development along fundamentally masculine lines. When he grows up he will be active and energetic, independent yet able to coöperate with other men, and able to restrain impulses strongly disapproved of by his fellows.

And when he comes to marry, his greater freedom from unconscious fixation to the image of his mother will permit a fuller synthesis of his aim restricted, tender emotions with his direct sexual impulses. The same is true in its way of the normal solution of this infantile drama on the part of the girl. To discuss adequately the various forms in which failure in connection with the management of the Œdipus situation may manifest itself would require a series of lectures in itself. We might mention here what is known as the reversal of the normal Œdipus situation. Through inability either

to gratify or surmount his early libidinous attachment to mother the boy may turn from her, unconsciously of course, in despair and anger and focus his unsatisfied libido on his father, towards whom he takes up a feminine attitude. This turn of events involves the weakening of his identification with the father, whose place in regard to the mother he no longer seeks to fill, and the strengthening of his identification with the mother whom he now wishes to supplant in his father's affection. This reversal of the situation becomes the basis of many neurotic disorders, of conscious and unconscious homosexual tendencies and of many disabling character traits. Of course, it unfits the individual for a normal conjugal life. One can also readily imagine the effects upon children of a father who thus became identified with mother. That these individuals do frequently marry and have children through whom they perpetuate this vicious circle goes without saying, and constitutes one of the most prevalent real sources of family maladjustment.

Failure of a proper adjustment to the Œdipus situation may have quite the opposite effect. The boy's hatred of and rebellion against the father may render him subsequently incapable of social coöperation with men who in any respect unconsciously remind him of father or it might render him timid and un-enterprising in all relations with men and women alike.

From what has been said, it is clear that as part of the natural destiny of man what has become known psychoanalytically as *repression* is a psychological defense mechanism to which the individual has to have considerable recourse in connection with his development from infancy to adulthood. Civilized man, as the late James Glover has stated it, is an organism whose original instinctual endowment has perforce had to undergo profound modification before his relationship with his social environment can be a healthy and harmonious one. The impact with the cultural counter-claims against the demands of instinct which man experiences during the periods of infancy and childhood leave him no choice but to resort to repression. Unfortunately, this process is frequently subject to exaggerations so that more is repressed than is required for purposes of normal adaptation. The resultant restriction of instincts which is conditioned by an over-severe cultural self becomes a predisposing cause of future neurosis. The neurotic has failed to achieve a lasting and workable compromise between certain instinctual claims and the counter-claims of a cultural self. Because of the excessive repression, this method of dealing with instinctual claims threatens to

break and instinct seeks and gains outlet in roundabout ways, by means of neurotic symptoms.

Psychoanalytic therapy has gained for itself the right to be considered a scientific form of psycho-therapy because it is essentially a causal therapy, it aims to unearth and remove the causes of the disorder. It directs itself against the internal conflict which is kept alive because of an imperfect cultural modification of primitive instinctual impulses. With the aid of an affective relationship between the physician and patient, a form of emotional rapport which is known as the *transference*, brings about a re-living of the past for purposes of a new orientation and a fundamental reintegration of the personality. In closing, I can do no better than to quote from James Glover's very incisive description of the manner in which the *transference* is employed in a strictly psychoanalytic procedure:

"Here the physician reduces to a minimum all personal contacts with his patient. During the analytical hour he sits out of his patient's sight, and when he speaks it is only to give an impersonal explanation of some point which he considers the patient is ready to appreciate. He does not argue or persuade, he does not praise or condemn. He does not advise. His sole exercise of authority is to enforce the fundamental rule of free association. Now, when the procedure is consistently carried out two phenomena are observed to occur, both of which play an important part in the cure. His influence in maintaining the patient's adherence to the difficult task of free association brings about the admission into consciousness of trains of thoughts that otherwise would have been automatically censored, and the overcoming by means of explanation of resistance to these unwelcome intruders is facilitated by the fact that the analyst never appraises but only explains. Each successful explanation facilitates the production of more repressed mental content and the path is opened to memories which give this repressed mental content a historical setting. The relief which follows this process of integration enhances the affective bond between analyst and patient. The energies released by the cessation of conflict attach themselves to the concealed figure of the analyst and presently a new situation arises in which the patient no longer remembers his infantile past but repeats it in fantasies concerning this impersonal figure about whose actual personality and views of life he knows nothing save a readiness to face and explain unpleasant facts.

In producing these transference fantasies, the patient has an opportunity of re-living and revising his infantile past. The analyst then becomes a blank screen upon which are projected pictures of the patient's infantile life, and his passivity, his refusal to blur these pictures by entering into reality relationships with his patient enables the latter to arrive at con-

vincing emotional realization of the persisting infantile tendencies responsible for his neurosis. Again the fantasied repetition of his early conflicts enables him to revise in the light of adult knowledge his crushing internal verdict on the crimes of infantile imagination.

Now it is true that whenever transference exists and whatever use is made of it this repetition of infantile attitudes to the parents is reproduced, but if we exploit it directly in pedagogy or moralization, this repetition in reality bars the way towards recognition of the fact that it is repetition in fantasy. Our blank screen on which the long forgotten, but still influential drama of infantile life may be projected has become the sensitive negative in a camera riddled with holes admitting light.

Having reproduced, as it were experimentally, a situation in which we take over the rôles of the influential figures of the formative phase of a child's character, we may add ourselves to a recurring unrealized series of parent representatives, or we may free our patient from this fated repetition and endless reënacting of attitudes responsible for his neurosis, but we cannot do both."

THE PSYCHOANALYSIS OF ASCETICISM

BY E. BOYD BARRETT

The problem of asceticism arises from the fact, a strange but indisputable fact, that there are and have ever been men and women who abandon the pursuit of pleasure and dispossess themselves of the so-called good things of life in order to devote themselves to experiencing pain. Breaking completely from the common prejudice that the satisfaction of desire is worth while, they deny themselves all indulgences, and with zest inflict chastisement and torture upon themselves. These rebel humans, ascetics they are called, are not to be classified with disappointed lovers who fast and tear their hair in emotional anguish; nor, as it seems, with sex-perverts who wallow in the luxuries of masochism; nor yet with sulky, morose pessimists who refuse to cherish ambitions and to gratify social instincts; nor are they to be grouped with high-minded moralists who scorn sensuality on the grounds that it is degrading and immoral. They constitute a class apart, a school of philosophy and of "natural" mysticism, who deliberately employ suffering as an indispensable factor in the art of right living.

The phenomenon of asceticism has not always been associated with religion or even with ethical culture, although it has slowly evolved in those directions. It is a phenomenon peculiar to no place, time, form of creed or mode of thought. Egyptian priests on the banks of the Nile, Hindus thronging the sacred Ganges, Irish monks on rock islands swept by Atlantic storms, Aztecs, Essenes, the Shakers of Watervliet, Mithraists, Zoroastrians, and "Poor Clare" Nuns, all supplied recruits to the great school of pain-lovers. "The ascetic brotherhood," writes Dr. O. Hardman,[1] "embraces Australian Aborigines, Greek philosophers, Muhammedan darveeshes, Buddhist monks, Indian mendicants, Catholic Jesuits, Protestant Puritans, and all the vast army of those who strive by means of renunciation, suffering and toil, to bring themselves into a right

[1] *The Ideals of Asceticism*, p. 46.

relationship with God and man. Sex, age, climate, and standard of culture avail to introduce modifications of the practice adopted, but they are powerless to extinguish asceticism."

The term *asceticism* is derived from the Greek word *askesis*, (ἄσκησις) which was applied in the first instance to the training in hard living that the Greek athletes underwent. Subsequently, in Plato's time, it was applied likewise to mental and quasi-ethical training. Later still it connoted religious discipline. It was understood in both a positive and negative sense. The positive sense of *askesis* is well illustrated by the Orphic and Pythagorean conception of life as "the path of the soul's perfection"; the negative sense is that which Socrates called "the practice of death."

It is said that the eyes of the Greeks were rudely opened to the distinction between soul (spirit) and body by the spectacle of the frenzied orgies of the Bacchanals . . . feats of endurance, and unbelievable displays of stamina were witnessed, which obviously surpassed the unaided power of flesh and bone. There came into vogue then, the cult of the spirit through asceticism. This cult was sponsored by Plato as "the life of reason." "The following of the life of reason," he said, "begins immortality." In *Phædo*, Socrates is made to say: "each pain and pleasure is a sort of nail, which nails and rivets the soul to the body." Here we find in germ the perception of the theory of asceticism . . . *to burst the bonds of pain and pleasure is to free the soul.* Aristhenes and Diogenes pushed the ascetic doctrine, in their philosophy of cynicism, to the point where they displayed "neglect of the person and disregard of all obligations to the world." Meanwhile Greek matrons, worshiping Demeter at the *thesmophoria*, observed chastity, anticipating the ascetic rule of the Vestal Virgins of Rome.[2]

From Greece, asceticism spread to Italy, and under the Empire, Seneca Musonius, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius became its exponents. Stoicism, and neo-Platonism alike supplied a philosophic background. Seneca slept on a hard pallet, and ate but of the poorest food, and that in moderation. He opened the eyes of Lucilius to the spread of ascetical practices in Rome; "many," he said, "have in their palaces cells to which they retire, and on a diet of coarse bread, and dressed in a poor garb, sleeping on a humble cot, train themselves to meet misfortune bravely." [3]

At the coming of Christianity, there was no one of the many

[2] *Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects*, article by C. H. Moore.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

religions that flourished in Rome, but had its ascetical practices. Mithraism taught that life was a struggle against the powers of evil, towards the goal of purity of soul, and there was much fasting and penance during initiation rites. Isis, the Great Mother, brought with her to Italy lustral baths, fasting, days of continence, flagellations, and self-mutilation. The aim of these practices was avowedly to subjugate the sinful body and so free the soul,—to develop through pain and suffering the *inner self*. Neo-Platonism, and Neo-Pythagoreanism fostered still more ardent asceticism. Porphyry, the successor of Plotinus, taught that "the more we turn towards that which is mortal, the more we unfit our minds for the infinite grandeur; the more we withdraw from the attachment to the body, in just that measure we approach the divine." Herein we have the basis and foundation of later Christian asceticism; that in particular of à Kempis and his admirer Ignatius Loyola. In reference to the origin of Christian asceticism, Professor Moore writes; [4] "The warrant of Christian asceticism came primarily neither from Judaism, nor from the teachings of Christ and the apostles, but from Hellenistic philosophy, from the tenets of the later Pythagoreans, and Platonists, even as the Christian practice of asceticism had arisen out of the religious practices of Græco-Roman paganism." When Paul taught that men should seek deliverance "from the body of this death," and that by mortifying their earthly members, he was saying no more than any Platonist of his time would have said. When Epictetus declared of himself, "I am a poor soul burthened with a corpse," he was anticipating the teachings of Jerome, Benedict and Francis of Assisi. Epictetus' "corpse" became on the gentle lips of Francis, "Brother Ass." The early Christians were naturally immensely under the influence of current ideas, and they set about introducing into their new religion the ascetical practices of the pagans. The task was not an easy one, for the teachings of Christ gave little warrant for asceticism. His life had been in striking contrast to the mortified John the Baptist. He had indeed been looked upon as a "gluton" and a "wine-bibber." The very early Christians therefore were behind-hand in asceticism, and it was not until the decay of Rome was far advanced, and the number of Christians had grown apace, that asceticism developed. In the third century we find emphasis is laid upon fasting and chastity; two days a week, Wednesday and Friday, "Station Days" (*dies stationum*), are appointed for fasting, and vows of chastity are approved. Battifol,

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

the great Catholic historian, attributes the growth of asceticism in the Church to a reaction of the more fervent early Christians against the laxity of the rest. "In proportion as the Church in extending itself had grown colder, there had taken place within her bosom, a drawing together of those souls who were possessed of the greatest zeal and fervor." [5] These chosen souls were the Monazonites and the Parthenae, the ascetes and virgins, who were conspicuous for their vows and fasts. They were assigned special places in the churches, and were destined to be the originators of Western monasticism. To quote the learned Duchesne; [6] "dating from the reign of Theodosius and the time when Catholicism became the social religion of the world, comes the movement when a deep cleavage in religious society manifested itself. These ascetes and virgins who till now had mingled with the common body of the faithful, abandon the world and go into the wilderness. The Church of the multitude is no longer a sufficiently holy city for these pure ones; they go forth to build in the desert the Jerusalem which they crave."

The East may well be regarded as the native soil of asceticism. The philosophical notion of the "Absolute," the "All," as that which alone is real and its corollary that matter and all the forms, and modes thereof, are mere phenomena, unreal, and despicable—laid the foundation for an asceticism of self-denial. Furthermore, the idea of the "Absolute" drawing all things into itself—to swallow up all things in the end—gave birth to the doctrine of self-destruction. The body was tortured and attacked; there were suicides in the sacred Ganges; there was self-immolation under the wheels of the Juggernaut; the Brahmin sought to vanquish all desire even the desire of desiring nothing. Practical means of self-torture were prescribed. "The Brahmin," says the law of Manu, "should roll himself on the ground, or stand during the day on tip-toe, or alternately stand and sit. In Summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires; during the rainy season let him live under the open sky; in Winter let him be dressed in wet clothes thus greatly increasing the rigor of his austerities."

Much more is known to-day, among the general public, about Eastern than about Western asceticism. More interest is manifested in the austerities of Mahavira and his followers, than in those of Bruno and his monks; and there is probably more admiration for Gautama and his "Eightfold Noble Path," than for Ignatius Loy-

[5] *History of the Roman Breviary,* Battifol, trans. by Bayley, p. 15.
[6] *Christian Worship,* Duchesne.

ola (whose career was not dissimilar to that of Gautama) and his "Spiritual Exercises." The East anticipated the West in the practices of asceticism, in monasticism, celibacy, meditation, and confession, and long before the foundation of Benedictine Abbeys, Buddhist monks "held marriage in abhorrence, and suppressed all legitimate desires, forbidding all recreation, music and scientific pursuits." Though Eastern ascetics were thus the forerunners of Western ascetics, the latter, or at least some of them, regarded with horror the asceticism of the East. "The whole (Brahmin) system," states *The Catholic Encyclopædia*,[1] is based on pride. The Brahmin is superior to all mankind, and contact with another caste than his own, especially the poor and the humble, is pollution." The same authority denies that the asceticism of the Brahmins is *real asceticism* on the grounds that it was not directed to the worship of the Christian God!

Asceticism in itself, like mysticism, does not, as we have seen, properly belong to any one creed or religion. Nevertheless it tends to graft itself onto a religion, and to find justification for itself in the revelations of religious leaders. This is markedly the fact with regard to Christian asceticism which must be our chief preoccupation in this chapter. Christ as we have seen was not an ascetic in the ordinary sense of the word. Save for one fast, a long fast of forty days, it is not recorded in the Gospels that he underwent any penance. He feasted with the rich; rested when fatigued; cultivated cultured friends; drank wine, and submitted to public homage. Although a threefold way of asceticism is attributed to him, there appears to be little justification for foisting this *rule* upon him. The "way of Christ," say Christian ascetics, is *mortification of the flesh, unworldliness, detachment from family ties.*

In the spoken word of Christ the only remark that can be adduced to show that he taught "mortification of the flesh" is the ambiguous statement "he that taketh not up his cross and followeth me is not worthy of me." *From the lips of Christ* there is no recommendation of self-chastisement. It was Paul who said: "I chastise my body," etc. The proof that Christ taught the lesson of "unworldliness," in the sense that ascetics understand it is taken from another ambiguous text: "My kingdom is not of this world." But Christ's social life, his love of nature, his recognition of political obligations, his quiet acquiescence in the injustice of the priests,

[1] Vol. I, p. 772.

and his effort to accommodate himself to their whims, all point to a spirit different from monastic other-worldliness. The third doctrine of the Christian ascetics, that of *detachment*, is grounded in Christ's dictum: "If any one come to me, *and hate not* his father and mother, and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." [8] But the applicability of this text to asceticism vanishes for exegetes without exception affirm that "hate" does not mean *hate;* which, being so, the text does not teach monastic detachment from family ties.

There seems, then, to be little justification for pretending that Christian monasticism is based on the teaching of Christ; or that the three vows of religious life: poverty, chastity and obedience, find their explanation in Christ's life. He was not poor nor obedient in the monastic sense, *neither was he chaste, according to monastic idea of chastity,* for he lived in constant converse with women, and apparently had women attendants, relatives and others, wherever he went.

The fact that Western monasticism is not based on the life or teaching of Christ is of extraordinary importance towards the understanding of the mentality of ascetics. Western monks were unconsciously *rationalizing* when they pretended that their way of life was "a close following of Christ." In reality they were obeying some obscure impulse, similar no doubt to that which drove the Buddhist ascetics into monasteries, when they thronged the abbeys of Bernard and Benedict. Their conduct found little justification in Christian revelation. What then lies behind the great Christian flight into the desert which began in the third century and continues to this day?

A clear distinction must now be made between two types of Christian asceticism. The first is the older one, the mortification of the flesh; the second is the more recent one, which came into vogue with the Jesuit movement; "the mortification of the spirit," that is of the will and judgment. The two types, though they are not wholly separable in practice, are clearly distinguishable. Heinrich Suzo (1300-1366) might be taken as an exemplar of the former; John Berchmans (1599-1621), a Jesuit boy-saint, might be taken as an exemplar of the latter. Both were markedly ascetic, but one followed the way of blood, the other the way of punctilious obedience.

The new mode of asceticism, which is still in fashion among

[8] *Luke,* xiv, 26.

Catholic religious, in so far as any asceticism is in fashion among them, derives from *The Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius, in which the manner of crushing the will and judgment is explained. It became the purpose of each ascetic to *go against himself* by forcing his judgment to conform to the judgment of his spiritual Superior, and his will to desire those things that his Superior thought good. And the Superior's duty, conversely, was to *break the will* and coerce the judgment of his subject. The perfect exponent of this Jesuit asceticism is therefore one who, though *seeing with his own eyes and knowing* a thing to be black, affirms that it is white, and brings it about that *he sees and knows* it to be white, when his Superior declares that the object is white. Lean faces, insomnia, insincerity of character, and ultimately the painful obsession known as *folie de doute* result from this new asceticism. Ascetes of the Jesuit school rarely preserve their native frankness and independence of mind; still more rarely do they maintain their individuality. The *fakir* who spends years with a leg buried in the ground, naturally forfeits the use of a limb, and the solace of following a pilgrimage to Delhi, but it is doubtful if his case is worse than that of the Jesuit who buries his will and judgment in the whims and moods of a Superior, for by so doing he forfeits the use of his own mind, and loses every vestige of natural freedom and peace.

The contemplation of present-day Western monaticism, which is, of course, preponderantly Catholic, provokes certain queries. What precisely impels Catholic boys and girls of to-day to enter, as they still do in great numbers, monastic institutions? How do *they* fare *vis-à-vis* with ascetical practices?[9]

In general, it would seem that the fear motive is most potent in driving so many to "leave the world." The well-trained, I mean the religiously-trained, Catholic child is taught that there is much danger of sin and great peril to salvation in the world. The fear of damnation is, of course, the most terrible fear for a Catholic, and he who is gripped with this fear always thinks about entering religion. Some, no doubt, enter in order "to be perfect"; others through personal love of Christ; still others to do penance, or that they may help to save souls; but *the most common motive is fear of hell.* Were there no hell, there would be few Catholic vocations to religion and the ascetic life. Self-culture, which was the ascetical

[9] The writer is here basing his views on his personal experience of Catholic monastic life.

motive of ancient Greece, is a feeble dynamic with the average Catholic of to-day.

There remains the query, how do young religious of to-day fare when the duty of self-chastisement faces them? Let us take a look into the mind of a young monk before, during and after a self-inflicted flagellation. We suppose that it is evening and his penance awaits him at bedtime. The anticipation of the painful experience depresses him, and he cannot rid his mind of the thought of it. He tries to screw up his courage by reminding himself that he has sins to atone for; that he will prove to God by the pain he is about to inflict upon himself that his love is sincere; he also, and this motive helps him considerably, challenges himself to combat, as it were, and resolves to show his power over himself. When the time arrives, he hurriedly undresses, and seizing a whip of knotted cords starts to belabor his back. He winces at the first blows, but as his excitement grows he lashes himself harder. He stifles the pain by growing angry against himself, and by thinking of the pains that Christ endured. His sensibility to the pain diminishes as his excitement increases, and sometimes *he protracts the flagellation to prove to himself that he is master of himself*. He is glad when the duty is over, and feels that he has achieved something. His confidence and self-satisfaction have increased; he is braced up and thrilled by a sense of power. He does not allow any conscious thought of pride to dwell in his mind, fearing that that would be a sin. But subconsciously the pride is there.

Such is perhaps a fairly accurate description of the flagellation of an ordinary good monk. Turning now to the rare case of a true ascete in a monastery, one determined to gain complete control of himself and his passions, we find him lashing himself with veritable fury. His excitement is terrific, and he draws blood copiously. A kind of lurid satisfaction fills his mind at the sight of his own blood, and he plunges all the more fiercely into the fray. Daily he disciplines himself, but he is eventually caught in a painful dilemma. He has made his self-torture a spiritual necessity, an indispensable factor in his spiritual life. He must continue, ever increasing his practices of penance, or else, as he fears, he will become lax, and perhaps a castaway. In a sense he has become a slave to this peculiar form of stimulant; and his peace of soul, gained at so much cost, is clouded with doubts and apprehensions.

Some real ascetes, nevertheless, find an adjustment, and maintain a certain equilibrium amid their penances. Such men, and I

have known some, are affable, cheerful, and uniformly obliging. Some of them are exceedingly good-humored and interesting in conversation; very much awake also to what is going on around them. But when caught off their guard their faces wear an aspect of severity, and of great tension. They easily flare up in anger, and are definitely obstinate and tenacious of their opinions. They incline towards introversion, speak much of themselves, and when alone talk aloud to themselves. Not infrequently, also, they develop strange *tics*. Needless to say, a true ascetic in a monastery is a constant reproach to his more easy-going fellow-religious, and is shunned and disliked by them.

It is customary to identify monasticism with asceticism, but this identification can be very misleading. While it is true that monastic rule usually implies the deprivation of certain comforts, as often it means that other substantial comforts are supplied in their place. The monk finds that everything is done for him, that he has no serious responsibility, that he has good food, clothing, and a comfortable room to live in. He has not to work, as men in the world, in bitter competition with others to earn his bread. Though the life may and does present itself as a life of asceticism to some religious, for the majority it is far from being so. Hence it is that very few, out of immense numbers of Catholic religious, ever distinguish themselves as ascetics. Very few of them, likewise, ever attain any remarkable degree of self-mastery.

In the eyes of the plain man, asceticism is inherently foolish and almost blasphemous. The plain man sees in asceticism an effort to give pleasure to God by deliberately undergoing unnecessary suffering in his presence. This he considers to be insulting to the clemency and magnanimity of the Omnipotent. It is most difficult without doubt for the plain man to enter into the mind of the ascete, but nevertheless his analysis of their behavior is not without foundation. Professor James [10] seems in part to adopt the plain man's interpretation of asceticism. He finds in the minds of many ascetes, the notion that God is pleased and flattered by the sight of pain undergone in his honor. Canney [11] tells of a Fijian priest who slept several nights on the top of a bare rock "in the hope that the deity would take pity on him and send a shower." Mme. Guyon (1648-1717) tells of herself: [12] "I saw some spittle, the most dis-

[10] *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 296 *seq.*
[11] *Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 38.
[12] *Psychology of Religious Mysticism*, J. H. Leuba, p. 77.

gusting that I had ever seen, and I had to put my tongue and lips upon it; the act was so nauseating that I could not control myself, and my heart beat so violently that I thought it would burst every vein in me, and that I would vomit blood. I continued doing that as long as my heart revolted and it was rather long." Such instances afford corroboration for the plain man's views.

All ascetics seem to labor under the conviction that God is greatly concerned about their sufferings and about the exact amount of such sufferings. Their introversion is so great and so emotionally colored that they seem unable to think or reason clearly. They are wholly preoccupied with their own sensations and God's interpretation thereupon. This blindness clouding the mind of the ascete may be illustrated by a trivial incident. A monk once told me that in order *to go against himself* he had at one time, when in a garden, stamped upon a very large slug, and crushed it under his heel. It made him retch to feel the slushy substance under his foot. He achieved the "victory," however, and felt convinced that God was pleased with him for his self-conquest. It never entered his mind that the Creator of all things would likely be displeased at seeing such senseless and cruel slaughter of his creature. The monk was of course wholly preoccupied with himself and God's (supposed) delight in his victory; he enjoyed a veritable orgy of introversion. The "pathetic fallacy" seems common to most ascetes.

Coming now to the principal theories of asceticism we find the following:

It is founded in a natural instinct.
It is founded in a desire for cleansing.
It is a form of sexual gratification akin to masochism.
It is a form of sexual gratification akin to exhibitionism.
It is a form of devil-phobia.
It is founded in a power-complex.

We shall deal briefly with each of these theories in turn. First, *that asceticism is founded in a natural instinct.*

Writing on *Mahommedanism*,[13] Dr. Marglibuth states that "a specific ascetic instinct as a fact of human nature cannot be neglected," and Durkeim declares that "asceticism is an element of every religion." Catholicism teaches that behind many phenomena of asceticism there is a natural impulse. Thus when comparing

[13] *Mahommedanism*, p. 194.

Hindu and Christian monasticism, Father Campbell, the learned Jesuit historian writes,[14] "The explanation of it (Hindu pre-Christian monasticism) is that it is nothing else than the outcome of the natural religious instinct of man to withdraw from the world for meditation, prayer and spiritual improvement, instance of which might be cited among ancient Greeks and Hebrews, and among ourselves in the 'Brook Farm' and other American experiments." "Monastic seclusion," Fr. Campbell adds, "is not unnatural to man." There seems, then, to be a body of opinion which derives asceticism from some obscure instinct of nature.

But if the essence of asceticism is as Socrates defined it "the practice of death," how can it be seriously maintained that nature seeks her own destruction? No evidence that can be adduced to show that men *instinctively* seek self-torture can outweigh the common experience that all men, at all times, shrink instinctively from all pain. When men *seem*, as do the masochists, to take pleasure in pain, what actually happens is that effects are produced through the stimulus of pain, which are delectable. Even self-pity is not properly pleasure in pain. When Fr. Campbell identifies asceticism with monastic seclusion he is, as we have pointed out above, making a very big assumption. Often monasticism is no more ascetic than club-life.

Second, that *asceticism is founded in a desire for cleansing.* This view is supported by Dr. Everett Dean Martin [15] who makes the *purgation motive* the dynamic of asceticism. Having in mind the fact that men are in general oppressed with a sense of sin, he writes: "The ascetic ideal often appears in religion as in the neuroses because both are motivated by a similar desire to escape from the feeling of sin."

Among Christians the doctrine of original sin has intensified that strange feeling of being marred, or stained, or cursed, or predestined to misfortune that is so common. Among non-Christian religions, through taboos, stains and sins are incurred. *Purging from evil* becomes a mechanism of every religion, and hence baptisms, confession, lustral baths, washings and cleansings of every kind. From washing in water to recover purity, to washing in blood (asceticism), the step is small. The more the ascetic ponders on the fact that he is stained and befouled the more frenzied become his efforts to rid himself of the defilement. He returns continually

[14] *Catholic Encyclopædia,* vol. I, p. 771.
[15] *The Mystery of Religion,* p. 325 *seq.*

to his knives, and whips, and chains, just as the unfortunate victim of the hand-washing obsession returns again and again to the facet.

The Russian moralist, Vladimir Solovyof,[16] gives support to this "purgation theory" by defining asceticsm as "self-regarding morality" and deriving it from shame; "the primary data of morality are the feelings of shame, pity and reverence which give rise respectively to asceticism, self-regarding morality; altruism, neighbor-regarding morality; and religion, God-regarding morality."

Though "penance for sins," and "warring down shameful passion," are conscious motives in the minds of Christian ascetics, and though asceticism furnishes them with a "mode of cleansing," the "purgation theory" *does not do full justice to the positive and constructive side of asceticism;* "the path of the soul's perfection" as the Pythagoreans called it. Asceticism is more than cleansing, it is also a striving forward.

The two sex-theories of asceticism may be considered together.

The present writer may as well frankly state that he is far from being convinced that the sex urge is the mainspring of asceticism, or even that it has a great deal to do with it. No doubt there are phases of mysticism, brilliantly analyzed by Leuba,[17] wherein it would seem that ecstatic joy, originating in repressed sex craving, becomes so intense as to be positively painful, almost unbearable. In such torture-delight, stimulated by sex, we have the nearest approach to true sex asceticism. But such phenomena apparently are exceedingly rare and far removed from the common experiences of ascetes. There is no question but that under the excitement of violent flagellation sex is aroused, but such sex-awakening is no more than one of the more or less inevitable consequences of all forms of frenzy. Perhaps the *Flagellants* were masochists as well as exhibitionists, but they were not representative ascetes. It must be borne in mind that the monk's self-inflicted chastisement, in a cold and austere cell, undertaken in obedience to rule, and unobserved by others, differs *toto-caelo* from the orgies of half-drunken perverts who as they stand naked among naked women lash themselves and likewise their companions. Turning now to Exhibitionism as the dynamic of asceticism, no doubt there are ascetes who exhibit their sores and bruises quite unnecessarily at times, but it is not their custom to expose themselves lustfully. The fakir who allows

[16] *The Justification of the Good,* p. 25.
[17] *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism,* p. 161.

the passers-by to view his ulcers, in no way resembles Venus who, as Shakespeare tells us, disclosed a red wound *in her thigh* to the frigid Adonis in the hope, as is clear, of kindling in him a warmer emotion than pity.

Masochism and exhibitionism belong to behavior peculiar to perverts, and there is no evidence to show that, as a class, ascetes are such. On the contrary, a large percentage of ascetes are men of noble ideals, and relative self-control, and there is no sufficient evidence for regarding their ascetical practices as hidden modes of sex-gratification.

It cannot, I think, be doubted, that "devil-phobia" in some form or other, motivates a considerable amount of asceticism. Among Christians this motive is strongly emphasized. The devil "goes about the world like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour," and it behooves the Christian soldier to "watch and pray [and of course do other penances] lest he enter into temptation." The Christian is warned: "unless you do penance you shall perish." The Curé d'Ars, one of the most interesting of Catholic ascetics, multiplied his austerities precisely in view of overcoming the Evil One. Julian Huxley,[18] treating of fear and magic in reference to religion, gives an interesting illustration which connects asceticism and the Spirit of Evil from the practices of the Todas, a tribe of the Nilghiri Hills, in Southern India. The chief work of the priests of the Toda religion is to overcome the evil influence of the spirits upon the buffalo milk on which the Todas depend for their livelihood. In order to "desanctify the milk," besides many prayers and strange rites, asceticism is necessary. Just as God is moved, in the opinion of some ascetics, by the vision of torture, so in the opinion of the Todas the devil is conquered by penance.

The theory of asceticism which to the present writer seems best founded on fact, is that which bases it upon the "power-complex." The ascetic has (usually) in mind self-perfection and the acquisition of higher qualities of soul, and increased power. In ridding himself of imperfection, and paying off his debt (cleansing-theory), he is increasing his likeness to God, and gaining a share of his authority. His ego is enhanced by the conquest of his lower self. He needs to feel in full control of his lower self, to be lord and master of his own little kingdom. He makes a holocaust of self to self; feeding his higher self on the sufferings of his lower self. He adores and deifies his higher self by this sacrifice. Self-satisfaction,

[18] *Religion without Revelation,* by Julian Huxley, p. 190 *seq.*

self-approbation, and an increased sense of power results. "By as much as you go against yourself," said à Kempis, "by so much will your *advancement* be." It is to advancement, increase of power and influence, that the ascetic unconsciously, and consciously looks. My personal recollection of ascetical days is to the effect that we young monks, in fasting, wearing hair-shirts, taking disciplines, and mortifying ourselves in other ways, felt we were increasing our power "*in influence others.*" We told one another that unless we were mortified we should be incapable of subduing sinners to our will. We sought in asceticism what is called in popular magazine language *magnetic power.* This craving for magnetic power was like Milton's *face* "a last infirmity of noble minds," and it spurred us to "scorn delights and live laborious days." [19]

Some one described asceticism as "the old man's philosophy." Though it is not literally true that asceticism is more common among the old than among the young, it is true that it is permeated with an outlook on life that is hyper-mature rather than juvenile. Asceticism is a philosophy of caution, and likewise of avarice. In it there is fear of yielding to human weakness; and there is covetousness of increased spiritual power. Perhaps too it indicates a recognition of inability to enjoy the good things of life; a sour-grape attitude. But this element is not always present. There is pessimism in it, and cynicism, and much more of Polonius than of Laertes. It is a denial of the value put upon life, joy and beauty, for these things are real only in so far as they are experienced. On the other hand, it is pragmatic proof that good is to be found in evil; in loneliness, dirt and pain. Hence asceticism is at once a paradox and an enigma. It seeks the very object that it is shunning; it affirms the very doctrine that it denies.

[19] In *The Psychology of Religion* (p. 141 *seq.*), Professor Selbie seems to support this theory of the "power-complex" as the root of asceticism. He writes: "From whatever point of view it is regarded, asceticism seems to intensify individuality. It cuts its exponent off from the rest of humanity, sets him on a pedestal, *and fills him with a sense of superiority.*" And again ascetical practices "heighten self-consciousness and bring about a sense of mastery and conquest which while seeming to abase, exalt the personality concerned."

FREUD'S THEORY OF SEX: A CRITICISM

BY ABRAHAM MYERSON

"PHILOSOPHERS stretch the meaning of words until they retain scarcely anything of their original sense." [1]

It is in a discussion of religion that Freud cites as one of the intellectual misdemeanors of philosophers their manhandling of words, yet Freud himself has stretched the meaning of words far beyond their original sense. He uses them now with one meaning, and then with a distinctly different implication, and a very large part of his conclusions is reached by what may be called a play on words and a play with words. But to term Freud a philosopher rather than a scientist does the situation scarce justice. He is an artist, selecting from this or that phase of life whatever pleases him and is in accord with his own wishes, so that his theories are erected into a gorgeous, glittering, and somewhat fantastic wish-fulfillment. Like an artist, he transforms diversity into unity by suppressing those manifestations of reality which are to him irrelevant and he boldly passes beyond proof, labeling as certainty what is merely opinion. Like a propagandist fighting fiercely against sham and insincerity in sexual matters, he cites the positive instances only, that is, those facts and cases which suit his purpose. The numberless cases which might refute his theories receive scant or contemptuous mention, while his attitude toward opponents is not at all that of a man of science, but distinctly that of the leader of a cult. Like good devotees of the Master, the Freudians generally have imitated him in this attitude. Those who do not *believe* are in the contemptuous phrase of Wittels, "dullards," are beset by "resistances," are "exhibitionists," "anal erotic," etc. Like a mystic, to Freud everything becomes symbolic of something hidden, and nothing is what it seems to be. But the symbolism is naïve since all things somewhat straight symbolize one sexual organ and all things somewhat round symbolize another.

[1] Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, 1928, p. 57.

Wittels, who is that rare Freudian, both follower and critic, says and rightly, that of all of Freud's books, the *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory* is his best work. "It contains the essence of Freud, that which will go down to posterity. Important though dream interpretation and the theory of resistance are, what the world sees in Freud is mainly the investigator of sexual problems. Psychoanalysis is by most people regarded chiefly as a method for the bold and revolutionary study of the sexual life." [2] So, we shall go to the fountain, to the source itself, of the Freudian teachings in respect to sex, and see in how far the thinking disclosed is scientific, in how far the conclusions seem at all solidly grounded.

The book starts off by a matter-of-fact description of the sexual aberrations, in which Freud lays the ground for his theories by an attack upon the concept of degeneration as explaining the inversions and perversions (homosexuality, masturbation, fellatio, etc.). He makes the point perfectly clear that the prevailing hypothesis of congenital defect is insufficient. He then reaches the conclusion (page 12): "Our attention is called to the fact that we have assumed a too close connection between the sexual impulse and the sexual object. The experience gained from the so-called abnormal cases teaches us that there exists between the sexual impulse and the sexual object a connection which we are in danger of overlooking in the uniformity of normal states where the impulse seems to bring with it the object. The sexual impulse is probably entirely independent of its object and does not depend on the stimuli of the same for its origin." But if there is a connection between the sexual impulse and the sexual object, how can the impulse be "probably independent" of the latter? In further criticism of this contradictory statement, it seems obvious that Freud has simply made the reverse error of those whom he criticizes. Certainly the sexual impulse is not entirely dependent upon its object, but that "it is probably entirely independent of its object" is a gross overstatement. All instinctive responses have two sets of origins; first, a something which takes place in the organism itself, and second, an external event which sets agoing the internal mechanism. It is perhaps true that a male animal castrated at birth would have no sexual desire, so that amongst other internal sources the testicles are an organic base for the male sexual impulse. It is also true that without any females in the world, the male sexual impulse, finding no normal objects, would become entirely distorted and atrophied.

[2] Fritz Wittels, *Sigmund Freud*, 1924, p. 110.

There is a give and take between the individual and the environment which really makes the individual a sort of organic thickening, a node, in that environment. Sex, if we first consider it from the biological side, is an interplay between the male, an incomplete organism specializing in the creation of sperms, and the female, an incomplete organism specializing in the creation of ova. Elaborate as the sexual life may become, and no matter how it may diverge from the biological purpose of the fertilization of the ovum by the sperm, this remains as a fundamental concept.

Freud continues in this wise, (page 14): "The union of the genitals in the characteristic act of copulation is taken as the normal sexual aim. It serves to loosen the sexual tension and temporarily to quench the sexual desire (gratification analogous to satiation of hunger). Yet even in the most normal sexual process those additions are distinguishable, the development of which leads to the aberrations described as perversions." He goes on to describe these intermediary operations, touching, looking, kissing, and states that the "perversions are either (a) anatomical transgressions of the bodily regions destined for the sexual union, or (b) a lingering at the intermediary relations," that is a lingering at touching, looking, kissing, fetishism, etc. This is something as if the object of eating was to swallow food into the stomach, and that there were certain intermediary stages such as smelling, biting, chewing, and as if some individuals stopped at the smelling, others at the biting, and still others went on to the chewing. The fact that these intermediary steps, considered as *part* of a process, were normal would not in any way invalidate the conclusion that an act of eating which stopped at any one of these intermediary steps and short of the final act of swallowing, was pathological in at least its grotesque and futile exaggeration.

Moreover, it is not entirely true to state that the union of the genitals is the normal sexual aim and to imply thereby that touching, looking, etc., are mere, practically unnecessary intermediaries. Vision is certainly a necessary part of normal love even though we are not poetic enough to cry with the poet that "fancy is engendered in the eyes," and in man the enclasped bodies bring into *necessary* and voluptuous union more than the zones of Freud's normal sexual aim.

An example of the tendency of Freud to step beyond the actual fact to the most overwhelming conclusion, is contained in the following paragraph (page 15):

"*Overestimation of the Sexual Object:*—The psychic estimation in which the sexual object as a wish-aim of the sexual impulse participates, is only in the rarest cases limited to the genitals; generally it embraces the whole body and tends to include all sensations emanating from the sexual object." (This is of course correct.) "The same overestimation spreads over the psychic sphere and manifests itself as a logical blinding (diminished judgment) in the face of the psychic attainments and perfections of the sexual object, as well as a blind obedience to the judgments issuing from the latter. The full faith of love thus becomes an important, if not the most primordial source of authority."

In the first place, there are many instances in which the sexual desire is not in any sense linked up with an overestimation or any blinding to the imperfections of the sexual object. It is only as a highly evolved sentiment that sexual union has even the remnants of this component in it; in fact, sexual union much more frequently than not lacks the sentiment of love (*i.e.*, psychic overestimation). It is a hunger, and no more than the starved man forms any psychic attachment to the morsel of food which he devours, does the sexual passion necessarily attach any particular psychic value to the object of desire. The history of rape in peace and war proves that, and the well-known phenomenon of disgust after the sexual act in those cases where passion has been the driving force confirms it. In fact, there may be at once a psychic rejection of the sexual object and yet an overwhelming desire for sexual union. The conclusion that the psychic over-evaluation is an important source of authority seems a *non sequitur* of the most blatant type, but is a preliminary to the father-fixation idea so prominent in psychoanalysis. In passing, I may say this, that personal examination carried on during many years, of common men, some of them arrested for non-support of their families, but with many other cases in which this problem did not enter, shows that in the average man sexual union and marriage remain on a non-sentimental basis with a very low psychic evaluation of the sexual object. And the cynical talk about love heard everywhere in our voluptuous civilization shows that there is little real psychic over-evaluation of the beloved object, in fact the word "beloved" can hardly be applied to most sex situations at all. By a reversal of the usual attitude toward him, one might accuse Freud of being a sentimentalist because of his over-evaluation of the psychic over-evaluation of the beloved object.

We must leave, at this particular point, the discussion by Freud

of the sexual life of the neurotics, and take up his most important contribution, the infantile sexuality. The linking up of the neuroses with infantile sexuality is evidenced by this statement: "If we are led to suppose that neurotics conserve the infantile state of their sexuality or return to it, our interest must then turn to the sexual life of the child, and we will then follow the play of influences which control the processes of development of the infantile sexuality up to its termination in a perversion, a neurosis, or a normal sexual life." It must be emphasized that Freud approached the problem of sex through his interest in the neuroses, that he was primarily a clinician working in a field of medicine which even to-day lags behind the other fields in actual scientific development, in which theories reign, and which is the least accessible to scientific method, largely because the mind of man offers no field for experimentation comparable, let us say, to the functions of the liver.

The Infantile Sexuality

He begins this historic analysis (page 34, ff.) with the statement, "It is a part of popular belief about the sexual impulse that it is absent in childhood and that it first appears in the period of life known as puberty." Certainly we own with Freud the fact that sexuality in some measure begins with life and is present, therefore, in the infant. Even though this fact be accepted, the conclusions reached by Freud himself need critical examination.

Under the heading *Infantile Amnesia*, Freud very powerfully remarks on the "peculiar amnesia which veils from most people (not from all!) the first years of their childhood, usually the first six or eight years. So far it has not occurred to us that this amnesia ought to surprise us, though we have in fact good reasons for surprise. For we are informed that in those years from which we later obtain nothing except a few incomprehensible memory fragments, we have vividly reacted to impressions, that we have manifested pain and pleasure like any human being, that we have evinced love, jealousy, and other passions as they then affected us; indeed we are told that we have uttered remarks which proved to grown-ups that we possessed understanding and a budding power of judgment. Still we know nothing of all this when we become older. Why does our memory lag behind all our other psychic activities? We really have reason to believe that at no time of life are we more capable of impressions and reproductions than during the years of childhood.

"On the other hand we must assume, or we may convince ourselves through psychological observations on others, that the very impressions which we have forgotten have nevertheless left the deepest traces in our psychic life, and acted as determinants for our whole future development. We conclude, therefore, that we do not deal with a real forgetting of infantile impressions but rather with an amnesia similar to that observed in neurotics for later experiences, the nature of which consists in their being detained from consciousness (*repression*). But what forces bring about this repression of the infantile impressions? He who can solve this riddle will also explain hysterical amnesia."

There are several very cogent anatomical and psychological facts which explain this forgetting other than the explanation given by Freud. In fact, the value assigned by Freud to forgetting runs through his entire writings, and is based upon his belief that most forgetting, at any rate, as well as slips of speech and errors in writing, are due to the operations of the unconscious, that they have a meaning and represent a wish fulfillment, and are brought about by a technique by which an unconscious repressed complex fools the censor. It is rather difficult to explain on this theory why forgetting is so common in the feeble-minded and those of low-grade intelligence. Their memory difficulty is an outstanding psychic loss. One might conclude that they have a more powerful unconscious, and also that they have more psychic conflicts, than the cultivated and intelligent. To believe this is to accept the famous Christian philosophy *credo quia absurdum.* It seems even more difficult to understand why forgetting is part of all diseases of the brain. On this basis it is hard to explain why, as we approach middle-age, names commence to slip from our memory, and as life swings on in its cycle, there regularly appears a loss of memory for recent events, and then a loss for all events, which runs parallel with the changes in the arteries of the brain and with the general disappearance of elasticity and vigor in the organism. To return to the infant, his forgetting of the first few years of his life (not the first six or eight!) runs parallel with the facts that his brain is small at this period, that association pathways are not yet fully laid down, so that he is not psychically integrated. There is not, as yet, the *I* of the fully developed type which is to remember. The forgetting of the infant is based on the fact that his life is a series of experiences without enough coördinating energy to hold them together; that he spends the larger part of his time sleeping. No matter how we con-

sider sleep, certainly one is not accessible to the experiences of the world while asleep. *The sessile life of a young child before he walks gives him but few experiences, and his incapacity to talk measures the lack of those mental coins by which definite memory is stored up.* I submit that this is a more psychological and biological explanation of childhood's amnesia than an *early hysteria* through which all must pass. Under Freud's theory, it would be logical to conclude that in some hypothetical society, where incest was allowed and there were no sexual restrictions whatever, children would remember perfectly from the moment they were born.

We must turn now to the manifestations of the infantile sexuality. We come to the important concept of autoeroticism or, in a wider sense, narcissism. In an essay on narcissism written in 1924 [3] he says, "We say that the human being has originally two sexual objects, himself and the woman who tends him, and thereby we postulate a primary narcissism in everyone, which may in the long run manifest itself by dominating his object choice." In a later place, he says, "Narcissism and egoism are indeed one and the same, the word narcissism is only employed to emphasize that this egoism is a libidinal phenomenon as well, or, to put it in another way, narcissism may be described as the libidinal complement to egoism."

Since the libido [4] is "that force by which the sexual instinct is represented in the mind," that is, sexual hunger, narcissism is here used as entirely sexual. In other places Freud states that the three great blows to man's narcissism are the discovery by Copernicus of the relation of the earth to the universe, Darwin's discovery of man's ancestry, and psychoanalysis. *Modestly*, he refrains from mentioning his name as the discoverer of psychoanalysis. Here narcissism comes to mean the whole of racial pride. In *The Future of an Illusion* (written in 1928) he says, "The libido follows the paths of narcissistic needs, and attaches itself to the objects that ensure their satisfaction." Here *narcissistic needs* means self-preservative needs, since nourishment, to which Freud here specifically refers, is certainly not a sexual function. So I assert that he has made the term narcissism mean anything and everything connected with the ego. By this diffuse use of the word, it has ceased to be a scientific term, and his discussion of narcissism is one of the prime examples of the quotation at the head of this article.

In the autoeroticism of childhood, we have thumb-sucking, the

[3] *Collected Papers*, vol. IV, pp. 348, 349. [4] *Idem.*, p. 349.

nursing at the breast, and the development of autoerogenous zones, that is zones from which the erotic feeling is elicited, such as the penis, the anus, the clitoris, etc. He makes a very interesting statement about nursing: "The first and most important activity in the child's life, the sucking from the mother's breast (or its substitute), must have acquainted it with this pleasure." (He is now referring to thumb-sucking.) We would say that the child's lips behaved like an erogenous zone, and that the excitement through the warm stream of milk was really the cause of the pleasurable sensation. To be sure, the gratification of the erogenous zone was at first united with the gratification of taking nourishment. "He who sees a satiated child sink back from the mother's breast, and merge into sleep with reddened cheeks and blissful smile, will have to admit that this picture remains as a guide for the expression of sexual gratification in later life." Such is the power of analogy expressed in brilliant words that critical examination of those statements seems almost blasphemy. After sexual satisfaction there may be drowsiness, and thus, so Freud seems to reason, if there is drowsiness after the child fills its belly with warm milk, this is also sexual satisfaction. The situation might just as well be reversed, the drowsiness which comes from the full belly proves that the drowsiness which comes after sexual satisfaction is a gastrointestinal matter; in other words, sexual satisfaction can be merged into gastrointestinal satisfaction better than the reverse. (Of course this is also untrue.) Furthermore, what about the colic, the wind, and the dissatisfaction that follows nursing so often, how shall that be analogized with the sexual life? To pick out the hypothetical excitement which the child feels when the warm milk passes its lips instead of the more potent stilling of the pangs of hunger as the source of satisfaction, is a thoroughly arbitrary selection. It is much more likely that the satisfaction which the child feels has only a partial relation to the lips, and is mainly related to the gastrointestinal tract. A proof of that is the following —If you give a child an empty breast to suck at, you still it for a while, but it does not sink to sleep with any satisfaction, and sooner or later cries with redoubled vigor for real milk.

Freud makes an interesting statement about people who suck their thumbs for a long time. "Children in whom this is retained are habitual kissers as adults and show a tendency to perverse kissing, or as men they have a marked desire for drinking and smoking. But if repression comes into play they experience disgust for eating and evince hysterical vomiting." Here is the fallacy of the posi-

tive instance. It is very likely that some children who are thumb suckers evince the peculiarities mentioned. On the other hand, inveterate thumb suckers in childhood may, and in the majority of cases, I assert, do not show these tendencies. One of my boyhood acquaintances sucked his thumb vigorously until he was six years old. He neither smokes nor drinks, nor does he have any hysterical symptoms whatever; in fact, he is the embodiment of the normal without the slightest trace of neurosis, and he is now past forty. For years, one of my stock inquiries has been the incidence of thumb sucking amongst neurotics and hysterics. The proportion is certainly not greater than amongst those who are normal. Nowhere in all of Freud's writings or that of any of his followers is there any evidence that they have given thought to the statistical check-up of their conclusions.

What Freud and his followers confuse with sexuality is sensuality or pleasure. So long as the body remains well, skin and visceral stimulation from whatever source gives rise to pleasure. The bath, the air, the sunlight, stroking, patting, muscular activity —all things up to a certain point of intensity arouse pleasure and beyond that point, give displeasure, even pain. The child has learned that something in the mouth gives a pleasurable sensation, and a conditioned reflex is established by which anything in the mouth gives pleasure. The thumb, which is in a double sense very handy, gives a double pleasure, since there is stimulation from its surface and stimulation from the lips. Thumb sucking is a sensual, and not a sexual satisfaction, aroused from two body surfaces or areas, and conditioned by the fact that the taking of food and the giving of pleasure bring about a conditioned lip and mouth zone for the elicitation of pleasure. Pavlov's explanation is far more logical, biological, and physiological than Freud's.

Necessarily we cannot analyze every statement of Freud's about infantile sexuality. But consider the activity of the anal zone—anal eroticism. Freud says, "The erogenous significance of this region of the body was originally very large." Children utilize "the erogenous sensitiveness of the anal zone—by holding back the fecal masses until through accumulation there result violent muscular contractions," and while there is pain, "this must produce also a sensation of pleasure." (Why *must?*) "One of the surest premonitions of later eccentricity or nervousness is when an infant obstinately refuses to empty his bowels when placed on the chamber by the nurse and reserves this function at its own pleasure" (page

45, ff.). And so we get the anal eroticism of the neuropaths. In the Freudian literature, anal eroticism becomes finally synonymous with all kinds of eccentricity, including parsimony (the *tightness* of the sphincter becomes symbolic of other *tightness*).

Against this, of course, is the fact that pediatricians believe that most constipation is dietary. I have seen children whom a Freudian has called anal erotic cured of their constipation when more liquids and more roughage was put into the diet. It is quite possible to understand the constipation of the nervous on other grounds than the psychological. Almost all neurotics have difficulty with appetite, and most of them become limited in physical activity. Diet and exercise are of far more fundamental importance in the understanding of constipation than a hypothetical anal eroticism.

So we come to the "fact" that autoeroticism is shown by the love of rocking and shaking, and that since all boys, at least at one time of their lives, want to become conductors and drivers, the real motive for it is not the pleasurable excitement of seeing new things and of being important personages, but sexuality. Also, the neurosis caused by injury, the so-called traumatic neurosis which follows railroad accidents and automobile injuries, is in reality a disturbance of the sexual mechanism. It would be rather difficult to explain to a man who has been hit by an automobile and is nervous following that accident that the automobile created in him an excessive sexual excitement! . . . About muscular activity, Freud states (page 54), "The fact remains, however, that a number of persons report that they experienced the first signs of excitement in their genitals during fighting or wrestling with playmates, in which situation, besides the general muscular exertion, there is an intensive contact with the opponent's skin which also becomes effective. . . . The infantile connection between fighting and sexual excitement acts in many persons as a future determinant for the preferred course of their sexual impulse." Thus, when two lions fight each other for a mate, they are not seeking sexual excitement from the female and to destroy the rival, but are really fighting one another for the homosexual excitement. When little children fight over a toy and go at each other with fierce determination to maim and injure, this is also a sexual excitement. Happier examples might have occurred to Freud. Surely the playing of baseball introduces many symbols of sex, as the playing of football brings in others! The pleasure which arises from the activity of the organism has been confused with sexuality, apparently because *some* people report sexual ex-

citement during wrestling. It is true that some people do experience sexual excitement under such circumstances but that is an extraneous excitement and pleasure. The need and love of activity reside deeper in the organism than sexuality. It is much more likely that sexual activity is a form of pleasure derived in part from muscular activity and rhythmic bodily motion than the reverse. At any rate, all forms of pleasure may merge, but all forms of pleasure are not identical.

Consider the statement of Freud that the curiosity (page 50), *i.e.*, the impulse for looking at the genitalia of others "can appear in the child as a spontaneous sexual manifestation." Can appear, it is true, but does it? We must take into account in evaluating this form of curiosity that at this stage of the child's career, it has an eager, burning curiosity about everything, from the moon down to the worms and ants, and is an insatiable seeker of knowledge about the world it lives in, a quest, alas, which is blunted by the foolish prudery and the laziness of its parents and teachers. Since curiosity is the mother stuff of intelligence and the power behind the organization of knowledge, it peers everywhere. Why not at the hidden sexual?

We cannot go into every phase of Freud's dicta on the manifestations of the sexuality of the child. I cite without comment this one. He speaks of intellectual work as creating in some persons a "simultaneous sexual excitement, which may be looked upon as the only justified basis for the otherwise so doubtful etiology of nervous disturbances from mental *overwork*."

Amongst the stock phrases of psychoanalysts is this "polymorphous perverse sexual disposition," concerning which (page 49) Freud tells us that "under the influence of seduction the child may become polymorphous perverse and may be misled into all sorts of transgressions." That is, every child is potentially perverse in every direction, and some seduction or guiding influence determines whether or not such a result obtains. In this respect he says, "the child does not behave differently from the average uncivilized woman in whom the same polymorphous perverse disposition exists." It is this liability of the child to all kinds of perverse developments out of which masochism comes (page 51, ff). "An erogenous source of the passive impulse for cruelty (masochism) is found in the painful irritation of the gluteal region (a roundabout way of saying *spanking*) a fact familiar to all educators since the confessions of J. J. Rousseau. This has justly caused them to demand that

physical punishment, which usually concerns this part of the body, should be withheld from all children in whom the libido might be forced into collateral roads by the later demands of cultural education." This typifies the usual Freudian generality. Rousseau on the lap of his teacher is as typical of the average child being spanked as Shakespeare is typical of the average comic valentine writer. The average child receives no impulse to masochism by being spanked. The physical and mental pain of spanking is fundamentally unwelcome to him. Of course, a Freudian reply to this is that what is ostensibly unwelcome is in reality welcome. If that be the case, the confession of J. J. Rousseau ought to be evaluated in an exactly opposite way, and therefore spanking is good for children.

At this point it is essential to take into account an important phase of infantile sexuality which has been enormously evolved in other Freudian work, but the basis of which is stated in this book.[5] "*The Object Finding:* While the very incipient sexual gratifications are still connected with the taking of nourishment, the sexual impulse has a sexual object outside its own body in his mother's breast. This object it loses later. . . . The sexual impulse later regularly becomes autoerotic. . . . It is not without good reason that the suckling of the child from its mother's breast has become a model for every amour. . . . One may perhaps hesitate to identify the tender feelings and esteem of the child for his foster-parents [6] with sexual love; I believe, however, that a more thorough psychological investigation will establish this identity beyond any doubt. The intercourse between the child and its foster-parents is for the former an inexhaustible source of sexual excitation and gratification of erogenous zones, especially since the parents—or as a rule the mother—supplies the child with feelings which originate from her own sexual life."

Under the heading of *Infantile Fear* he continues (page 71), "The children themselves behave from early childhood as if their attachment to their foster-parents were of the nature of sexual love. The fear of children is originally nothing but an expression for the fact that they miss the beloved person. They therefore meet every stranger with fear, they are afraid of the dark because they cannot see the beloved person, and are calmed if they can grasp that person's hand. . . . The child behaves here like the adult, that is, it changes its libido into fear when it cannot bring it to

[5] Page 70.

[6] *Foster-parents* would have been better translated "fostering parents."

gratification, and the grown-up who becomes neurotic on account of ungratified libido behaves in his anxiety like a child." This explanation simply denies that there is any other tender feeling except sexual love, it leaves out of account that the very purpose of the prolonged immaturity of the higher mammals is to ensure a longer development under parental protection. It stretches the word "sexual love" beyond all reason. The tender feeling a man has for an automobile or for the horse which serves him well, or for his good sword, or for anything which is his own, might justly be claimed to be sexual. The tender feeling evoked by the small and the helpless, which is so prominent a feature of the psychic life of woman, is, therefore, sexual. It is much more likely that the sexual feeling is a sub-variety of tender feeling than that tenderness is a variety of sexual feeling.

And surely this partial explanation is most manifest in the discussion of fear itself. A chicken hatched out of an egg in an incubator, who has never had a parent at all, manifests fear, and throughout the animal world fear appears as a primary emotional state designed for self-preservation. It is stretching sexuality very far to believe that the rabbit running for his life before the dog is animated by an infantile attachment to his mother, especially if he is a rabbit, let us say, brought up in a laboratory without a mother whom he has ever known. And the fear of a child in the dark is not different from the fear which a child manifests just as vividly when, even in its own mother's arms, a dog comes near it and growls in some strange way, or when it hears a sudden loud sound. Nor is it true that children meet every stranger with fear. Surely Freud's six children should have taught him better than that. Some children like strangers, will even leave the parent for them, make up to every new face that they meet, extend sociability diffusely, and only learn fear in the presence of strangers when some experience with them has taught them that strangers are not always gentle or friendly.

We now come to one of the great phrases of Freudianism, the Œdipus complex, the incest motive, which, for years, the Freudians have been finding in every case they analyze, and which is now acknowledged to be a lawful and normal component of the human being. "It would, of course, be most natural for the child to select as the sexual object that person whom it has loved since childhood with, so to speak, a suppressed libido." Society erects, however, barriers against this incestuous love, and if, luckily, the libido has

not become attached to the genital zones, then at puberty the Œdipus complex disappears and is displaced by the sexual attachment to the stranger. But in the interim, there are fantasies (page 73) and "in the fantasies of all persons the infantile inclinations now reënforced by somatic emphasis (*i.e.*, the development of the sexual organs), reappear, and among them one finds in lawful frequency and in first place the sexual feeling of the child for the parents. This has usually already been differentiated by the sexual attraction, the attraction of the son for the mother and of the daughter for the father. Simultaneously with the overcoming and rejection of these distinctly incestuous fantasies there occurs one of the most important as well as one of the most painful psychic accomplishments of puberty; it is the breaking away from the parental authority." And all this is proven by the psychoanalysis of neurotics, of anesthetic wives who as girls retain their full infantile life far beyond puberty. "With the help of the symptoms and other morbid manifestations, psychoanalysis can trace their unconscious thoughts and translate them into the conscious, and thus easily show to such persons that they are in love with their consanguineous relations in the *popular meaning* [7] of the term." The man may be dominated by the image of his mother, and selects types for falling in love with accordingly. Thus has come about a whole outgrowth of psychoanalysis, near-psychoanalysis, and pseudo-psychoanalysis, to show that the family relationship is the most dangerous relationship, that father and mother love thwarts and endangers the development of the child, and every psychoneurotic is glibly and immediately labeled with the Œdipus complex or with some modification of the same.

It becomes necessary to discuss the technique by which all this is reached—the analysis of dreams by the free association method. This article would be extended into a fat book by a complete discussion of this matter. One would have to discuss the quarrel of the unconscious with the conscious, the breaking through of the unconscious complexes in the dream, and the symbolism of that dream, a symbolism wrought into the crudest absurdity by Stekel, but not much less crude in Freud himself, so that everything more or less straight means an obvious sex organ, and everything more or less round is another, not less obvious, sex organ. Then there is the whole question of sleep. Sleep, says Freud, is a tendency to revert to fetal life, a claim which was crowned with absurdity when the

[7] My italics.

present High Priest discovered that cutting the umbilical cord was a great psychic shock to the fetus, and that the shock persisted throughout the life of the individual. The omnipotence of the fetus, the monarch of all he surveys, floating in blissful ease in the amniotic fluid, is the past state for which we all yearn, the Nirvana of all desire. It would be just as easy and more in accordance with facts to think of the fetus as the most absolutely helpless of all things, forced to take whatever comes to him either as food or toxin, banged around with each movement of the mother, painfully making his escape from his prison into the independence of extra-uterine life. But this does not seem to have occurred as an alternative hypothesis. In fact the fetus lacks the brain development which can "feel" anything. The mysticism of life seeking to go back to non-life becomes apparent in all the later writings of Freud and the Freudians. . . .

It is impossible to discuss the validity of the free association method by which the dream shows the Œdipus complex, the father-fixation, that fantasy about the mother with all the tangled skein of lustful love and murderous hate, transference, resistance, and the stock in trade of psychoanalysis. Categorically one must state there is no free association method, that the psychoanalyst conditions most of the responses he gets, selecting those which suit his preconceived ideas. Moreover, you can get any complex you are after just as well by ten words selected at random from a time table, as by the episodes of the dream itself. This is not an idle statement, for I have done it. It is pertinent to remark that in the first few years of my neurological experience, I sought diligently to become a Freudian, so I am not talking as one who has always been a skeptic.

Moreover, the analysis of psychoneurotics, which is the bulwark of the Freudian work, is certainly not an adequate method of reaching conclusions about the average and normal child. That this is the way the information about infantile sexuality has been obtained is stated by Freud himself.[8] He points out that his assertions concerning infantile sexuality were obtained "in the main through the results of psychoanalytic investigations in adults." Later he made an analysis of a phobia in a five-year-old boy through the parent, and to his satisfaction this one indirect analysis corroborated what he had discovered through the analysis of adults. Freud's important conclusions, with all their significance for humanity, would require the analysis of at least a thousand normal children of all kinds.

[8] *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory*, p. 52.

That it is necessary to check up any results by control studies, and that selecting material and drawing conclusions therefrom is altogether unscientific and unsound seems never to have occured to Freud or to his followers. Again, the largest part of the theory is derived from the analysis of hysterics who, as every clinician knows, lie very readily, are suggestible, and will take their cue from their physician in a mimetic way. This can be exemplified by the mistakes made by the eminent Charcot in his analysis of hysterical convulsions. His hysterics gave him exactly what he expected. It was left for others to discover that the great clinician himself was responsible for the patients' performances.

We must close with the Freudian ideas of the differences between the two sexes, in which Freud falls into line with the quite ancient belief that woman is a lesser sort of man when she is human, or else is somewhat non-human (page 68). "Indeed, if one could give a more definite content to the terms 'masculine and feminine,' one might advance the opinion that the *libido is regularly and lawfully of a masculine nature, be it in the man or in the woman; and if we consider its object, this may be either the man or the woman.*" The sexuality of little girls has entirely a male character in its autoerotic and masturbatic sexual manifestations, and resides entirely in the clitoris, which is, as is well known, the female analog of the male organ. With puberty, a sharp regression of the sexuality takes place. Being a male component of the female, it becomes repressed. "The reënforcement of the sexual inhibitions produced in the woman by the repression of puberty causes a stimulus in the libido of the man and forces it to increase its capacity; with the height of the libido there is a rise in the overestimation of the sexual, which can be present in its full force only when the woman refuses and denies her sexuality." In other words, the normal woman has no active, purposive sexual desire and is only aroused to conscious sexual desire by the sexual act itself or some analogous seduction which breaks down the resistance of the clitoris, and sets agoing the sexual excitement. One must refrain from making personal comments on this though the temptation is very great. I read this to some women, and their smiles were eloquent.

Those individuals whose sex life seeks an object he calls the anaclitic type, and this is essentially a masculine type since it is originally the woman who tends the infant. "We say that the human being has originally two sexual objects; himself and the woman who tends him, and thereby we postulate a primary narcissism in every-

one, which may in the long run manifest itself as dominating his object-choice. . . . Further, the comparison of man and woman shows that there are fundamental differences between the two in respect of the type of object-choice, although these differences are of course not universal. Complete object-love of the anaclitic type is, properly speaking, characteristic of the man. . . . A different course is followed in the type most frequently met with in women which is probably the purest and truest feminine type (*i.e.*, it is narcissistic or self-love)." The feminine woman loves herself with "an intensity comparable to that of the man's love for her." *Later on he states that where woman is anaclitic or object-loving in her makeup, in that degree is she masculine.* This is a perfect example of the unassailable position and has its analogs in much of male estimation of woman. Woman is primarily unintelligent, many men from Plato's time have said. But if they are shown a woman who is intelligent, their answer is, well, in that respect she is masculine! In other words, the argument assumes the point to be proved, and thus leaves nothing to be desired from the standpoint of invulnerability, but leaves everything to be desired from the standpoint of candor and logic. When women come into intellectual power and commence to lay down generalities about man, one may be perfectly sure that they will conclude that intelligence and sex in its normal aspects are feminine. In Freud's later writings we come upon the castration complex, *i.e.*, every woman secretly bemoans her lot in not having masculine organs, and believes in her unconscious that she has been castrated, and the prime fear of the male becomes the fear of castration.

The neuroses belong in clinical medicine, but a few words concerning them are permissible since, in the Freudian cosmogony, they are sexual in their origin. It is true that in one place he states, in an irritable sort of way,[9] "Opponents who do not understand the matter accuse us of one-sidedness and of overestimating the sexual instincts. 'Human beings have other interests besides sexual things.' We have not forgotten or denied this for a moment. Our one-sidedness is like that of the chemist who traces all things back to the force of chemical attraction. In doing so, he does not deny the force of gravity; he leaves that to the physicist to reckon with." This is so completely disingenuous that it might well be a stain on Freud's character. The comparison between himself and other psychiatrists, the one being a chemist and the other physicists, is entirely inappropriate. Be-

[9] *Collected Papers*, vol. IV, p. 349.

sides, chemists do deal with the force of gravity each time they weigh their ingredients. Moreover, he and all his school do deny in every analysis, first by omission, and in many instances by direct statement, the effect of fatigue, of financial worry, of frustrated egoism in the largest sense, of chronic fear situations, of trauma, and of the environment in its many non-sexual forms. The psychoneuroses are of many, and very likely of unknown, origins. One finds exquisite examples in people suffering with bodily disease. The War furnished countless cases of men breaking down into hysteria and anxiety states through fatigue, boredom, and the innumerable disagreeable, vexing, and humiliating factors of the army life, and who recovered and remained well after they left the service.

Back of much of the Freudian psychology (which, by the way, he labels *metapsychology*, indicating its relationship to metaphysics rather than to science) is a doctrine which he holds about the nervous system. The nervous system [10] "is an apparatus having the function of abolishing stimuli which reach it, or of reducing excitation to the lowest possible level: an apparatus which would even, if this were feasible, maintain itself in an altogether unstimulated condition." This, one sees readily is the same idea which is expressed in the desire of the human being to go back to the fetal stage and to death.

It is true that when external and internal stimuli arrive at a certain point, the nervous system seeks to abolish them. For example, when hunger arises, the ingestion of food is a means of doing away with the unpleasant feeling. So with the tension of sex. The sex act is, as Freud states, in part a means of relieving that tension. But primarily the nervous system is a mechanism by which the stimuli from the outside world are sought for, received, evaluated, and reacted to. That is, a moving object, by means of an appropriate receptor, the eye and the associated tracts in the brain, is declared to be a lion, and the organism reacts by flight or by aiming a gun. Moreover, the absence of stimuli is exceedingly painful to the normally constituted human being. Nothing is more unpleasant than monotony, *i.e.*, the absence of new stimuli. One of the primary pleasures of existence is the seeking of those stimuli which produce excitement and civilization busies itself largely with the task of creating excitement. Freud's attitude toward the nervous system is characteristic of his attitude toward sex and other matters. A partial account of the phenomena is declared to be a full account, and a

[10] *Op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 62.

sweeping generalization is announced which explains only a fragment of the facts.

It may seem presumptuous for any one but a Havelock Ellis to criticize a Freud, since these are the two names most associated with the study of sex in our times. Yet the technique of science is something which even the humblest may understand, and any one whose daily work brings him the same contacts as those through which Freud himself has established his doctrines may properly criticize both the technique and conclusions of this great man.

History records many eminent men who have been as eminently wrong. The genius of Freud resides more in his influence on mankind than in his direct work. Right or wrong as his conclusions may be, or as time will judge them, he has forced us all to dig more critically, explore more candidly into human morals and human conduct. He has helped break down sham by tearing away its cloak, shame. He has made what we foolishly call obscenity a matter which we may study as objectively as in botany we study the stink weed and the rose. He has contributed to the result that all the phases of sexuality are losing their aboriginal powers to cripple and maim our grip on reality. Any man who has this as his achievement deserves the esteem and gratitude of all mankind, of those who reject his specific doctrines as much as those who accept them.

V—THE CLINICAL ASPECTS OF SEX

THE CIVILIZING FORCE OF BIRTH CONTROL

BY MARGARET SANGER

INSTEAD of mobilizing a vast and dazzling array of what our politicians like to refer to as "facts'n figgers" in a vain effort to present birth control as the wholesale panacea of all the sufferings of humanity (to be effective at some vague date in the future), I shall here attempt nothing more than to show that the practice of contraception to-day, among ever-increasing numbers of parents and parents-to-be, is an active and contributing factor to that something we call civilization—an active and contributing factor, please note, and not a mere passive accompaniment of progress. In other words, I hope to show that birth control is a cause, not a mere effect. But at the outset it is necessary, I think, to clarify our meaning of that much-used word "civilization."

Just what do we mean by civilization? It has been variously defined. It means, according to Montesquieu, "to render an intelligent being yet more intelligent." According to the theologians, it means "to make reason and the will of God prevail." Out of the various definitions that have come to us from the thinkers of the past, it becomes clear that civilization cannot be an affair of the individual alone. We come to see that civilization is the creation not of a single generation but of many; that it is the gradual substitution of order for disorder; of security in living instead of chaos. Civilization means the development of social and benevolent traits instead of the anti-social, the destructive, and the criminal instincts. It wakens men and women to the realization that they are all members of one great organism, so that it is impossible for one member of society, or one class of society, to be indifferent to the rest, or to realize inherent potentialities independent of the rest. The individual who insists upon the enjoyment of his own selfish pleasure, irrespective of the consequences of this indulgence to the present generation or the next, is obviously acting in an irresponsible and anti-social, and therefore an *uncivilized*, manner. He is reverting to bar-

barism and brutality. The civilized individual, on the other hand, realizes that he must share with the less fortunate the fruits of his own education, and that when he is doing all he can to enlarge and increase the volume of the human stream seeking enlightenment he increases thereby his own enjoyment of life.

Perhaps we can do no better than to accept Matthew Arnold's concept of a civilized society: "when the best available knowledge is distributed among them, when they are animated by a passion for the harmonious perfection of their faculties, when they have a true sense of human values, when their social sympathy is quick." The capital need of civilization, he tells us in his *master thought*, is that the whole body of society should come to live with a life worthy to be called *human* and corresponding with man's true aspirations and powers. "This, the humanization of man in society, is civilization. The aim for us all is to promote it, and to promote it is above all the aim of the true politician."

Civilization, then, implies the development and the actual realization of the inherent potentialities of the individual and the race. An environment—physical or social—which destroys, warps, or wastes these innate promises cannot in all fairness be characterized as civilized. This is how we must interpret the expression "human perfection," upon which thinkers of the past placed such importance.

Before proceeding to our attempt to show how dynamically the principle of birth control is related to these fundamental elements which constitute true civilization, it may be here profitable to summarize those factors. Our brief survey indicates that civilization advances by (1) the increase of intelligence (Montesquieu); (2) the replacing of disorder by order; (3) the substitution of philanthropic motives for anti-social and purely selfish activities: (4) the dissemination of the best available knowledge; (5) a passion for the harmonious perfection of human faculties; and (6) aiming to make possible for the whole body of society a life worthy to be called *human* (Arnold).

The program for universal birth control aims at the attainment, by the most direct and least hypocritical of methods, of the conditions enumerated above. It wastes neither time nor effort upon any fragmentary solution of the secondary problems of human society; but it insists that no solution of the complex problems of education, of social relations, of economic, industrial and political disorder, can be solved as long as the fundamental problem of human

breeding is ignored. The birth control program is not concerned with the fruits of culture, but with sowing the "seeds" of civilization. It does not insist that men and women be educated by books or the arts; but upon the basis of their innate, though possibly, undeveloped, intelligence, it does seek to awaken them to a consciousness of their responsibilities toward each other, to their children and children-to-be, and thus to the community of the present and of the future. Thus it seeks to fulfill the requirement expressed by Montesquieu: it renders intelligent beings yet more intelligent! We have discovered that initial intelligence—so wisely implied by the French sage yet so commonly overlooked—in the mothers of the most poverty-stricken strata of society—a rudimentary type of intelligence, if you will, but nevertheless capable of growth and development if nourished and cultivated in a sympathetic and civilized way—by sympathy, by answering the questions nearest the poor mother's heart, by meeting her needs, by divesting the technique of contraception of its harsh, professional and incomprehensible verbiage so that it becomes an everyday matter in her life.

After you have worked year in and year out among these mothers of the so-called lower classes, after you have witnessed the gradual change in their mental states, from fear and dejection and hopelessness to increasing assurancy and self-reliance, to confidence and mastery of life, you cannot avoid the realization that the very success of the practice—the concrete demonstration that intelligent control carries with it its own reward—brings with it psychic benefits of incalculable value. The mother no longer considers herself a slave. She is glad that she is standing upon her own feet. She feels herself mistress of her own life, and no longer the inert, helpless, hopeless victim of circumstances which inevitably go from bad to worse. The difference is as striking as that between freeman and slave. The mothers who are liberated—and liberated through the exercise of their own intelligence and foresight—from the relentless pressure of involuntary motherhood—almost automatically become more interested in life, in the future, in the upbringing of their children, in the affairs of the community at large. In a word, they have become more *civilized*. And this has been made possible not through the much-vaunted agencies of popular education, but because she has been given simple, sanitary instruction which assures her mastery of her own body and procreative functions. I could present the testimony of many parents—and particularly mothers—who have thus been enabled to regain mastery over the conditions

of their lives and are consequently fulfilling their maternal functions in far happier and more efficient fashion.

On the other hand, I have received thousands upon thousands of appeals from women who have had maternity thrust upon them time after time in rapid succession. To such women life holds little or no hope. Their interests are restricted to the miseries which engulf them and their ever-growing families.

To how great an extent this mastery is due to the instrument of birth control is made evident by a consideration of the painful confessions of women still in the bondage of enforced maternity. I have received thousands of these; and an analysis of them indicates the almost inevitable development of a particular *psychosis* or abnormal mental state. A rapid succession of pregnancies is usually productive of a mental condition verging on melancholia, the outgrowth of fear and the sense of unwarranted defeat in life. The slave mother comes to consider herself as a special, an exceptional victim of circumstances over which she has no control. Her interests are contracted to her own little sphere. In some cases, the miserable poverty-stricken home, the array of unwelcome children, the irresponsible, selfish, and often shiftless, husband, all become associated in her mind as outward evidence of her long series of sufferings; and she turns from them, drawing more and more into herself, and evading the responsibilities she cannot bring herself to face.

Such mothers, and the unfortunate children brought up in the environment they create, are scarcely encouraging subjects for the dissemination of culture or civilization. They may, and indeed do, become the passive recipients of what currently passes for popular education. *But true education is attained, only when men, women and children are made to see and to realize the tangible consequences of their own efforts.*

Bitter experience teaches the slave mother that unwanted babies are almost invariably the penalty inflicted upon her for her participation in a few brief ecstatic moments of physical indulgence, the pleasures of which she sometimes does not even share. After a rapid series of undesired pregnancies, the intimacies of the marital relation strike terror into the heart of the wife; her response to the advances of her husband has been "conditioned" by the heavy penalty which has been exacted. And so even the happiness of marriage is denied. Normal mental reactions are replaced by the psychic patterns and the mechanisms of despair and defeat. She comes to feel that she is the helpless victim of blind, relentless forces that have no respect

for the dignity of the individual, as indeed she is. It is one of the ineradicable traits of the human mind to expect some eventual reward for sacrifice and effort—and when these rewards are withheld, one of the strongest motives for sustained courage in the face of apparently insurmountable obstacles has been removed.

Equipped with the instrument of birth control, the mother regains not only mastery of her procreative function, but an immeasurably increased sense of power over life itself. Thus quite aside from its economic and eugenic aspects—the importance of which I am in no sense seeking to minimize—the practice of birth control brings with it inestimable psychic benefits. A whole sphere of life—the sexual—is elevated from the level of the purely instinctive and fortuitous and submitted to intelligent direction. Mystery and ignorance are banished. Married love is enriched and greatly reinforced by completely fulfilled sexual communion which has been emancipated of the destructive restrictions and mutilations of unexpressed fears. And so between husband and wife mental and spiritual bonds are strengthened and vitalized.

I dwell thus upon what we may term the psychic *by-products* of the practice of birth control because it is undoubtedly by them that we can most immediately gauge it as an *active* and *contributing* factor of civilization. The practice of birth control tends to break up old habits and old prejudices concerning the marital relation. There is no denying this fact. Birth control is not consistent with the whispered furtiveness, the secrecy, the ashamed and hurried contact, consummated under cover of darkness; the passive submission of the virtuous wife to the imperious demands of an insatiate spouse; nor with the gradual degradation of the sexual act into a mere physiological function, which, in the words of Shakespeare—

> ". . . within a dull, stale, tired bed,
> Goes to the creating of a whole tribe of fops,
> Got 'twixt sleep and wake . . ."

Just as civilized gastronomy has elevated the crude act of eating into an art of esthetic refinement, so the program of birth control aims to substitute for the greedy, hurried consummation of physical passion a reverent ritual undertaken with adequate preparation and under conditions which contribute to its beauty and assure its satisfying completion. The hungry man on the verge of starvation ravenously satisfies the cravings of his physical needs. The

civilized man dines slowly, savoring to the full the flavors of the exquisitely prepared food set before him, sublimating thus a physical need into an act of appreciation, even perhaps to the extent of educating himself in the essential wholesomeness of those commonplace acts out of which, on the whole, life is made up. So in the realm of sex we may bolt our pleasure, greedily satisfy deep-seated physiological and psychic cravings, selfishly usurp as much of crude sexual pleasure as we can, and always with reckless indifference to the consequences of our selfish acts, and with a total irresponsibility to its penalties. But such selfishness reveals none of the attributes of civilization, and carries with it its own penalty: for he who is selfish in the love-relation can never experience its deepest joys.

The technique of birth control dissociates two ideas: the ritual of physical and spiritual communion and the process of reproduction. Its opponents say that its advocates overvalue the former and undervalue the latter. They fail to recognize that, by placing the implement of this dissociation into the hands of husbands and wives, it places with them the responsibility of using that implement with intelligence and discrimination. But such has ever, since the discovery of fire, been the serene, untroubled way of civilization. It has placed in men's hands the sharp-edged knife, the razor, the harnessed powers of steam and electricity, alcohol, gunpowder, firearms, radioactivity and now the power of flight. Do not tell us that he will abuse these powers, that he will misuse them to his own destruction. We know that already. He has; he does; he will. But out of his own experience, his own trial and error, his own mistakes, by suffering his own self-inflicted punishments and his own hard-earned rewards, man slowly but certainly advances on the path of civilization. Like every other great instrument of civilization, birth control is making men and women face a new responsibility, and forcing their intelligence to the solution of problems they had for ages deliberately avoided.

Because of its misuse and abuse by reactionaries and defenders of the *status quo*, the term "morality" has come to connote, in this twentieth century of ours, practically everything that is distasteful to the spirit of progress. As a matter of fact, however, we cannot evade the problem of morality; and such ideas as may be advanced as instruments of an emergent civilization must be tested from the point of view of ethical integrity. Birth control has been denounced as inimical to the mind and morals and health of the younger citizens to whom we look for the future growth and upbuilding of

civilization. Its opponents claim that it will permit the "dissemination of immoral and salacious literature under the guise of information, and will give unlimited opportunity to the purveyors of the obscene in newspaper, magazine and every other form of advertising." Marriage without the desire and responsibility of parenthood,[1] and not lived in strict continence, is "immoral and sinful." The authority on which this opposition of the Roman Catholic Church against birth control is based is the conception that there is only one true Church, and subsequently only one true morality. It is claimed that the Catholic Church is the depository of eternal truth, the Kingdom of God on earth. The Catholic Church, according to Father Ward, is therefore responsible for the morals of the entire human race. It is the duty of the Church, therefore, to interfere with and to block all legislation that may adversely affect the "morals" of non-Catholics as well as Catholics. Though we have been led astray by ethical error, we are still all her children. The Catholic Church never loses the hope that non-Catholics will some day be counted in the fold. The Church therefore considers it her duty to supervise all social and moral legislation.

The position of the Church, as enunciated by this executive of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, exemplifies by its very exaggeration the concept of a "closed system" of morality that is far more prevalent than might at first be suspected. From this point of view there no longer exists any living moral problem. Right and wrong in the realm of ethical action have been decided once and for all time. No choice is offered the individual. He may submit to the dictates of the higher authority, and be saved; or he may decide his own problems for himself, and be eternally damned. He cannot question the laws of the ecclesiastical authorities concerning his sexual behavior. He—or preferably, she—is offered the choice between uninterrupted procreation or rigid continence. Unquestioning obedience, submission to ecclesiastical law, and the reference of all intimate personal and sexual problems to the nearest representative of the Church—such are the ready-made solutions to all moral questions of the adherents of this type of ethics.

This Catholic system of morality is the archetype of all ethical systems which rest upon unquestioning obedience of higher authorities, and which instill absolute respect for the folkways of the tribe. Morality of this type is responsible to no slight degree for the age-

[1] According to Mr. P. J. Ward of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.

old opposition of the medical profession to the practice of contraception. Conformity, respect for all external laws, and a blind and bland indifference to anything except the preordained and predetermined "plan of God" as formulated by the accepted authorities, are the essential virtues accentuated by all such closed systems of morality.

Against such "morality," the spirit of Western civilization is revolting with ever-increasing vigor. There has been a revolution in the world of morality of which we are now beginning to taste the first fruits. We are no longer living in a little closed completed universe of which God's plan was revealed once and for all time to a little group of delegates. The center of our universe has shifted from Heaven to earth. There have been at least four centuries of criticism and skepticism concerning the nature of "morals." Science and philosophy have destroyed the old concept of the absolute. All conditions that determine behavior and individual conduct are being reëxamined. This new world, this emergent civilization, is one of experimentation, of trial and error. The revealed and dogmatic basis of morality, as expressed by the Roman Catholics, and as accepted by so many other unthinking religious organizations, by so many so-called educators, by so many limited members of the medical profession, and even by some who call themselves sociologists, has lost its old authority.

Where the dogmatists read black, the world to-day is reading white. What they consider "morality" we consider moral imbecility. To-day we are claiming the right to solve our own problems, to make our own mistake and to learn the inevitable lesson to be derived from such mistakes. Our morality is an "ethics of the dust," as Professor Edwin Holt has expressed it, a morality of reality, aiming to show men and women the structure of their relationships to each other, to the world at large, and the world to be. It is not a morality concerned with melodramatic rewards and punishments, with absolute rights and wrongs, with unhealthy lingering interests in virginity and chastity, with its propensity for prying into the unwholesome details of sexual behavior, but a morality insisting that men and women shall face honestly and realistically the intimate problems of their own lives, and that they themselves, on the bases of their own experience and own desires, solve those problems with the instruments of intelligence, insight and honesty.

Birth control places in their hands a delicate instrument calling for intelligence and foresight for its successful use. And such an

instrument, calling as it does for a greater mastery of the art of life, becomes *ipso facto* a power for the development of the new morality.

Civilization, as we suggested in our introduction, is not concerned merely with the individual. It is a communal achievement. Its perpetuation depends upon its incessant expansion—its fecundity in quickening the spirit of each generation. It thrives by the diffusion of the *best available knowledge.* The carriers of civilization are the scientists, the philosophers, the artists; and also all those men and women who labor to divest knowledge of its secret, hidden, exclusive aspects, who humanize it, who make it understood outside the cliques of the cultivated and sophisticated, yet who in so doing do not corrupt it with falsehood. It is the supreme duty of the civilized, then, to disseminate as widely as possible the benefits of knowledge. Not without significance is the fact that we associate the very word civilization most closely with those institutions which exist for the purpose of enlightenment—universities, technical schools, research bureaus, and hospitals which dispense the benefits of highly technical research. On the other hand, we must consider as contrary to the movement of civilization all institutions which monopolize or pervert the truth for private gain. Such exclusiveness and selfishness, either in an individual or an institution, present grave obstacles to that humanization of knowledge upon which the very existence and perpetuation of culture depends.

The question to decide, in this connection, is whether the knowledge of birth control is worthy to be disseminated by the great distributors of *the best available knowledge.* We know that it has been condemned as a practice by the Church, that punitive statutes have been legislated aiming to circumvent its diffusion amongst the people at large. I do not intend here to attempt to refute the many arguments that have been advanced against the practice of birth control. For the most part they are based on the grounds of its "unnaturalness" and its alleged immorality. Against these claims, despite the condemnation of the spokesmen of traditional theology, despite all restrictive legislation, the practice of birth control has been accepted by ever increasing numbers of intelligent and prudent people in all civilized countries—mainly among the middle and upper classes. There is no dearth of statistics and carefully verified data to demonstrate that the practice of contraception is invariably correlated with intelligence, foresight and a higher standard of living among the parents; that a comparatively low birth-rate is accompanied

by a correspondingly low infantile mortality rate and a low maternal mortality rate. On the other hand, a high birth-rate, in all countries of the world, is accompanied by a high infant mortality rate, a low standard of living, and chaotic and often disastrous social and political conditions. As we descend the social scale, as the ordinary standard of intelligent living decreases, the birth-rate increases and the prudential check of birth control is ignored.

Birth control is thus no mere tentative theory, uncertain and untried, but an actual practice, tested and efficacious among the majority of intelligent husbands and wives. (In passing it is interesting to note that I have the records of not a few mothers of large and healthy families who admit their indebtedness to the practice of birth control. Such women, of the maternal type, and in comfortable economic circumstances, have desired more children than the normal woman, but have adopted the practice of birth control, in order to "space" the advent of each new arrival, and to exercise a complete control over their health and that of the family, without sacrificing the normal and legitimate happiness of the marriage relation.)

Why then has the diffusion of this important discovery been so retarded among those who need it most? The reason is not remote. Modern civilization has been lamentably neglectful of the central and fundamental importance of the whole problem of sex and human breeding. Occidental folkways have been based upon an outgrown medieval theology which even to-day exerts an incalculably dysgenic influence upon the race. Yet gropingly and with such means as they could devise, all societies have sought to insure and to perpetuate the well-being of the race and to prevent its degeneration. The high value placed upon *good breeding*, the condemnations of *mésalliances* (no matter how unwarranted they may have been in particular instances) have been tentative precautionary measures toward racial health and development.

Scientific methods of contraception seem therefore to have come as an answer to a great universal demand, which for centuries had been groping in the dark toward articulate expression. It is almost inconceivable that scarcely a century has passed since men first came to a realization that the great natural force of sexual passion—co-equal in its importance with hunger—might and should be harnessed for the needs and the benefit of civilization. Even then, this discovery seems to have been hit upon only accidentally, as an adjunct to investigations into problems of political economy. Malthus advocated continence and small families as a preventive of threaten-

ing overpopulation. And it was not for several decades that contraception was advocated for the same reason. To-day we realize that irrespective of its relation to the questions of overpopulation and the disposal of surplus populations by emigration or the conquest of new territories, the practice of hygienic contraception needs no external justification—*it is a civilizing force in itself*, and carries with it its own immediate benefits, its own rewards to the parents, to the children, and to the community at large.

Education in birth control does not restrict itself to the impersonal prescription of a device or a method, but aims to establish a new and sounder foundation for all marriage and all parenthood. The leaders of this program have not remained satisfied with imperfect contraceptives which interfere with or restrict the physical or psychical completion of sexual communion in marriage. The history of marriage and its tragedies have awakened them to the dangers of thwarting or restricting that relationship. And so the exponents of birth control have called upon scientists for the perfection of methods, for a contraceptive that shall in no way interrupt the complex, continuous act of sexual communion, but which shall, in particular, make possible the release of the psychic tension, no longer inhibited by the fear of pregnancy. As an English authority on the subject has wisely written: "In no stage should there be awareness of the contraceptive, except in so far as there is awareness that the particular act of sexual intercourse is one that will not be followed by pregnancy."

Instead of operating as a menace to the foundations of marriage, birth control is actually one of the surest means of assuring the fulfillment of its inherent promises. It recreates the very pattern of the marriage relation, perforce substituting intelligence and common sense for shame and the half-guilty consciousness of sin; of consideration for brutal selfishness; and of foresight for reckless irresponsibility. In all of these prevision is unquestionably a force working with and not contrary to the spirit of civilization as we understand it.

Its greatest value, however, is to be found in its assertion—and not its denial, as its enemies claim—of the supreme importance of child-life. One incontrovertible fact we cannot escape: among families into which a large number of children are born, there is apt to be a correspondingly large infantile mortality. The unwelcome child has an appreciably smaller chance of survival than the child brought into the world by desire. The grossly sentimental notion that the

mother of many children is the best mother is still prevailing, despite the most overwhelming evidence to the contrary. I have briefly sketched the ordinary self-confessed mental condition of the ordinary mother of unwelcome children. That the obstacles such children must overcome in their unequal struggle for life can contribute to their development is another fallacy that must be punctured once for all. Life presents obstacles enough to all of us—they need not be multiplied in the heart of the family for the benefit of young children! The mental and physical condition of the mother, both before and after birth, is of paramount importance to the whole life of her child. Whether we be partisans of heredity or of environment as the chief factor in the life of an individual, there can be no denying this factor—since the mother is both environment and heredity. Now that we realize that the first five years of a life are the most plastic and are those in which the whole psychic pattern of maturity is set, the importance of the surrounding and enveloping motherhood can scarcely be overestimated.

I have sought merely to trace the manifold implications and potentialities of birth control as a civilizing force. I have purposely avoided its less immediate and less actual aspects, hoping to emphasize the necessity of dissemination to the less fortunate classes by those who to-day enjoy its advantages. The civilized human being is commanded to carry others along with him in his march toward self-realization and perfection, or to be stunted and enfeebled in his own development if he disobeys. He can fulfill this duty best by sharing with others the knowledge which has aided him and his own family to maintain a standard of living which permits participation and enjoyments of the higher gifts of life. We need not be discouraged if obstacles are placed in our path. For we know that everywhere suppliant arms are outstretched to receive our message, and that the exercise of intelligence begets intelligence in kind. Only to the disdainful and the contemptuous, from the heights of their embattled selfishness, does this human soil into which we are seeking to implant the seeds of intelligent mastery of instinct, appear barren or sterile. We who have trod it know that it is capable, despite its seeming rockiness and its harsh surface, of nourishing these seeds, and of bringing them in their time to honorable fruition.

In allying ourselves with this force, we are sharing in that great communal parenthood that is far more fundamental than the selfish, egocentric parenthood which despite its endless activity and its incessant proliferation, remains infinitely insignificant as a contribu-

tive source to true civilization. In teaching birth control, we are the active agents of true civilization.

The changing attitude toward contraception, which is evident everywhere when men and women are thinking deeply about the constant problems of human existence—in Europe, in Asia, and in America—is one of the eloquent indices of the triumph of the new, scientific morality. It indicates the laying of a solid foundation for the civilization of the future. This, I venture to prophesy, will differ from the so-called civilization of the East, which has erected its structure on the ugly basis of human slavery and misery. It will be a civilization of a healthy and happy worldliness, demanding no blood sacrifices and permitting to each individual the full realization of his innate potentialities. We shall reach spiritual communism through the blossoming of the self.

Women in the past have been confronted with the empty victories of political freedom, of economic freedom, of social freedom. But with the winning of *biological freedom*, women and men and children will enter triumphantly into an era that will be in every sense of the word civilized.

In this hurried survey, I have purposely refrained from touching upon specific aspects of the present situation concerning birth control policies in the various countries of the world. I have sought instead to emphasize civilization's need for this instrument to effect humanity's liberation from the destructive slave-morality promulgated for so many centuries past. Until this is scrapped, no civilization worthy of the name can emerge.

SEX IN THE ADOLESCENT GIRL

BY PHYLLIS BLANCHARD

For a brief definition of the term adolescence, we might adopt the meaning given in Webster's Collegiate Dictionary: "The period of life between puberty and maturity, generally, . . . in the female sex, from twelve to twenty-one." The age at which puberty, or maturation of the reproductive cells, takes place is subject to individual variation, so that the period of adolescence begins earlier in some girls than in others. Likewise, maturity, physiological, mental and emotional, is attained early by some persons and late by others. Thus we cannot set exact time limits for adolescence, but on the average we may think of it as the junior and senior high school age and the four or five years immediately thereafter.

Modern psychiatry, with its analytical studies of maladjusted individuals, has shown that adult persons may remain exceedingly immature emotionally, in spite of physiological and intellectual maturity. Thus adolescence comes as a physical experience to some girls who are still infantile or child-like in their affective responses. They find it difficult to meet the many problems which arise—problems of educational and vocational adjustment, and of sexual adaptation; they are unable to put away childish things and to assume an increasing amount of personal responsibility. Whether the adolescent transition from childish dependence upon others to adult self-reliance and independence can be accomplished successfully depends upon many factors: the biological equipment of body and mind; the circumstances in which the individual is placed; the experiences of earlier years in the home and at school; in short, upon whether the adolescent is well or ill prepared to meet a complexity of new demands. Because the preparation, hereditary or environmental, has been imperfect in so many instances, maladjustments are prone to occur at this age of life. Thus, modern psychology regards adolescence as potentially a period of emotional instability, of critical import to the whole future adaptation

While in this day of vocations for women, educational and vocational choices are serious matters, perhaps the field of sex adjustments offers still more pitfalls for the adolescent girl, with her physical maturity but her immature emotional make-up. This is partly because she finds less assistance available in respect to decisions which affect sex conduct, while parents, friends and teachers are all eager to discuss other plans for her future. It is also to some extent a result of the changing morality which we may observe about us, a change with which parents and teachers are out of sympathy, or to which they comfortably close their eyes, so that their advice on sex matters often seems visionary and impractical. Therefore here, as in no other field of behavior, the girl is thrown back on a trial and error effort to work out her own problems, or upon imitation of the habits which her contemporaries have already established through trial and error procedure.

The difficulties of her situation may be considerably increased by her ignorance of the forces with which she is struggling. Even in this day of enlightened propaganda for sex education in childhood, we find whole sections of our country, especially in the more isolated rural districts, in which the girl's first introduction to sex is through her own experiences. She may learn of the menstrual function only after she has been frightened and worried by its unexpected appearance. The most she has been told about relationships between husband and wife is that there is some hidden degradation, knowledge of which she must be spared as long as possible. What must she think of herself when she dreams—as do most adolescent girls—of the delights of sex and love? [1]

Whether she accepts her dreams as natural phenomena or as manifestations of evil in her soul, they serve the purpose of draining off some of the sex energy which comes to its full power with sexual maturity. But a surplus still remains which makes imperative the acquisition of other outlets. In earlier centuries, when the girl was married at puberty, the functions of wifehood and motherhood upon which she entered provided biological expressions for her sexuality. With marriage delayed, as it so frequently is to-day, from five to ten years after the inception of adolescence, and with the formal regulations of society forbidding sexual intercourse between men and women outside the bonds of holy matrimony, this long premarital period must become one in which the sex drive finds substitutes for natural behavior. To be sure, in earlier societies there were

[1] Blanchard, *The Adolescent Girl,* Dodd, Mead, 1926, pp. 65-66; 70-79.

unhappy marriages in which young wives found little emotional satisfaction, and in our present society we know that some unmarried boys and girls, impatient of conventions, more or less secretly live together in what an older generation would characterize as a "state of sin." Yet for the majority of adolescent girls in this modern age neither marriage nor extra-marital sex relations offer relief for sex tension.

It is easy to see why the girl does not turn at once to relief obtained at biological levels. Long before adolescence, the influence of the family is exerted upon the child to secure an inhibition or repression of the sex impulses. Sex play of any kind is an occasion for reprimand and punishment if discovered by the parents. If not discovered, this is usually because playmates have impressed the necessity for concealment. Disapproval of parents or the furtive attitude of companions are alike in acting upon the child to produce an idea of sex as something wicked and to impress the fact that its biological expressions are particularly reprehensible.

The doubts and fears concerning sex activity and the oppressive sense of guilt which troubles the child who has indulged in sex play, all combine to check and limit natural sex behavior in adolescence. But emotional drives can only be inhibited up to a certain point; after that they must find diffused or sublimated outlets. Therefore we find in the adolescent, in whom sex tension is at an especially high pitch, a wide variety of acts which serve as vicarious outlets for the pent-up sex emotions. The Freudian school of psychoanalysis has given us considerable literature regarding the psychological substitutes for sex, which range from neurotic compulsions and other pathological acts which are at basis highly sex-colored, to the sublimation of repressed desires into the creative effort of art and literature. Between these two extreme types—the neurotic constitution which breaks down under the stress of sex tensions and the genius who can turn sex energy into creative work—there is a wealth of sublimated expressions. Verbalizations, dreams, daydreams, dancing and other socially approved contacts between boys and girls furnish some of the more common outlets for repressed sexual emotions.

These generalizations concerning the nature of adolescence and sexuality give us no vivid picture of the adolescent girl. It is, indeed, useless to try to paint any composite figure, for each girl differs from all the others. Individual variations in the native strength of the sex impulse and in the manner of its expression are exceedingly great. At best, we can only describe certain types of adolescent be-

havior, bearing in mind that no one type includes all girls, but applies only to a certain group. We must also bear in mind that as the girl develops and her life is enriched by new experiences, she may alter her behavior accordingly, so that our types are by no means mutually exclusive; the demure maiden of to-day may be the hard-boiled, demi-virgin of to-morrow, if subjected to a sufficient degree of social pressure inclining in that direction. With these safeguards to our thinking, and with frank recognition of the artificiality of such a device, let us consider some of the commoner and more normal kinds of sex behavior, leaving to the pathologist the neurotic and psychotic symptoms which occasionally appear during adolescence.

The adolescent girl who lives in an urban environment has heard much more about sex matters than was true of adolescents even fifteen years ago. Sex literature is no longer limited to scientific books and journals nor confined to virtuously guarded alcoves in university libraries. It has come out into the market place; the popular magazines are full of forensic articles about the new sex ethics and companionate marriage, and stories which are concerned primarily with the psychology or psychopathology of sex; no musical comedy, no really smart social satire, no vaudeville act is complete without its sex element. These sources of information are open to any girl who has the price of a "sex and art" magazine at the newsstand or a gallery seat in the theater. If she does not understand the broad references in print or on the stage, she can ask some wiser girl friend, her brother or her sweetheart. For brothers and sweethearts no longer are cast in the chivalrous rôle of protecting innocent virginity; it is rather for them to give the girl the enlightenment her parents are too inarticulate to provide.

The girl who goes to college or is acquainted with college men has an added advantage, for the books on the psychology and sociology of sex are at her disposal. She may read Freud, Havelock Ellis, Forel, Krafft-Ebing, Marie Stopes, and other pioneer authors who broke the conspiracy of silence that aimed to maintain sex among the mysteries and placed it among the subjects suitable for scientific treatment. Has her reading brought the girl any closer to a rational sex ethics, as these social-minded writers desired? Undoubtedly, in some instances; but there have been other results as well.

One result appears in the group of highly educated modern girls who have studied sex from every conceivable *verbal* angle. They are familiar with such facts as the increase of sexual desire at menstruation, the many kinds of so-called perversions, the dangers of

venereal diseases and the methods of birth control; in addition, they possess a collection of risqué or obscene stories couched in a vocabulary which their mothers—fortunately for their peace of mind—would find quite unintelligible. These girls may be fairly well aware of their emotional conflicts, yet they are often as completely at the mercy of those conflicts as were the girls of an earlier day, who were only vaguely conscious of restlessness and emotional tension without ascribing the cause to sex.

Perhaps the continuation of conflicts is due to the fact that while they are verbally free from repressions they are still inhibited from putting into overt behavior any of their sophisticated verbalizations. The conditioned responses and attitudes acquired in early childhood prevent actual practice of their theories. The association of pain with the defloration that accompanies the first sexual intercourse also tends to cause delays and hesitancies. Thus they are a prey to conflicting impulses: the impulse to dare and to experiment with their knowledge is opposed by remnants of prudery and shrinking from physical pain.

Thus there comes about a distinct cleavage between thinking and doing. These adolescent girls sit in on drinking parties where "strip-poker" may be played and where the words and phrases are such as were restricted to prostitutes, so far as women were concerned, not so very long ago. That they can emerge from these situations preserving physical—if not mental—virginity may sound fantastic, but it does happen. Ask the boys! They will tell you of their amazement at being repulsed by some of these girls whose speech and conduct in the group might reasonably lead one to expect even greater freedom in private. "You never can tell till you've tried 'em" is the way the boys sum it up; they know their Kipling—and their girls.

But what of the girl's reactions? How does she feel when she is taken at her word? Very often her indignation at being mistaken for "that kind of a girl" would be ludicrous if we could not comprehend the conflicts which underly her inconsistency. Having permitted the sex impulses of which she is, if anything, over-conscious rather than unconscious, to carry her into a situation which provides the maximum of visual and verbal stimulation and very many tactile stimuli as well, she recoils from the final consummation with all the force of the inhibitions which have been temporarily disregarded. In order to protect herself, or perhaps because she believes it is the proper line to take, she assumes the guise of outraged innocence and in-

sulted maidenhood. The facility with which her emotions force her from the rôle of pseudo-prostitute into that of the traditional good woman could only be equalled by the skilled performance of a great actress, and one of unusual versatility.

Usually, the girl can find an alibi for her questionable conduct; she blames the influence of liquor or some other scapegoat. Witness the girl who joined in the drinking of her boy friends, necked with them, and discussed birth control methods and her own sex feelings with them, but when one of the boys thereafter paid her a visit with contraceptives in his pocket, rejected his advances with the angry announcement that she should not be held responsible for agreements made under the influence of liquor. Nor did the boy's retort that she had shown no other signs of its influence, in either walking or talking, cause her to abandon this position of defense.

Despite her eagerness to preserve her physical virginity, it is the verbalizing type who is often credited with promiscuity. The faculty and alumnæ of a girls' college were very much disturbed over rumors of a "sexual intercourse club" among the students. They believed the worst. As a matter of fact, the only object of the club was the collection of sex stories, humorous and obscene, by the members and their meetings were devoted to reporting these stories.

Verbal outlets for sex tension are not restricted to the older and better educated girls; they are also characteristic of high school. The younger adolescents, however, are often forced to confine their interest to the use of sex slang and words which can be given a double meaning.[2] They have had physiology in the grades, but ordinarily from a text-book which contained no references to the reproductive system. Therefore they are unfamiliar with correct anatomical terminology, with which their college sisters are able to enliven and vary their conversations, but they are equally well versed in the language of the street.

Recently, nine junior high school girls were caught writing notes of a suggestive nature to boys. Words taboo in polite society of their elders formed the chief content of the notes. The teachers were sure that these girls must be having promiscuous sexual relations with the boys; they could see no other explanation of the notes. The girls denied any overt behavior, and physical examinations demonstrated that in no case had defloration taken place. While there are occasional instances in which the hymen remains intact after a slight

[2] See *A Young Girl's Diary*, Seltzer, 1921, for a description of the dual meanings ascribed to words in adolescent circles.

amount of sexual intercourse, this is rarely so, and it is highly improbable that all of these girls were deviations from the average in respect to this particular physical condition. It is more reasonable to believe that the notes they wrote were no more than verbal outlets for their sex emotions.

There are many adolescent girls for whom verbal outlets take the form of stories and poems. They are unconscious of the sex motivation underlying their creative effort and often take it very seriously as the sign of a special talent pointing the way to vocational decisions. This error may also be made by parents, who mistake the effervescent sexuality of youth for budding genius. Nor is it always possible for the teacher or the expert in vocational guidance to be certain whether the girl is possessed of a creative drive which will persist throughout her life, or whether she has turned to literary endeavor temporarily, as a sublimation for repressed sex desires. Differentiation is complicated by the fact that genius frequently is foreshadowed by remarkable achievements in childhood and especially in the teens.[3]

Ordinarily, however, the writings of the young genius and the adolescent who is simply seeking release for emotional tension are of a very different quality, and we need only compare the two products to avoid mistaking one for the other. Literary genius shows itself in an unusual and large vocabulary, a nice discrimination of word meanings, and felicity and originality of phrasing, characteristics which are not apt to be prominent in more mediocre writing.[4]

Were parents and teachers wise in understanding the girl's emotional life, they would encourage her to write poems and love stories to her heart's content, regardless of the presence or absence of literary merit. This writing is a safety valve for the escape of sex energy, and a far more desirable one than many others which might replace it. But the adult does not always realize the value of self-expression to the adolescent girl.

"I wrote a love story for my theme in English the other day," said a seventeen year old high school girl, "but I guess I shall never be able to try that again. The teacher told me it was sentimental and sloppy, and that I was too young to know anything about love."

Probably the teacher's criticism was justified by the standards of

[3] Cox, Catherine, *Genetic Studies of Genius,* vol. II, "Early Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses." Stanford University Press, 1926. Chapter XIII.

[4] For further discussion, and samples illustrating the contrast between mere verbalization of feelings and adolescent genius, see *The Child and Society,* by Blanchard; Longmans, Green, 1928; pp. 245-349.

an English class, but it certainly indicated little knowledge of the psychology of adolescence or of its mental hygiene.

If we probe underneath the verbal camouflage, we may be surprised at some of the naïve ideas the adolescent girl retains. Her sophisticated chatter often conceals a depressing ignorance. The four-letter words which she writes in her notes may have only a vague connotation to her mind; she uses them in imitation of conversations she has heard among boys or with girls more completely informed than herself. She will tell you of her favorite man teacher that she likes him because he has sex-appeal, even if she can no more define the term than to say it is just one that all the boys and girls use, and that it means he is a "handsome sheik" or that he has "It." This is, of course, not true of all adolescents; there are some girls who, even in the teens, know very well what sex-appeal is—and how to use it. The point to be made is that from her speech you cannot tell the experienced from the inexperienced girl, since both affect the same style of conversation.

Perhaps we may be permitted to digress, momentarily, from the description of types of adolescent behavior, to further consideration of the way in which standardization in regard to external characteristics governs adolescence. For high school and college girls show an amazing conformity within their own age group not only in their manner of speech, but also in respect to dress, the lavish use of cosmetics, smoking and drinking. Although conversation may be in most cases a verbal expression of sex interests, this is not so true of these other phenomena. The modern girl has been accused, especially by men, of displaying exhibitionistic tendencies in both costume and behavior.[5] A little mature reflection may well cause us to realize that however much girls may wish to attract boys, that is not the chief reason why they have been wearing short skirts, bobbing their hair, and painting their faces. Like all women, they are simply the victims of the fashion arbiters, who exploit the feminine sex for their own economic gain.

It was, admittedly, the young girl who hastened to put on knee-length draperies and to cut her hair when fashion first decreed these styles. But as this is being written, there are signs that the youngsters are turning away from these "old-fashioned" ways, and are letting their hair grow and lengthening their skirts. The older women, however, are still nonchalantly displaying length of limb and

[5] For example, see "Some Tranquil Reflections on the Jazz Age," by H. E. Barnes, *The Modern Quarterly*, vol. IV, no. 3, p. 230-234.

shortness of hair. At the high school and college dances this is especially noticeable; girls are modest in their ankle-length *robes de style* while faculty guests still show their knees; the girls wear soft coils of hair, while members of the faculty still are immaculately shingled. In the face of such observations, it seems a little far-fetched to class the adolescent girl as an exhibitionist and somewhat erroneous to conclude that she dresses only to attract masculine attention.

If we seek for the psychological reasons why the girl is so easily persuaded by each new fashion we have only to realize how greatly self-assurance is bolstered up by the feeling of being well-dressed, which for women means stylishly dressed. Because of the social poise which the adolescent girl must maintain in spite of the fact that she is, as we have said previously, to some extent still a child in her emotional responses, she is extremely self-conscious and sensitive. To her sharp awareness of her personal deficiencies, the clothes by which they may be partially concealed are a veritable life-saver.

G. Stanley Hall and other psychologists have suggested that every piece of apparel serves to reinforce and extend the personality, becoming, in a sense, a part of the wearer's ego. The adolescent, excessively group conscious and ashamed of individual idiosyncrasies, is able to smooth out these differences with the protective covering of clothes, hairdressing and cosmetics which make each person look sufficiently like the others to relieve anxiety as to any noticeable variation. So the adolescent girl seeks self-respect and protection under her gaudy costume, with a view to warding off social humiliations. As the years pass on and she grows accustomed to playing the rôle of maturity—for it is a question as to how many adults become really mature—she has less need of protection and may be more indifferent about dress.[6]

With reference to smoking and drinking, which also seem to be a part of the adolescent pattern, at least in certain communities, here, too, we may need to seek other explanations than that of sex manifestations. Rather than an effort to place herself on an intimate footing with boys in order to slip more readily into love-making, may we not more accurately conceive that they are an expression of the girl's masculine protest, a sign of her determination to have as much freedom as a boy? The boys seem to accept drinking at this evaluation; if a girl "passes out" from too much liquor, she is taken home as casually as if she were one of their own sex.

[6] See *The Adolescent Girl,* by Blanchard, Chapter II.

What kind of girl, then, is she who is victimized by this new freedom of modern youth, who finds that her trust in her boy companions has been misplaced and that they have taken advantage of her condition? Ordinarily, this is a type of girl whose home training has ill prepared her for assuming direction of her own conduct. The girl who has grown up with boys, at home with brothers or at co-educational schools, is aware of masculine attitudes. She knows where "necking" leaves off and sexual seduction begins. The girl who enters a co-educational college from the shelter of a convent school, or from a home in which she has been guarded from contact with boys, is the one who does not know how to make the proper use of liberty. Her desire to be popular, when she is for the first time on familiar terms with the opposite sex, leads her to bestow favors too freely, to accept proposals which her more sophisticated classmates would refuse. She gives the impression that she is inviting sex experience when in reality she is only trying to imitate girls of more worldly experience.

Some of these girls from a cloistered early environment become serious "problems" in the student personnel of large co-educational universities. In one college, an unexpected pregnancy brought a convent-bred girl to a private conference with the dean of women, in which she admitted some recollection of conduct, after she had had a few drinks, which might have caused her condition. She had not realized the danger at the time, because of her unrealistic sex education. In another university, the disciplinary committee was called upon to consider the case of a girl who had returned to the dormitory at a flagrant morning hour, dishevelled and incoherent. She had gone for an automobile ride with some other girls and boys, but had become frightened when they parked and entered into rather vigorous love-making. She ran away from the party, only to find that it took hours to walk back over a distance the car had traversed in minutes. At home she had never been permitted to go out with boys, and remarked that she did not understand how to act toward them.

A striking contrast to the too-innocent girl is the type who finds compensation for a feeling of inferiority by demonstrating her power over men. There are many girls who find adequate satisfaction for the will-to-power at intellectual levels, through scholastic and vocational achievement. But others, especially those who feel inferior because they have believed themselves unattractive to men, lacking in sex-appeal, can only be reassured by sex triumphs. Some of them

take one lover after another, in order to find adequate compensation for the feeling of inferiority; they must prove that their attraction for men is unlimited in order to rid themselves of the fear that it is really slight. There are also girls whose compensatory behavior consists of dominating completely without any final yielding. Their most intense pleasure lies in leading a man on, in making him a victim of passionate desire, and in remaining the object of this desire even while repulsing his ultimate advances.

No better description of this type of adolescent girl can be given than Jacques Leclerc's story of Rosalie Dwyer, "An American Virgin." [7] Rosalie leads each lover on, works him up to the highest pitch of expectancy, shares his couch at night, but eludes the seemingly inevitable consequences of her behavior by a clever appeal to his tenderness and protection. In the morning she is a virgin undespoiled, who slips triumphantly out of arms still aching to hold her. As thus described, Rosalie is more than a character in a story; she is a type of modern adolescence.

An increasing interest in the kind of sex expressions which we have been taught to consider abnormal or perverted seems to be characteristic of still another type of modern girl. An insatiable curiosity to see and experience all things is the motive of her behavior. Mutual masturbation—manipulation of the boy's genitals by the girl while he plays with hers, the sensual contact of nude bodies with external contact of the genitalia, even oral perversions, all have their fascination for the girl who is exploring the borderlands of sex. In fact, the outstanding characteristic of her sex life is avidity for new sensations.[8]

While curiosity is undoubtedly one of the urges causing this type of sex conduct, it must also be remembered that these substitutes give a direct physical relief to the fundamental impulses of sex which more roundabout sublimations do not provide. Most of these physical contacts result in an ejaculation for the male and an orgasm for the female participant. Therefore, they come nearest to the full and complete physical and psychological satisfaction of sexual intercourse.

We have been taught that such forms of sex expression, which are usually termed perverted and abnormal, are not only morally

[7] In his book *Show Cases.*

[8] Davenport, in her studies, found that a comparatively large number of girls displayed curiosity about sex experiences rather than motherhood. Pehaps this curiosity was a foreshadowing of the conduct which we observe to-day. See *The Salvaging of American Girlhood,* by Davenport, Chapter IX.

wrong but also that they are dangerous for physical and mental health. Psychiatric observation suggests that mere participation in these experiences is not in itself injurious unless indulged in to such an extent that it interferes with the necessary regimen in respect to food, rest and sleep. It is when conscientious scruples, born of early teachings, give rise to feelings of guilt and anxiety that we may expect a reaction upon mental health. When the girl begins to think in the conventional terms of *misconduct* rather than *conduct*, emotional conflicts are apt to develop. The impairment of health is usually due to these emotional conflicts concerning the experience and not to the experience *per se*.

Anthropology also offers evidence as to the non-injurious effect of such sex plays in childhood and adolescence. Malinowski's [9] studies of the Trobriand Islanders indicate that this behavior, which is socially accepted by those tribes, results in no injury to the individual nor is it a cause of later marital maladjustments. Moreover, the marriages are monogamous in spite of earlier promiscuous play relationships. Mead's [10] observations of Samoan sex behavior indicate that early variety of experience acts to prevent the girls from growing into neurotic and frigid women and therefore facilitates later sex adjustments. In our society, however, the adults look askance at modern adolescents and their exploratory activities. Since the day of moralizing is past, they can only suggest that the girl is dissipating her energy into non-intellectual channels or preparing the way to unhappy married life in later years.

Is is not just possible that we are rationalizing our own emotional refusal to accept this kind of behavior? When we warn the girl, "You are spoiling your capacity for adjustment to marriage," or "Such conduct will interfere with your education and your vocational success," we may be unconsciously trying to justify our own attitudes and prejudices. Psychology and sociology must furnish objective measurements of the effects of adolescent sex experiences before we can make a final and authoritative statement.

As for the adolescents themselves, when once they have broken away from conventional standards and taken to indulgence in promiscuous relationships, whether normal or abnormal in type or, as is more usual, a combination of the two, they have none of our mis-

[9] Malinowski, *Prenuptial Intercourse between the Sexes in the Trobriand Islands.* Psychoanalytic Review, 1927, vol. XIV, pp. 20-36.

[10] Mead, Margaret. *Coming of Age in Samoa* (Morrow, 1928), especially chapters X, XI and XIII.

givings. So many of the old social controls have disappeared—the fear of pregnancy partially removed by information about birth control, the use of the automobile to bear one away from the observation of critical parents and neighbors, the decline of belief in old-time religion which promised punishment in a future life if not in this. The loss of virginity and decrease of opportunities for marriage as a result has also ceased to figure very largely, for the girl knows that her bridegroom would have no way of discovering whether she were virginal or not. She is ready with the explanation that physical exercise in modern athletics causes a rupture of the hymen, and the layman is in no position to challenge the statement. As for the boys who are her playmates during the pre-marriage period, it is her belief that it would be unethical for them to betray her, and she expects them to live up to this belief.

We must simply face the fact that some of our adolescent girls are demanding masculine privileges in the field of sex behavior as well as in drinking and smoking. Judge Lindsey's insistence should indeed have made us aware of this, for he has cited enough cases for our conviction. Whether his solution is the best, is another question, and not one for discussion in a psychological review of the sex life of the adolescent girl.

One of our difficulties, in analyzing adolescent behavior, is the hazy idea which we have as to the number involved in any particular kind. We can make accurate statements on certain points. For example, the U. S. census gives the number of marriages for girls from fifteen to seventeen years of age (inclusive) as 145,000. How this group, which fits into the conventions of an earlier day, compares with that we have just been describing would be a valuable bit of information, but at present we have no way of obtaining it.

Our clinical contacts with adolescent girls who have become involved in sex relationships outside of marriage give us a picture of still another type of conduct. In most instances we find that the sex behavior has resulted from the girl's emotional conflicts. Sometimes it is the necessity to break away from over-authoritative parents which has been the motivating drive, an extreme assertion of personal liberty being a natural reaction to too many restrictions. Again, because of death, divorce or desertion, there may be the lack of a satisfactory father-daughter relationship to tide the girl over the period of adolescent instability. Or perhaps life with a lover seems the only way of escape from an unpleasant family

situation, the only means of securing the recreation which is essential to youthful natures.

Some state of emotional deprivation is the common denominator to which these varied factors simmer down. The sex behavior is a search for emotional satisfactions that have otherwise been denied the girl. Perhaps we can make this point clearer if we select two or three case records from our clinic files, and present the essential features which explain the girl's conduct.[11]

Case One

From the time Elise was two years old, her mother considered her somewhat unresponsive. Actually, the mother was herself a very moody person, who would lavish affection on the child one day and find fault with her and punish her the next. Elise turned to her father for a steady, unchanging affection, and upon him bestowed her love. This father-daughter relationship was interrupted by the parents' separation when the girl was twelve years of age.

From that time Elise had to seek for a substitute love object. She was sent to different boarding schools, but did not remain long in any of them. Her most protracted stay was at a convent school, where she projected her emotions upon one of the sisters who taught her. Her feelings for this sister could not be expressed in kisses or caresses, so she translated them into the verbal outlet of poetry. The following verse is typical of her productions upon this theme:

> 'She's just a holy little nun,
> My sister is the dearest one
> To me, in all this wide, wide world;
> She's like a precious little pearl,
> A treasure from beneath the sea,
> A pearl who stole my heart from me."

When she returned home from the convent, Elise had to find another father-substitute. She had brief friendships with boys her own age, but none of these "crushes" lasted long. She petted with

[11] For similar studies see the cases described by the following authors:
Taft, Jessie. *Mental Hygiene Problems of Normal Adolescence,* National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Ave., N. Y.
Thomas, W. I. *The Unadjusted Girl,* Little, Brown, 1917.
Bronner, Augusta. *Effect of Adolescent Instability on Conduct,* Judge Baker Foundation, 40 Court Street, Boston, Mass.
Healy, William, *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct,* Little, Brown, 1917.
Van Waters, Miriam. *Youth in Conflict,* Republic Publishing Co., 1925.

them and let them kiss her, but when they suggested further sex experiences she refused. The summer she was sixteen a young man of twenty-eight came to visit in the town where Elise lived. He had a car, and often took the girl for long drives. On these trips he did not at first make love to her, but talked with her about many things, just as her father had been accustomed to do. Gradually he began to show more affection, and one day he kissed her. She was by this time completely infatuated; she had found a satisfactory love-object at last. When he asked her to have sexual relationships with him, she consented.

Elise had assumed that it was only a question of time before her lover would marry her. It was a decided shock when she heard her mother say that he was going West to marry a girl to whom he was engaged. She became hysterical, and asserted that her mother was mistaken, or that she had invented the story. The mother's suspicions were aroused by the emotional disturbance Elise showed, and she began to question her daughter. When she learned the truth, she, too, became upset, and wildly threatened to force the man into marriage with Elise at the point of a pistol, if necessary.

Elise finally herself sent for her lover, told him that her mother had discovered their secret, and begged him to marry her at once. Her chagrin may be imagined when this man, who had been the lover of her dreams as well as in actual fact, denied that he had ever made love to her. She felt that her heart was broken, and in her despair she turned to the friend of her childhood—her father. This she accomplished by running away from her mother and presenting herself at her father's boarding place in a nearby city, to be taken in by him.

Even though she was with her beloved father again, her experience had made too great an impression to be easily forgotten. She was alone in a strange city, where she had no friends, while her father was away at his work all day. Once again she turned to poetry to express her feelings.

"I dread the golden light
That brings the unwelcome dawn,
For then I must awake
And know that you are gone.
I'll always love the night—
It brings me dreams of you,
Dreams of things I can't forget,
Those nights that we once knew."

Page after page she poured out her heartbreak. Poem after poem, all on the one theme. Some she sent to her lover, but waited in vain for a reply. He remained silent even in the face of such a lyrical plea as this:

"Oh, I hoped that I had forgotten
The man who broke my heart,
But a song, the song that once you sang,
Tears my very soul apart.
The tears fill my eyes—I remember
Your voice as you sang it to me,
I long for you wildly, my dearest,
Only yours can I ever be."

At last, the final touch of pathos, she wrote a reply to herself, which she could read and pretend it was from him:

"To Elise

Do you think that I have forgotten
The hours of joy spent with you?
Did you really believe, little sweetheart,
That my love for you was not true?
Oh, how could I ever forget you—
Your smile, your hair and your eyes?
Oh, I love you, adore you, my dearest!
For you in a moment I'd die.
You're away from me now, my beloved,
But I won't let you stay very long—
I must have you right next to my heart
For there, little love, you belong."

Although Elise had drifted into this love affair in the search for a father-substitute, she did not understand her deeper motives. She could, however, rationalize her conduct very cleverly. She had no feeling of wrong-doing, she asserted; of course, she did not exactly believe in free love, as did so many of her friends, but she had truly cared for her lover and had expected their relationship to be a permanent one. She now supposed he would never marry her, and that she would eventually marry some one else, as she wanted a home and children. But she did not believe she would ever be able to love any one else as she had him. She did not expect to tell the man she married anything about this experience, as it would be "none of his busi-

ness." Brave words, echoing the philosophy of "the revolt of modern youth," but what depths of emotional conflicts were covered thereby!

Case Two

Let seventeen-year-old Genevieve present her situation in her own words:

"My mother has been dead seven years and my father has been unhappy, but so have I. Our home is in a nice neighborhood and well-furnished, but it isn't a home, only a house. We sit through the meals and never say a word except when my father asks me how I am getting along in school. In the evening, he reads and I play the piano or write stories. But I couldn't stand it; I had to have some excitement.

"I tried bringing home some boy friends, but father would call me into the next room and ask all about them in such tones they could hear him, and they never would come back. So I began to meet them outside. About two years ago, at a dance hall, I met a man with whom I fell in love. I stayed with him overnight at different times, telling my father I stayed with other girls. When I found out that he was married, I just lost faith in men and in God. I haven't cared what happened since then.

"Before that, I was ambitious. I wanted to have a good time, but I also wanted to write. I had sold two stories to the ——— Magazine. But I haven't even tried to write this last year. I began to go around with other boys because I thought it would help me to forget *him*. Besides, when I tried to stay at home it was worse than ever, with father never saying anything. He bought a car, but he wouldn't let me drive it. All I could do was sit and think how miserable I was.

"I stayed away three nights last week. I guess that made father suspicious, or else they sent him a note from school. Anyway, he found out I had been cutting school to go on trips with some of the boys. I have stayed all night with several of them. But I don't seem to forget, and the only time I was happy was when I thought *he* loved me the way I loved him."

Genevieve had a really brilliant mind.[12] Her stories showed promise of exceptional literary accomplishment if her talent could be given opportunity for development. Her plots were both logical and dramatic, and her style was unusually mature and finished.

[12] On the Army Alpha intelligence test she achieved a high A rating.

Her statement that she had sold two stories was true. Given a happier home, she would undoubtedly have found in writing an adequate sublimation for sex.

Because her bereaved father could provide only a joyless home, because she was deprived of normal parental love and affection, she sought elsewhere for emotional satisfaction. It is not surprising that she found a spurious offering, which only temporarily fulfilled her needs. The débâcle of her morale which followed her unfortunate deception is a pitiful spectacle. She contracted gonorrhea, during the period of promiscuity which followed her disillusionment, but this is a minor part of her tragedy. The possibility of a permanent loss of her desire to create, to express herself in literary production, is the real misfortune, not only for Genevieve but for society. We cannot afford to sacrifice that all too rare commodity—youthful genius. But for the emotional deprivations of her early adolescent years and her father's failure to understand her needs, her experience with sex might have been postponed or more happily arranged. Thus Genevieve might have been spared the bitterness which threatens to disrupt her young genius.

Case Three

Esther, at sixteen, was well on her way to being the sweetheart of the American Navy. She had not been permitted to bring friends of her own age to her home and her parents were also opposed to her going out with boys. They disapproved of dancing and would not let Esther attend the high school dances. They did not object to her going to the movies with a girl friend, and this became Esther's stock excuse for her absences.

While ostensibly at the movies with another girl, in reality Esther was visiting the cheap dance halls of the city. There she met sailors and her imagination was fired by the romance of their travels. Their stories gave rise to golden dreams of escape from the drab realities of daily life. She deserted the dance halls to hang around the Navy Yard and watch the battleships in the harbor, flirting with passing sailors.

At last Esther began to beg her sailor friends to take her away with them. Some of them laughed, but one promised that he would do so if she would have intercourse with him. Since this seemed the only way to gain an entrance to the world of romance for which Esther longed, she gave her consent. The next morning, the battleship left for Seattle, and Esther's sailor went with it, but Esther

found herself left all alone in the hotel room where they had spent the night.

Her all night disappearance had disturbed Esther's parents, and they began to watch her. They soon discovered she was frequenting the dance halls and going with sailors. Then home life was made more unpleasant than ever, for criticism and nagging were incessant. Again the girl turned to a sailor for release, but this time she had no illusions as to the duration of the association. She spent several days with him, and when his ship left, returned to her home. When she had again endured the hostility which greeted her there for a few weeks, she repeated her disappearance. Altogether, she made use of five different sailors in order to secure periods of relief from her home.

The sex relationships, as such, afforded Esther little pleasure. In fact, according to her own statements, she did not experience any passion and thought that the act was repulsive rather than attractive. But she got so depressed at home that she felt as if nothing mattered except to get away for a time. She had to find some man to finance these absences, and it was not fair to expect him to do this "for nothing." Some of the sailors were very decent about it, and when she expressed her dislike of sex relations did not insist that these take place.

As a matter of fact, her attachment to sailors has other than a sexual basis. She feels a sympathetic kinship with them, because she thinks that people treat them the way her parents have treated her. "No one ever gives them any credit for trying to do right. They say they might as well have the blame as the name, and I can understand that, for that is just how I felt when my parents criticized me, although I had not done anything very bad at the time, so far as I could see."

Perhaps it is because her love life has never been very deeply involved in any of her sex experiences that Esther has been comparatively little disillusioned by them. She is still ambitious to make a success of life and to have a vocation. Given a chance to have part-time employment, to live away from home, and to go back to high school, she eagerly took advantage of these opportunities. She seems quite satisfied with the ordinary social contacts with young men; now that they can come to call on her and she can go with them to dances, there is apparently no very strong urge to more intimate relationships. The only remnants of her naval obsession are a continued correspondence with two of the sailors who took

care of her without exacting payment in return, and some rather impractical daydreaming of being a social worker "in order to improve conditions for the sailors," after she finishes school.

Case after case could be cited in which abandonment of conventional security for the dubious adventure of sex relationships represents an escape for the girl. It may be an escape from a home life in which she has felt starved for affection, or from an environment in which the normal recreational needs of adolescence have been ignored. In all these cases, the sex behavior is motivated by some unsatisfied fundamental craving of other than purely sexual nature.

The results may vary widely for different individuals. Sometimes the gay adventure ends in sexual promiscuity, sometimes in the birth of an illegitimate child, or, again, in the contraction of venereal disease. Fortunately, in many instances, the girl has ability or talent which enables her to achieve vocational adjustments, so that she need not exploit her body for a livelihood. Nor does the fact that she has stepped outside the bounds of conventional behavior, for the time being, inevitably mean that a girl must remain a social outcast all the rest of her life.

Parents are less self-righteous in these days; our popular books and articles on juvenile delinquency have given them an inkling that if their daughter "goes wrong" they may be partly responsible; although they may feel disgraced by her conduct they are slow to disown her, as they felt morally obliged to do in earlier times. It was the rigid attitude of society which condemned the girl to promiscuity and to prostitution after extra-marital relations. Now that we have better understanding of her problems, and have become more tolerant, she is almost as likely to become a successful working woman or a respected wife and mother as the more conventional person. The discovery that the girl who enters upon unsanctioned love affairs is neither "oversexed" nor a "prostitute type," but rather the victim of her family situation and of the emotional conflicts caused thereby, has done much to alter the social attitude and to give her an opportunity to live a normal, useful life.

From clinical studies of adolescence, we have learned many other things concerning the sex behavior of the adolescent girl. It would be repetitive to dwell upon those aspects which have already been reported in detail in the literature: the suggestibility which leads the mentally deficient girl into sex experiences,[13] the maladjust-

[13] Richmond, Winifred. *The Adolescent Girl,* Chapter III.

ments due to abnormal attitudes toward the father,[14] the emotional rhythms—moods of elation and depression—which are so closely tied up with the menstrual cycle.[15]

It may be that the growing frankness concerning homosexuality and the possibility that there is a tendency toward the increase of this deviation of the sex life, is worthy of further consideration. Apart from the explanation offered by Freud—that homosexuality is the result of experiences which have retarded the development of the sex impulse and kept it fixed at a childish level, and also apart from the belief that homosexuality is caused by glandular imbalance,[16] we find that there are certain economic and social forces at work in its favor. If these do not form a sole cause, they at least afford a favorable environment for the continued growth of predispositions to homosexuality.

Vaerting has advanced the thesis that secondary sex characters are becoming so modified that differentiation between the sexes has decreased markedly.[17] The boyish figure, skill in athletics, executive ability, success in business or professional life, enable the woman to approximate the conventional masculine ideal as readily as the standard of femininity in respect to many physical and mental characteristics.

It is easy for the less aggressive and less self-reliant girl to become dependent upon one with a stronger personality, especially if both are segregated in a girls' school or engaged in one of the occupations which to a great extent cuts them off from meeting eligible men. The girl with the dominating personality finds satisfaction in guiding and protecting her weaker friend; her attitude is at the same time both motherly and loverlike. Such attachments may result only in temporary schoolgirl crushes, or may be maintained indefinitely at a highly sublimated level, with the only overt manifestations of the homosexual element in the possessiveness and jealousy which the two girls show toward each other. In other cases, to be sure, there may be a crude physical basis for the relationship.

Sometimes one girl out of a homosexual pairing essays heterosexual experiences, but there is grave danger that she will find her-

[14] Blanchard, *The Adolescent Girl,* Chapter III.

[15] Blanchard, *The Adolescent Girl,* Chapter II. Stopes, Marie, *Married Love.* Fifield, London, 1918.

[16] Bell, Blair. *The Sex Complex,* Baillière, Tindall and Cox, London, 1916. Lipschütz. *The Internal Secretions of the Sex Glands,* especially pp. 367-371. Williams and Wilkins, 1924.

[17] "Dominant Sexes," in *Our Changing Morality,* pp. 147-163. Boni, 1924.

self unable to adjust to this more natural relationship. There are more cases than are usually suspected where a marriage fails because of homosexual trends in the wife's personality. An example known to the writer could be mentioned, where a girl decided to leave her husband and return to live with her former girl friend, although she had borne a child and would have to take the baby with her. Dr. Collins, who estimates the number of homosexuals as about three per cent of the general population, has reported similar cases, while Bourget based his play *The Captive* upon just this situation.[18]

The erotic day dream is another common devitation of sex behavior in the adolescent. The girl who is unable to make friends readily with either her own or the opposite sex is most apt to turn to this means of compensation. She cannot find any reality which brings satisfaction of her cravings, therefore she retreats into a world of fantasy where she may order things as she will. In some of these day dreams the preoccupation is with the physical aspects of sex and a sexual orgasm may be experienced. This has been called *psychic masturbation.* Or the reverie may be limited to visions of loving and being loved on a rather sublimated plane.

The day dream is such an easy way of escape from unsatisfactory realities that it may become an habitual response. The girl may yield more and more completely to fantasy thinking, until she no longer rouses herself to put energy into her school work or to make friends with her schoolmates. She may continue this retreat from reality until she becomes a seclusive, introverted person. Carried to this extreme, the day dream may be a menace to mental health; the girl may sink into a Nirvana of dreams whence there is no returning to a life of activity and sanity. But a certain amount of day dreaming is to be expected of normal youth. It need cause no anxiety until interest in other occupations begins to pale beside its allure.[19]

[18] See Dr. Collins' book *The Doctor Looks at Love and Life,* Chapter IV. Doran, 1926. Collins, *Should Doctors Tell the Truth?* Harper's Magazine, August, 1927, p. 326. For literary illustrations see: *A Regiment of Women,* by Clemence Dane; *Housemates,* by Beresford; *Dark Laughter,* by Sherwood Anderson. Also, *The Adolescent Girl,* by Richmond, pp. 124-127; *The Adolescent Girl,* by Blanchard, pp. 169-174.

[19] For more detailed study of day dreams of adolescent girls, see *Collected Papers on The Psychology of Phantasy,* by Constance Long, London, Baillière, 1920. Also, *Women and Leisure,* by Lorine Pruette, Chapter VIII, "Day Dreams of the Adolescent Girl." Dutton, 1924. *The Adolescent Girl,* by Richmond, pp. 51-54. *The Adolescent Girl,* by Blanchard, pp. 70-81.

If we wish to be philosophical about the adolescent girl and her sex problems, we might say that she is, after all, only the reflection of the age in which she lives. The change from a pain to a pleasure economy has affected sex relationships as well as other aspects of human life. So it is, perhaps, that the girl has come to look upon sex experiences as a way of gratifying her own personal wishes rather than as a means to motherhood. She is interested in the pleasant and attractive phases of sex without any of the painful after-results.

Before birth control knowledge was common property, it was the conventional thing to regard sex as more or less inseparable from child-bearing. Possibly the girls of that time were taught to look upon maternity as the desirable goal and sex as the means to that end partly by way of making reality more bearable. Other forces went into the making of the madonna ideal,[20] but it also had that virtue. Now the girl knows that her married friends, and many unmarried ones who have defied conventional restraints, indulge their sex desires with impunity and avoid assuming any responsibilities. Therefore the play value of sex dominates her point of view.

Continuing in philosophical mood, we might say, too, that the joy of the adolescent girl in sex is somewhat akin to that of the discoverer of a new land. We have talked a great deal about the need for beginning sex education with the pre-school child and the proper way to give it, but we have carried out very little of this theory. The mothers who should have enlightened their daughters in early years delayed continually, and when they finally forced themselves to the task, altogether too late, they were either inarticulate or so bound up in their own repressions that they could not present the subject realistically or with a sense of humor. They wrapped facts in a covering of sentimentality and evaded important issues. The girl was left to find out for herself things which her mother lacked the courage or the vocabulary to tell her.

Part of the modern absorption in sex, then, grows out of the suddenness with which its realities broke upon the adolescent girl at an impressionable period of her life. She has had to learn them from her reading, from her boy friends, or from experience. It undoubtedly seems to many girls as if they had found a new and exciting realm, which parents had been conspiring to keep from them. Some of the exploratory activities, the exaggerated interest

[20] See *The Institutionalized Sex Taboo,* by Iva L. Peters, Chapter II. (In *Taboo and Genetics,* Part II, Dodd, Mead, 1920.)

in the humorous and obscene aspects of the sex life, the flinging aside of conventional restraints, are probably by way of protest against the earlier parental deprivation.

But if we look dispassionately upon these new activities of the adolescent girl, is it not just possible that we may find some advantages deriving from them? Schmalhausen suggests that this young freedom of sex behavior is undermining the position of the prostitute and bids fair to relegate her to a waning social era. If this be so, the modern girl's gayety toward sex has accomplished more than all the serious indictments of commercialized vice, and we should offer her praise instead of disapproval.

Moreover, the girl's discovery of sex, whether from the erudite writings of Freud and Havelock Ellis or from her free and easy conversations with her brothers and friends, has enlivened her attitude toward marriage. She brings to her husband a dowry of honest passion and fearless love, where previously the wife saw her rôle as one of passivity and dutiful submission to unpleasant marital rites. As Schmalhausen puts it: "It may be that a more subtle knowledge of physiology, a keener sex-consciousness on the part of women, a more brilliant utilization of erotic technique, a more pagan conception of married love, may all conspire to bring into existence a new type of marriage. . . ." [21] It is too late, perhaps, for grown-ups to achieve any fundamental change in marriage, but it lies within the power of the modern girl, eager for new ideas, energized by the courage and enthusiasm that are a part of the heritage of youth, free from the restrictions once imposed upon the feminine half of humanity, to fulfill this glowing prophecy.

[21] Schmalhausen, S. D., *Why We Misbehave,* p. 114; also chapters V and VI. The Macaulay Company, 1928.

PHYSICAL DISABILITIES IN WIVES

BY G. V. HAMILTON AND KENNETH MACGOWAN

THE material from which the following study was made was gathered by Dr. Hamilton during a research in marriage which extended over four years. Two years were given to the examination of the men and women. They were people of intelligence, mainly college-bred. They came one at a time to the doctor's office and answered nearly four hundred questions dealing with their whole sex life. The questions appeared on typed cards. The subjects spoke out their answers as if they were in the consulting room of a physician—as indeed they were—with complete assurance that their confidence would be respected and their anonymity preserved. The doctor made no comments and gave no interpretations. Thus the examination took place under controlled conditions and the answers were scientifically comparable. To that extent the research is unique. During the last two years Dr. Hamilton has been engaged in digesting the great mass of material—over 80,000 separate responses—and preparing his own source book, *A Research in Marriage* (A. & C. Boni), as well as working with Mr. Macgowan on the more popular treatment from which the following article is taken, *What Is Wrong with Marriage: A Study of Two Hundred Husbands and Wives.* [Editors' Note]

The physical relation between a man and a woman should end in an explosive sort of climax for the woman quite as much as for the man. A surprisingly large number of married women are ignorant of this, because somewhere between a third and a half of them have never felt such a climax. For this large minority physical love may be anything from unpleasant to tremendously exciting, but it never has that abrupt and complete acme of sensation beyond which lies an easy, languid release from the nervous tension that leads to sexual indulgence.

Some notion of how large a proportion miss the climax may be gathered from the reports of the women in the search. Forty-six out of the hundred had never experienced it, or else were so doubtful about this violent and unmistakable explosion that they

may be safely set down as never having felt it. The examiner believes that this is a very fair index of the class from which these women came. If they had been exceptional in this regard the fact should have shown up at other points where they were admittedly exceptional. For instance, one might argue that the type of woman who seeks a job outside the home is a sexually sub-normal type, and that, because there were an unusually large number of wage-earning women in the research, they would distort the findings on this sexual climax. As a matter of fact the forty-six women who had earned more than $500 each since marriage showed the same proportion of failures as the rest.

It is not a question of sexual desire. It would be better if it were. Too often desire is far keener and more imperative in the women who cannot reach the climax than in their more fortunate sisters. These women are frequently tortured by a tension which drives them into effort after effort towards satisfaction, and which remains unrelieved in the end. No single thing—not even cruel and unnatural husbands—contributes quite so much to adultery. The nervous tension of unsatisfied desire goes far towards wrecking mind as well as happiness. The vital importance of this matter cannot be overstressed. *Out of forty-six women who could not reach the climax, no less than twenty were seriously neurotic.* They had been classed as psychoneurotics by other psychiatrists than the examiner. On the other hand, *only one of the fifty-four who knew the climax was nervously ill.*

These figures tell their own story, but they do not give us the explanation of one of the most significant and important phenomena of human sex pathology. Science is peculiarly ignorant on this subject. It has been very little studied—possibly because the majority of researchers in sex are men—and there is practically no material of value relating to either the physiological or the psychological aspects. The question is simple enough: Why cannot every woman who is structurally normal and who has a keen sex desire function normally in the physical relation with her husband or lover? It is easy to be glibly dogmatic, but research trusts neither dogma nor the advocate's persuasiveness. If we want to answer the question with some degree of scientific accuracy we must first fall out of love with the particular guess that has thus far satisfied our passion for explaining things. We must coolly examine all the guesses that have been made, and then, if necessary, make some new ones. Here are nine of the more obvious possibilities:

1. The woman may be structurally defective in her sex organs.

2. She may be physiologically defective elsewhere, and these defects—such as disorders of the endocrine organs, very marked anemia, or a general lack of physical vitality—may prevent full physical satisfaction in love.

3. Her husband may be inept or impotent.

4. The fault may lie in the fact that she does not love her husband, that he is physically unattractive to her, or that there is discord between them which—as in the case of jealousy—may kill her desire for him without killing her love.

5. Fear of pregnancy may be the cause.

6. The trouble may be due to a conscious conviction that sex desire is wrong or shameful.

7. Her first experience may have been so painful physically that ever afterwards she shrank too violently from such a relationship to permit the climax to occur.

8. Her first experience may have been so revolting to her as to produce the same result.

9. Before adolescence her family and her social environment may have impressed upon her—either directly or indirectly—a taboo of sex. They may have set up a whole group of unconscious prohibitions which block a complete emotional response to sex. This negative conditioning may have become so fixed a part of her make-up that no amount of correct thinking about sex in later life can overcome them.

These possibilities can be tested one at a time. Such testing calls for controlled observation; that is, all the evidence must be so unaffected by the process of observation that accurate comparisons are possible. This is the way of science. Obviously we cannot learn much from the example of one woman who has been given a certain taboo in childhood and who has developed an inability to reach the sexual climax; for we cannot go back in life, remove the particular conditioning that her parents imposed on her, give her another one instead, and then see what happens to her when she grows up. In a given case, any one of the nine guesses might seem an excellent explanation, and might indeed be the right explanation. Yet even then its relative importance as a cause of a sexual shortcoming would remain to be discovered. In this research we have a hundred cases—forty-six of them without the sex climax. They allow us to compare and strike averages. They give us a kind of straw vote. And, though straw votes may be misleading, they are a step away from speculative guessing and its medical twin-brother, generalizing from uncontrolled observation. If Aristotle had counted the teeth in even a very few human heads, he would not have been so solemnly

sure that men have more teeth than women. If he had merely felt up and down his own sides without prejudice, he would have decided that men have more than eight pairs of ribs.

Structural Defect

As for the first of the nine possibilities—a structural defect—it may, of course, account for the difficulties of certain women; but physicians have found nothing whatever amiss with the physical organs of many, many women who never experience the climax. A serious structural defect must be obvious to any woman, and the examiner had no reason for supposing that any of the forty-six women suffered from such disability.

It is conceivable that women who are structurally sound may suffer from physiological defects that may effect their ability to reach the climax. Anemia is one of these, as well as a general lack of vitality. But it is quite as conceivable that ill health of this sort may be the consequences of a baffled emotional life. Doctors repeatedly find women who have been healthy before marriage lapsing into an anemic run-down condition after an unsatisfactory physical relationship has been established. The research provided no statistics on this point, either way.

A much more plausible factor would be some disorder in the endocrine system of glands. In this field medical knowledge is not very far advanced, yet it is possible to picture a female constitution in which badly functioning glands might cause many of the sexual eccentricities which the research finds associated with inability to reach the climax. These are the early advent of puberty, frequent and short monthly periods, depressions associated with the periodic function, and irregular recurrence of sex desire. One can imagine such behavior and the lack of the climax to be occasioned by badly functioning glands. On the other hand, psychological conditions often influence the glands very markedly. In the war physicians observed a violent epidemic of thyroid troubles among civilians following the heavy bombardment of a town. Certainly there has been no notable success in attempts to correct sexual adjustments by the prescription of glands. Glandular action, as well as difficulties over the climax, seems definitely affected by psychological conditioning.

Initial Ineptitude of Husband

A better guess is that a husband's ineptitude as a lover may have a good deal to do with a wife's sexual disability. Yet here again

there may be a psychological factor of more importance than the physical, for the records seem to show that it is the husband's *initial* inepitude that counts, rather than what he may come to learn about the arts of love.

We get these records by confining our attention to the fifty-five men and fifty-five women who came into the research as married couples, for here we have a check on the husbands of the women we are studying. Now the first striking fact is that the proportion of virginal or inexperienced husbands in this group is larger than among the one hundred men, and the proportion of the fifty-five wives who do not have the climax is larger, too, than among the one hundred women. The only accurate comparison, of course, lies within the fifty-five couples; but this shows a striking balance in favor of the experienced lover as a kind of insurance policy for wives who wish the full normal experience. For our present purposes we may throw together two kinds of virgins—the true virgin who waits for the marriage ceremony, and what we might call the twilight virgin who does not wait; the point is that both were intimate with no women before their present wives. Remembering that 46% of the hundred women never felt the climax, you will find the following table clear enough in its meaning:

In the 55 couples	*Per cent of wives without the climax*
62% of the husbands were inexperienced with any woman before they became intimate with their wives	62%
53% of the husbands were virgins at marriage	59%
38% of the husbands had been promiscuous	38%

The following table shows what proportion of women married to experienced men and of women married to virginal men had the climax the first year of marriage, later on, and never at all. The experienced husband is strikingly effective the first year; the virginal husband fares very badly:

	Per cent married to experienced men	*Per cent married to virginal men*
21 women had the climax the first year	52%	48%
6 women had the climax later	34%	66%
28 women never have the climax	29%	71%

On the surface it looks as if the husbands' inexperience had played some part in holding back their wives from full physical satisfaction. And it looks as if this feminine disability had continued in spite of the fact that the husbands must have learned more about the technique of intercourse as their relations continued. It may well be that at the first encounter a woman is under such a tension of fear, anxiety, embarrassment, or shame that the man must have the greatest skill and understanding to ease this away, and it may be that if the ineptitude of the husband allows much time to pass before the wife experiences this climax, her unconscious mind may become permanently blocked against it.

On the other hand, our figures show that for the whole two hundred men and women the amount of attention paid to erotic preparation and variety of sexual play had no bearing on the matter. Those who learned to take a great deal of preliminary trouble over the act and those who did not turned in the same proportion of climaxes.

On the whole, the possibility of inepitude playing a large part in this situation brings out nothing more definite than that the wives of inexperienced men are not so likely to have the climax, and yet that no heavy emphasis on sexual byplay seems to produce results.

Lack of Love

Now we come to a fourth possibility—that a woman who does not love her husband may lack the climax because of this lack of love. If we try to discover this through the record of how far these women were happy in their marriages, we get nothing but a negative result. The happy women were just a little more inclined to have the climax; a few more of the climatic were happy. But the figures are within two or three points of the average, and they do no more than show that the climax and the married happiness have no tremendous bearing on one another. There is a little more light in the cases of the fifteen women who were separated or divorced. Almost 75% of them did not reach the climax during the first year of married life, and 53% never reached it with their husbands. It is not so safe, however, to try to say which is cause and which is effect.

There is, of course, the possibility that women who miss the climax with their husbands may find it with other men. In fact a larger proportion of these women said they thought they would

get greater physical pleasure from other men than their husbands. But the evidence of the women who had tried to reach the climax in this way showed them still failing. If the man that a woman has loved well enough to marry cannot give her this satisfaction, no other man seems likely to do so.

The best evidence on all this topic of love and climax comes from a question which asked whether the woman wanted to go on living with her husband because she loved him. There were only seventy-five women who gave affirmative answers. Sixty-eight per cent of those who thus declared that they loved their husbands had reached the climax, against 53% of those who did not love them. Almost half the women who did not love their husbands never had found the full satisfaction of the climax, against only 32% of those who did love their husbands. But it is just a little risky to try to say whether lack of love produces lack of climax or lack of climax produces lack of love.

Fear of Pregnancy

Fear of pregnancy seems to have no more effect on the ability to reach the climax than the presence of the climax has to do with the ability to be pregnant. The latter idea, by the way, is surprisingly popular, and something of the flavor of superstition hangs around this notion that if a woman stops short of full culmination in the sex act she can no more conceive than if the man stops short. There is hardly any more truth in the theory that women are held back from the climax by fear of pregnancy. If the fear were violent enough it might, like many another negative state of mind, inhibit her nervous reaction to her lover. But the statements of the hundred women show fear of pregnancy is not so very violent or even at all general at any crucial time. It is only *after* pregnancy that a woman begins so actively to fear it. She is apt to escape this fear during the first year of marriage when the habit of climax—or the lack of it—is most likely to be established.

Shock

But, even if the fear of pregnancy were active and violent upon the honeymoon, other facts in the research make one doubt whether such a negative state of mind could inhibit a woman's physical response to her lover. These facts deal with the women's reaction to the first sex act with their husbands. You might theoretically expect that women who reacted with fear, disgust, or shock would

be least likely to reach the ultimate climax even after months had passed. You might expect that such violently unpleasant associations would permanently block the full, normal response to love-making. As a matter of fact the results were just the opposite:

17 felt fright at the first sex act	12 or 71% now have the climax
24 felt fear, disgust, or shock	16 or 67% now have the climax
14 felt surprise	8 or 57% now have the climax
(*Average for 100 women*)	54% now have the climax
57 had no unfavorable reaction	28 or 49% now have the climax

These figures certainly do not suggest that lack of the climax is frequently a result of an upsetting first experience. They even suggest that it is better for a woman to be alive enough to the situation to be capable of feeling fear, disgust, or shock, than to be less responsive emotionally.

Surely, you would imagine, a good deal of pain on this occasion would so condition a woman that she would have a slim chance of ever experiencing the climax. So far as these hundred women go, this is not true. Seventeen of them reported serious pain and more than half of them had reached the climax—only one per cent under the average.

Conviction of Wrongdoing

There is just as little evidence that women suffer this disability from a conscious conviction that sex is wrongful. The cases of the eighteen women who did not experience the climax during the first year of marriage but who reached it later, may seem to argue the opposite. Yet here we have no evidence that they were consciously Puritanical, whereas the radically-minded wives who had convinced themselves that adultery was entirely justifiable had a very small proportion of climaxes. In the case of the eighteen it is more likely that the year or more of wedlock had worked an emotional and unconscious conversion which bit deeper than any intellectual prejudice against sex. It went deep enough, in fact, to remove or correct some early influence that had blocked their emotional life.

Unconscious Taboo

This matter of conscious conviction versus an inner and unconscious emotional bent is, of course, immensely important in all varieties of human behavior, but nowhere more than in this matter

of sex and particularly the sexual climax. It is in the emotional biases which women unconsciously acquire in childhood that the root of the difficulty seems to lie.

An example quite apart from sex will show how this early and unconscious training or conditioning works. A Jewish friend of the examiner came to believe that pork was a wholesome and desirable food for men who were physically active in outdoor pursuits during the cold winter months. He directed the feeding of some pigs, saw to it that good, clean corn was turned into healthy flesh by the living animals, made sure that they were slain and dressed under sanitary conditions, and supervised the cooking of a fine young pig. Intellectually and—so far as he was conscious of it—emotionally he was all set for a pleasant meal of roast pork. He ate it with gusto, but to his surprise, became ill and violently rejected the food. It is easy to explain this experience. He had been brought up in Russia by extremely orthodox Jewish parents in a community where pork was universally looked upon as a loathesome and disgusting indulgence of Gentiles. Thus very early in life his parents and his community established in his unconscious mind a negative and very strong reaction to this kind of food. It became almost as much a part of his reflex machinery as the inborn tendency to sneeze when the inside of his nose was irritated in a certain way. This negative conditioning against pork remained with him ever afterwards, and he could not change it by taking thought.

Now something of the same kind happens to all of us with regard to sex. It happens more violently to women than to men, because the fact that women bear the more serious consequences of sex makes parents emphasize the taboos of sex far harder in the case of girls than of boys. It does not have to be direct. Throughout childhood and to some degree in babyhood as well, a girl finds older people implying in almost everything they say or do about sex that it is unclean, revolting, and evil. Since desirable females eschew unclean, revolting, and evil things, it follows that from infancy onward the girl tends to develop a negative attitude towards her sexual cravings. Later in life, when she begins to debunk the imposed teachings of childhood, she does so largely in an intellectual way—much as the Jew made intellectual correction of what he had been led to believe and to *feel* about pork-eating when he was a little boy. If the intellect could correct the errors that people feel emotionally to be truths, the practice of psychiatry would be as easy, as effective—and almost as profitable—as the practice of

dentistry or the mending of radios. And women would have as little difficulty as men in reaching the cumulative climax of the sex act.

Conditioning in Childhood

Which brings us to the last and most promising possibility—the possibility that psychological conditioning in childhood obstructs the climax. There the truth seems most likely to lie. This much can be said on the basis of knowledge gained from this research. A good deal of evidence shows the climax occurring most often in connection with things that indicate very little adverse conditioning in childhood or the early passing of the taboo.

The first and most important evidence has to do with the early curiosities of these women about sex and with how these curiosities were met by their parents. These little girls were curious about the usual things—where babies came from and why their own bodies were different from the bodies of little boys. They were no more curious about these things than about how bread is made, where the clouds come from, and what makes lightning. At first their interest was not at all amoristic or morbid or unhealthy or obsessive; but their parents saw it only as connected with that dreadful subject sex, something their own fathers and mothers had unwisely made them feel was dangerous or unclean, and something that had—for that reason among others—caused them a great deal of mental misery. So when the little girls asked their perfectly innocent, unimportant, and fleeting questions, the parents staggered back in terror or embarrassment and said things that made the questions horrible, important, and eternally memorable, in the secret processes of the unconscious mind. It was a little as if a child had brought a poisonous berry to her mother:

"What's this pretty berry?"

"Oh! Don't touch it! Put it down! It's deadly poison! Ugh!"

"But, mother, it looks good to eat—like a little cherry."

"Oh!" with a shriek of alarm and disgust, "throw that nasty, poisonous thing away this minute, Jenny Smith! Come, and let me wash your hands. Maybe some poison is sticking to them. It is deadly nightshade you had in your hand, darling. Never, never again in all your life have *anything to do with it*."

Later, in the night: "Mother!"

"Yes, Jenny."

"I touched my lips with the hand I had those nasty poison cherries in. Will it kill me?"

"Not this time, Jenny, but you must never risk it again."

So it is with sex. Only, the scene is endlessly repeated with all sorts of variations. Sometimes it is done in pantomime, mother registering disgust, fear, embarrassment when sex appears in the offing. More often the response is direct, and when the child displays curiosity, she is given lies or, still worse, embarrassed evasion, or, equally bad, some namby-pamby story about birds and flowers and bees. Anything, in fact, but a simple, realistic account of how an immodest and wicked God gave us sex parts and an inclination to be curious about them—even an inclination to function with them.

Let us begin with the reactions that the parents of these women showed when their little girls began to ask questions about sex:

15 little girls met with encouragement	11 or 73% now have the climax
(*Average for 100 women*)	56% now have the climax
9 met with neither encouragement nor rebuff	5 or 56% now have the climax
41 very wisely kept their curiosity to themselves, fearing their parents' rebuff	22 or 54% now have the climax
16 met with rebuff	8 or 50% now have the climax
19 met with embarrassment, evasion, lies, stiffness, or were given poetically inadequate information	8 or 42% now have the climax

This table requires no comment, except, perhaps, that the forty-one little girls who kept their curiosities to themselves must have betrayed enough interest at some time or other to have aroused their parents' antagonism and to have got a sense that they had better not ask and that sex was not nice—hence their low average. Yet, if they had pursued the subject, instead of keeping their own counsel, their average would have been lower still.

The parents' hurtful attitude towards sex shows vividly in the cases of eighteen women who did not experience the climax until after the first year of marriage. Only one of these women had met with encouragement when she asked her parents questions about sex. Nine were rebuffed or were so conscious they would be rebuffed that they did not ask, and five "felt no curiosity," which probably amounts to ingrained fear based on an early rebuff.

There cannot be the slightest question that curiosity about sex —and the giving of true information on it—ought ideally to occur during very early childhood before the thing has any real emotional significance. Then, if the little girl has honest, intelligent parents she will have an advantage over the outside world which

lies in wait for her ready to convince her that sex is dirty and shameful. But if curiosity is to be met with rebuffs or lies, then the lucky child is the one who postpones her inquiries till puberty when even the most stupid parents will risk neither lies nor evasions. As things are, if she becomes curious while a child she is likely to be stupidly dealt with, and childhood is exactly the time when she is so sensitive to influences that stupid taboos will effect her profoundly. With this preamble, the following table speaks for itself:

6 little girls had no curiosity, which means that some early and violent rebuff suppressed it	2 or 33% now have the climax
22 had first curiosity before 6	9 or 41% now have the climax
41 had first curiosity between 6 and 11	22 or 54% now have the climax
22 had first curiosity at 12 or later	14 or 64% now have the climax
9 don't remember when it came	7 or 78% now have the climax

First curiosity is met almost invariably with anything but the truth. Some day, however, the child has to learn the facts, and statistics of the age at which the women of this research learned where babies come from show us how valuable it would be if parents told their little girls the truth about sex as early as possible:

10 learned it so early they don't remember when	9 or 90% now have the climax
15 learned it before they were 6	12 or 80% now have the climax
44 learned it between 6 and 11	20 or 45% now have the climax
31 learned it at 12 or later	13 or 42% now have the climax

What they were told—or rather how the facts were presented—has its importance. Again the simple truth, unadorned with subterfuge or moral taboo, seems to work for a normal sex life for the woman:

24 learned mother's but not father's part	17 or 71% now have the climax
17 had full adequate information	10 or 59% now have the climax
16 had vague but not false information	7 or 44% now have the climax
29 had incorrect or repellent information	12 or 41% now have the climax
5 were given the bees and flowers story	2 or 40% now have the climax

The source of sex information can be of considerable importance—and this should be remembered by parents ready to deal honestly with their children, though it is probable that the source

is more important after eleven than in childhood. The research showed that the mother is the best informant for a girl—in these cases 65% of the women have the climax. Doubtless some of the mothers handled the matter with timidity; if they had all been frank and comfortable, the percentage would have been higher still. It is probably rather risky to leave instruction to females less closely related than the mother. They are likely to feel a certain embarrassment in talking about such intimate things with a child to whom they do not have maternal responsibilities—only 38% of the women instructed by a female other than the mother have the climax. Although other children will probably present the facts in an obscene and distorted form, they will at least introduce some element of a positive and healthy sort in sharing the lurid and fascinating secret —the women who got their information this way are close to the average. One of the many curses of a civilization that has cut us off from the more primitive life of the soil is that we can never duplicate in towns the fortunate situation on a farm where a girl sees at every turn how matter-of-fact every one is about the reproductive processes of his fellow creatures. The women who got their information as directly as this showed over 70% of normal sex lives. It is suggestive that not one of the four women whose first sex information came from a father or a brother has ever experienced the climax. They must have unconsciously placed sex under the taboo of incest. This idea is supported by the fact that in describing their fathers' physical appearance the only women who had more than the average proportion of climax were those who alluded to neutral qualities and no others; and also by the fact that those who had been fonder of their fathers than of their mothers showed a much lower proportion of climaxes.

Though the reception that a small child gives to sex information is apt to be very matter-of-fact, as the girl grows older and approaches puberty the subject takes on a growing importance and significance in keeping with her intellectual and physical development. As matters are at present, most concrete and truthful information about sex is given to girls pretty well along towards adolescence. It comes into their lives earlier than the awakening of womanhood or the first sex act, and yet their reactions to it show the same peculiarities as their reactions to those two other developments. Sixty-five per cent of the women who report that they were shocked, revolted, incredulous, or surprised at hearing the truth about sex experience the climax. A little less than average results

show for those who took it as a matter of fact. Those who felt a pleasurable sensation show only 45% of climaxes. These last fit into a familiar pattern where an unnaturally sharp interest in sex and a craving for excitement run with a disability to live their sex lives to the full.

Sex Aggression in Youth

A factor that can play a very large and disastrous part in blocking a woman off from the climax appears to be some sort of sex aggression in youth. Forty-six women reported incidents of the kind, and only 35% of them realize the climax, against 70% of those who escaped such experiences. Yet these aggressions are not irremediable calamities. If the victim has had the advantage of a decent education in the facts of sex, she can escape the consequences even of rape.

This appears clearly enough in the cases of the two of the women who were raped when little girls. One grew up a healthy woman for whom the sex act terminates normally. The other has been a bad hysteric ever since. Now the healthy woman was given full and realistic sex instruction early in childhood, well in advance of the terrifying experience. The rape hurt her physically and it made her very angry; but it brought her no permanent harm. The hysteric one was raised in the usual barbarous atmosphere which implies that sex is obscene, revolting, and wicked.

The moral is obvious enough. The hundred women of our research came from families that exert a great deal of care to guard their little girls from the aggressions of children who are badly socialized, if they are socialized at all; yet for almost half of them the protection had not been successful. Safeguarding ought, of course, to be much more effective than that; but, as there is always a chance of the unpreventable happening, parents should see to it that their little girls are so unafraid and so unashamed of sex that an aggression will not wreck their lives.

The aggression may be nothing more than a solicitation, yet, in the case of children—and particularly of children conditioned against sex as they are to-day—it can have a distinctly bad effect. Seventeen women had been solicited before puberty, and only 35% of these women now reach the climax.

The effect of sex taboos in childhood appears again in the cases of women who said that they had felt "queer, guilty, or ashamed" because their first adolescent love affairs were tinged with a con-

scious feeling of sexual desire. There were fifteen of these women in a group of forty-six who recognized this sexual desire and only 47% of these fifteen now reach the climax. Thirteen women who could not remember clearly—could not because taboos would not let them—showed only 38% of normality.

Latency

Science has observed that during four to six years preceding puberty children lose their interest in sex and enter a state called "latency." Science is unsure whether this is a natural and an instinctive development or whether it is a result of the persistent taboos and repressions to which parents ordinarily subject them in early childhood. The fact that the women who had this latency period show a high percentage of climaxes, while the women who were most subjected to taboo and repression show a low percentage, rather argues that latency is a natural and instinctive development. But, however that may be, it is certainly a very good thing for little girls to lose their interest in sex during these years before puberty. Here is a very suggestive table:

60 showed lapse of interest in sex for several years preceding puberty ..... 38 or 63% now have the climax
5 showed a lapse at or just before puberty . 5 or 60% now have the climax
23 were interested in sex all through childhood ..... 7 or 30% now have the climax

The high average of the women who were uninterested in sex from 6 to 12 is highly significant in the light of the attempts of the ordinary parent to make sex frightening, horrid, and taboo. These are the years when the awakening intelligence of the child increases its sensitiveness to such influences. If she is vividly awake to sex at this time, her unconscious mind will be all the more badly warped by the attitude of her parents. It is far better for her to pass into a kind of sexual coma safe from almost all influence. She has time then to outgrow the taboos of childhood instead of having them increased, and she comes out of this coma freer to make wholesome adaptations to the inevitable awakening of sex desires in adolescence.

This is undoubtedly what accounts for the greater normality of girls who reach puberty late rather than early. Consider the following table:

	Had climax first year of marriage	*Now have climax*
12 reached puberty before 12	25%	33%
70 reached puberty at 12, 13, or 14	33%	56%
18 reached puberty after 14	56%	61%

Obviously the later sex is brought to an issue by puberty, the more likely a girl is to have outgrown the taboos of childhood.

Is it possible that the physical signs of the arrival of puberty could prove so disturbing as to block the ability to react normally to sexual intercourse? Apparently not:

15 felt marked shame or disgust at puberty . 10 or 67% now have the climax
24 felt gratification ..... 15 or 63% now have the climax
40 felt some mental or physical distress ..... 21 or 53% now have the climax
15 felt perplexity ..... 6 or 40% now have the climax
5 cannot remember reaction ..... 1 or 20% now have the climax

Here we have the same kind of results as in the case of the first physical encounter. If the girl is alive enough to have vivid reactions, good or bad, she is comparatively safe. It is the inert who suffer. They have been so conditioned against sex that they can only remember the arrival of puberty, if they remember it at all, with feelings of perplexity. At the time they could not take in the significance of the event, or they could not face such unladylike evidence of shameful elements in their constitutions with enough clarity to remember afterwards.

Other Causes and Results

So much for early negative conditioning—the most likely of the nine possible causes of feminine disability. Let us now consider matters related to the lack of climax but not necessarily causes of it. The meaning of some of them is far from clear—for example the frequency and duration of the monthly period, and the cycle of monthly depression and of sex desire—yet the recurrence of a distinct pattern cannot be ignored. There was a lower than average percentage of climaxes among women whose period came more frequently than twenty-eight days and lasted for less than five days, among women who felt a marked depression at that time, and among women who departed from the general habit of the primates and did not feel the greatest sex desire after the period was over. The lack of climax may produce all these effects, or else the lack of the cli-

max and these irregularities may all be the product of some primary cause, perhaps a disturbance in the endocrine system, perhaps an early conditioning against sex.

Lack of the climax certainly promotes extravagance. Fifteen women said their husbands considered them extravagant and ten of these never know full satisfaction. The other five have unhappy marriages or are living with seriously or partially impotent husbands. Money-spending is for them a relief—though a spurious relief—from bafflement and dissatisfaction.

One result of the lack of climax, which is just as clear as ill-health, weariness, and irritability, is infidelity and sexual restlessness and unhappiness. Sexual disability does not make a happy marriage impossible, but it does work against a comfortable monogamy. The happily married women were only 7% more climatic than the unhappy: yet it was predominantly from the sexually unsatisfied that the adulteresses and the divorced women sprang. Only 27% of the fifteen women who were separated or divorced experienced the climax during the first year of their marriage, and less than the average percentage have ever experienced it. The record of love affairs during marriage and of adultery is even more striking:

56 never had extra-marital love affairs .....34 or 61% now have the climax
41 have had extra-marital love affairs .....30 or 49% now have the climax
3 have never loved any man ..... 0 or 0% now have the climax
24 *now* have extra-marital love affairs or cannot deny they have .....10 or 42% now have the climax
76 never committed adultery .....45 or 59% now have the climax
24 have committed adultery ..... 9 or 38% now have the climax

Some physicians believe that masturbation is a cause of sexual disability. So far as women are concerned, it seems to be associated with this lack of climax; but it is much easier to believe that masturbation, like adultery, is more apt to be a result than a cause. Here is the record of the hundred women:

26 never masturbated .....16 or 62% now have the climax
74 masturbated at some time .....38 or 51% now have the climax
11 masturbated frequently *after marriage* .. 3 or 27% now have the climax

Early sex experience does not seem to have a bad effect on a woman's capacity for the climax. Quite the opposite, once puberty has arrived:

16 had first sex experience between 16 and 20 ..... 10 or 63% now have the climax
52 had first sex experience between 21 and 25 ..... 27 or 52% now have the climax
25 had first sex experience between 26 and 30 ..... 14 or 56% now have the climax
7 had first sex experience after 30..... 3 or 43% now have the climax

Careless or uninformed physicians and grossly prejudiced Puritans often state that frequent indulgence in intercourse, especially during the first year of marriage, is deleterious to health, cruel to the wife, and liable to cause a revulsion in her which will hinder her from reaching the climax. So far as the question of health goes, if the couple are physically sound and quite unafraid of their bodies and their desires, they may safely have intercourse as often as they care for it; fatigue will automatically control them. As to the effect of indulgence on a woman's ability to have the climax, the following table speaks for itself:

29 had intercourse more than 4 times a week the first year ..... 21 or 72% now have the climax
48 had intercourse 1 to 4 times a week ..... 25 or 52% now have the climax
12 had intercourse less than once a week ... 4 or 33% now have the climax
11 cannot remember ..... 4 or 36 % now have the climax

But do not take this for an argument that frequent intercourse the first year will aid materially in establishing the climax. It may or it may not. One thing is certain: Women who can have the climax will unquestionably indulge most frequently and most harmlessly. They have the nearest thing to an insurance policy for healthy nerves and a reasonably happy marriage.

SEX AND INSANITY

BY J. BLAKE EGGEN

The Rise of Insanity

THE rise of insanity is a well known social phenomenon. English statistics, available in the Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy, and statistics gathered in the United States by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, are accurate enough to establish beyond question that there has been a constant and rapid increase in the number of insane [1] patients admitted to hospitals during the past fifty years or more.

If these figures are graphed, the result is an unfluctuating curve, continually on the rise. The number of patients detained in institutions doubles, roughly speaking, every twenty-five or thirty years. These results must be considered in proportion to the population, which is also growing; hence in the following tables not only is the total number of patients given but also the ratio between them and the normal population. The ratios thus obtained prove that insanity, apparently, is multiplying much more rapidly than the population at large.

In considering these statistics, there are three sources of probable error. The first was recognized by as early an investigator as Tuke,[2] who states it in the following words: "The returns of pauper lunatics in England and Wales (for 1828) amounted to 9,000, being 6,700 in excess of the corresponding return of 1807, but nobody supposes that there had been that, or, in fact, any considerable increase in the number of the insane poor, but simply greater accuracy in obtaining statistics." This source of error is now obvi-

[1] "Insane" is not a medical term, nor "insanity" a medical concept. These are legal words, denoting a metaphysical conception of criminal non-responsibility, and not referring to scientifically demonstrable conditions. They are used here for editorial convenience alone, and have no place in exact descriptive literature.

[2] Tuke, D. H., *Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles*, London, 1882, p. 173.

ated by listing only those patients under detention in hospitals, which can be exactly ascertained.

Another possible error arises from the fact that recent psychopathology is increasingly turning its attention, both theoretical and clinical, toward the less serious neuroses, the border-line cases. Present-day clinics receive for treatment many mildly psychopathic individuals who, fifty years ago, would have been considered merely "eccentric" and never taken to a hospital at all. Thus it is possible for clinical figures to indicate a statistical increase without any corresponding factual increase in insanity.

Many cases of recognized "insanity," likewise, are never brought to any institution for detention. In the United States in 1880, for example, there were more psychopathic cases outside of hospitals for mental disease than inside of them. A decade later the number of such patients had decreased, which suggests that they were being absorbed into hospitals and asylums. This would swell the total of institutional inmates recorded in our statistics, without evidencing any actual rise of insanity. Unfortunately, after the census of 1890 the United States Government made no further effort to register these extra-institutional cases.

TABLE 1.—PATIENTS WITH MENTAL DISEASE IN THE UNITED STATES: 1850-1923.

Census Year	*Total Patients with Mental Disease Enumerated*		*In Institutions for Mental Disease*		*Outside Such Institutions*	
	Number	*Per 100,000 Population*	*Number*	*Per 100,000 Population*	*Number*	*Per 100,000 Population*
1850	[a]15,610	67.3	([b])		([b])	
1860	[a]24,042	76.5	([b])		([b])	
1870	[a]37,432	97.1	([b])		([b])	
1880	91,959	183.3	40,942	81.6	51,017	101.7
1890	106,485	170.0	74,028	118.2	32,457	51.8
1904	150,151	183.6	150,151	183.6	([c])	
1910	187,791	204.2	187,791	204.2	([c])	
1923	267,617	245.0	267,617	245.0	([c])	

a Enumeration believed to be seriously deficient.
b Included in enumeration, but not returned specifically.
c No enumeration attempted of the insane outside of hospitals.

The preceding table shows the number of patients with mental disease in the United States from 1850 to 1923, at approximately ten year intervals.

It can be seen that the number of insane has steadily increased, and what is more significant, the ratio of patients per hundred thousand population has sharply risen. The figures for the first three censuses are no doubt deficient. The enormous accretion in the decade 1870-1880, followed by an apparent fall in the ratio per hundred thousand for the ensuing decade, is explainable: In the year 1880 a "serious attempt" was made by the Government to enumerate every psychopath in the United States; the statistical returns were supplemented by special correspondence with nearly a hundred thousand physicians. These physicians reported seventeen per cent of the total cases. In 1890, the following census, no such correspondence was undertaken, and the figure for that year is accordingly low. This accounts for the one fluctuation in the ascending ratio, which otherwise climbs steadily.

Tables 2 and 3 are added to show the prevalence of urban and rural insanity, and the relative susceptibility of the white and negro races. Table 2 points out that mental disease is far commoner among city dwellers than among country folk, which is attributed in the Government report to the "greater exactions of urban life." [3] Table 3 shows that the negro people produce fewer psychopaths per hundred thousand negroes than the white population produces per hundred thousand whites.

TABLE 2.—PROPORTION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION COMPARED WITH PROPORTION OF URBAN AND RURAL ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE.

Year	*Per Cent of Population*		*Number of Patients Admitted Per 100,000 Population*	
	Urban	*Rural*	*Urban*	*Rural*
1880.....	28.6	71.4	(Not classified until 1910)	
1890.....	35.4	64.6		
1900.....	40.0	60.0		
1910.....	45.8	54.2	86.0	41.4
1920.....	51.4	48.6	78.8	41.1

[3] *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Diseases, 1923.* Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Washington, Gov't Printing Office, 1926, p. 13.

TABLE 3.—COLOR OR RACE OF PATIENTS IN HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASE: 1923.

Color or Race	*Number*	*Per Cent Distribution*	*Per 100,000 of Same Race*
White	244,968	92.2	259.8
Negro	20,084	7.6	192.0
Indian	244	0.1	104.5
All Other	533	0.2	295.9
Total	265,829	100.0	252.8

Comparative statistics establish that the condition in the British Isles is similar to that in the United States. In England and Wales, during the forty-five years from 1859 to 1904, the total number of insane increased considerably more than two hundred per cent, while in the United States during the period roughly corresponding, the increase was over five hundred per cent. The largeness of this latter figure can be ascribed in part to faulty enumeration. The next table presents the census returns of the total number of insane in England and Wales from the mid-century up to the European War.

It will be observed that not only has the per cent increase augmented with every passing year, along with the inexorably accumulating total, but also the number of normal persons to each mentally diseased patient is constantly growing less. In the short space of time covered by these figures, the number of normal individuals per patient has been cut in half. The ratio expressed in this fashion is very easy to understand. For comparison, Belgium in 1863 had one insane patient for every 714 inhabitants.[4] The German Empire, in 1898, had an average of 655 inhabitants per insane patient.[5] In the United States the ratio in 1910 was about 490 inhabitants for each case of mental disease. These figures, to be sure, are not entirely comparable, but they express in a general way the proportion of mental disease to the population.

Table 5 is added to show the unfluctuating accretion year by year, giving the observer the impression of inevitable rise.

Table 6, also for England and Wales, gives the earlier figures, not available in the later reports, and divides the total into private

[4] Lentz, M. P. *Statistique des aliénés en Belgique;* Bruxelles, Ministère de la justice, 1863, p. 8.

[5] Derived from tables quoted by Sérieux, Paul, *L'Assistance des aliénés en France, en Allemagne, en Italie et en Suisse,* Paris, 1903, p. 809.

TABLE 4.—TOTAL NUMBER OF INSANE IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1859 TO 1914.

Year	*Number Insane*	*Per Cent Increase Over 1859 Figure*	*Number of Normal Persons to Each Insane Person*
1859.....	36,762	.....	536
1864.....	44,795	21.9	
1869.....	53,177	44.6	418
1874.....	62,027	68.7	
1879.....	69,885	90.1	363
1884.....	78,528	113.6	
1889.....	84,340	129.4	337
1894.....	92,067	150.4	
1899.....	105,086	185.9	303
1904.....	117,199	218.8	287
		Per Cent Increase Over 1904 Figure	
1904.....	117,199	....	287
1905.....	119,829	2.2	284
1906.....	121,979	4.1	282
1907.....	123,988	5.8	280
1908.....	126,084	7.6	278
1909.....	128,787	9.9	275
1910.....	130,553	11.4	274
1911.....	133,157	13.6	272
1912.....	135,661	15.8	269
1913.....	138,377	18.1	
1914.....	140,237	19.7	

and pauper patients. It will be noted that the number of pauper patients increases immensely between 1864 and 1881, a period of merely seventeen years.

There is always the possibility that this increase is more apparent than actual. The majority of these statistics include only patients registered at some clinic or asylum, it being obviously im-

TABLE 5.—GROWTH OF TOTAL NUMBER OF INSANE UNDER DETENTION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, ANNUALLY FROM 1869 TO 1880.

Year	*Under Care*	*Ratio Per 100,000 Population*
1869	53,177	239.3
1870	54,713	243.1
1871	56,755	249.1
1872	58,640	254.2
1873	60,296	258.2
1874	62,027	262.3
1875	63,793	266.4
1876	64,916	267.8
1877	66,636	271.4
1878	68,538	275.7
1879	69,885	277.7
1880	71,191	279.4

TABLE 6.—TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS ASCERTAINED INSANE IN ENGLAND AND WALES, DIVIDED INTO PRIVATE AND PAUPER PATIENTS, TO 1881.

Year	*Total Number*	*Private Patients*	*Pauper Patients*
1806	[a]2,248		2,248
1826	[b]4,782		4,782
1828	[c]9,000		9,000
1844	20,893	4,072	16,821
1847	[c]26,516	[c]4,617	[c]21,899
1854	30,312	4,633	25,679
1858	35,347	4,612	30,735
1859	35,992	4,762	31,230
1864	44,631	5,327	39,304
1874	62,027	7,292	54,735
1881	73,113	7,741	65,372

[a] Enumeration believed seriously incomplete.
[b] Estimated to be much larger, around 8,000. (Tuke)
[c] Approximate.

possible to tabulate neurotics at large; therefore it is a matter of grave question how far such figures represent the number of people in fact who become psychotic each year. It is likely that mental disease has not grown so precipitously as they indicate, happily enough, for it must be remembered that not one of these tables extends over a longer period than a single lifetime, and if mental disease had expanded two to three hundred per cent in this short space, and continued this almost geometrical increase, it would constitute a menace to civilization in a few more generations.

Allowing full weight to all objections in mitigation, to the best of our knowledge it is still true that mental disease is on a rising curve. We do not know how high that curve will go. The chief hope of controlling it lies in modern psychopathology, whose most brilliant achievement is the demonstration of the part played by sex in the etiology of the psychoneuroses.

Insanity in History

The chief trouble with Mr. Tuke's discussion of prehistoric insanity [6] is that nothing whatever is known of prehistoric insanity. Our first historical knowledge is by way of literary allusions and the medical prescriptions of ancient writers. The prescriptions of the early Greek and Roman writers, such as Galen, Dioscorides and Apuleius, were still copied and used in England as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, undertaking the cure of "phrensie" by means of herbs. The treatments themselves are often amusing.[7] An epileptic child was healed by drawing the brain of a mountain goat through a gold ring, then "given to the child to swallow before it tastes milk; it will be healed." Hallucinations were treated with wolf's flesh. "Mandrake, as much as three pennies in weight, administered in a draught of warm water, was prescribed for witlessness." [8] Most of these herbs were taken from the Greeks; some of them are still being used.

During the middle ages, the most holy Church decided that the cause of insanity is possession by the devil. Accordingly, the ordinance of devil-chasing, or exorcism, was instituted. Prescriptions

[6] Tuke, Daniel Hack, *Insanity in Ancient and Modern Life,* London, 1878. The book is quite valueless as a historical study.

[7] The Saxon physician Bald gives the following recipe for "a fiend-sick man": "Take a spew drink, namely lupin, bishopwort, henbane, cropleek. Pound them together; add ale for a liquid, let it stand for a night, and add fifty libcorns or cathartic grains and holy water."

[8] Tuke, D. H., *Chapters in the History of the Insane,* p. 3.

consisted chiefly of ale, holy water and purgatives. Monks were frequently the only medical practitioners.

A case showing the ecclesiastic practice of exorcism is described by an English physician, Dr. Borde, in a work entitled *A Compendious Rygment or a Dyetry of Helth*, 1542. Visiting in Rome, he observed a marble pillar in the vicinity of St. Peter's to which insane persons were brought to be cured. He saw a German woman thrust into the interior of it by some twenty men, "and after her did go in a priest, and did examine the woman in this manner. 'Thou devil or devils, I adjure thee by the potential power of the Father and the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of the Holy Ghost, that thou do show to me for what cause thou doest possess this woman?' " Here the record stops short; Dr. Borde refuses to describe the rest "for men will not believe it, but would say it were a foul and great lie." The stage business evidently put on by the priests to impress the unbeliever (he was a renegade monk) scared him out of his wits. "I, considering this, and weke of faith and afeard crossed myself and durst not hear and see such matters, for it was so stupendous and above all reason if I should write it." [9]

Other cures took more violent forms. At a holy pool in Cornwall the "wit-sick man" was stood up with his back to the water, and hurled into it by a sudden blow. Then "a strong fellowe, provided for the nonce, tooke him and tossed him up and downe alongst and athwart the water, untill the patient by forgoing his strength had somewhat forgot his fury. Then was he conveyed to the church, and certain masses sung over him . . . if there appeared small amendment, he was bowssened (ducked) againe and againe while there remayned in him any hope of life, for recovery."

The flogging of lunatics was common sport. Sir Thomas More, in his *Apology*, 1533, gives the following description: " . . . caused him, as he came wanderinge by my doore, to be taken by the connstables and bounden to a tree in the streete before the whole towne, and ther they striped him with rods therefore till he waxed weary, and somewhat lenger."

In the reign of James I, epileptics were commonly judged to be witches, and burnt at the stake accordingly. Shakespeare, in *As You Like It*, mentions lunatics as deserving "a dark house and a whip," the typical opinion of that barbarous age. Not until 1403 is there any evidence of confinement of madmen, at the Bethlem Hospital, afterwards known as Bedlam. From then on the "insane" gradually

[9] *Idem*, p. 28, 57.

became incarcerated in workhouses and asylums, where they were manacled to the wall and purged twice a year.

At the end of 1792 Pinel began his revolutionary work of unchaining the insane patients of the Bicêtre. His example was followed by Esquirol at Charenton and other humanely inclined doctors. In England, after much agitation and propaganda, parliamentary committees were appointed to inquire into conditions existing in the "Madhouses." The most celebrated case of the time concerned a patient confined and abused in a Naval Hospital. After repeated charges of cruelty, a committee investigated. The following description of the apparatus used on the patient is taken from the report. "First, a collar encircling the neck, and confined by a chain to a stauncheon, or pole, fixed at the head of the patient's bed. . . . —Second, an open worked frame, the lower part of which encircled the body, and the upper part of which passed over the shoulders, having on either side apertures for the arms, which encircled them above the elbows, but left the lower part of the arms hanging down, and at liberty, so that while the act of throwing or other violence was prevented, the patient was enabled to feed himself, to keep himself clean, and to assist himself in the ordinary evacuations of nature;—and Third, a chain passing from the ancle of the patient to the foot of the bed.[10] . . . " The man was put in this ironwork on the 16th of June, 1804; the body part was taken off May 17, 1814, "he having become thinner"; the following year he died, still in chains. The parliamentary committee reported that it could find no evidence of cruelty.

From this time onward, physical duress was attacked on all sides by hundreds of critics, and gradually abandoned. We have illustrated in some detail the treatment formerly accorded to neurotic patients, to show that until very recent times there has never been any conception of the real nature of mental disease, and to provide a contrast for an ensuing description of the modern treatment of the neuroses.

The Connection of Sex With Insanity

Seldom has any connection between sex and insanity been recognized. The one was a fact of everyday life; the other was a curiosity that people paid a penny admission to see. Late civilization was required to make possible the theory of the neuroses; an even higher

[10] Sharpe, J. B., editor. *Report from the Committee of the House of Commons, on Madhouses in England; together with Minutes of Evidence.* London, 1815, p. 379.

civilization will be required for the diffusion of this theory among the public.

Celibacy, to be sure, has long been considered a contributory cause of insanity. Pinel, Georget, Millingen and many other early psychiatrists asserted that "it augments the number of lunatics." In an early work, Pinel speaks of marriage for women as "une sorte de préservatif contre les deux espèces d'aliénation les plus invétérées et le plus souvent incurables." [11] Millingen [12] lists the most frequent "moral" causes of insanity:

1. Pride
2. Fear
3. Fright
4. Ambition
5. Loss of property
6. Domestic cares.

It will be noted that only in the last of these would sex play a part. The foregoing opinions in regard to continence are little more than guesses, emphasizing rather than disputing the essential fact that our ancestors were lost in vacant ignorance so far as the psychology of sex is concerned.

In 1895 the joint investigations of Breuer and Freud, published under the title of *Studien über Hysterie*, marked the point of departure of a new psychological school. Under the leadership of the latter, the psychoanalysts made many elaborate and brilliant explorations into the interior of the unconscious, discovering for the first time the "rôle of sexuality in the etiology of the neurosis." The Freudian theories of sexual infantilism, the unconscious, and the libido, are commonplaces of modern thought, and need no exposition here.

The analysis of hysteria demonstrated that it is caused by a splitting-off from consciousness of such emotionally invested ideas as conflicted with *propriety*, *duty* or *morality*. The treatment consisted of resuscitating these buried memories, and fusing them with conscious ones. Freud discarded the constitutional inferiority required by Janet's theory, and substituted an examination of the mechanics of the traumatic situation, discovering that shame was the first hysteric mode of reaction and fantasy, or flight from reality, the next. Accordingly, the dissociated personality was produced by repression, and every hysterical symptom "was built on an am-

[11] Pinel, Philippe. *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale,* second edition, Paris, 1809, p. 417.

[12] Millingen, J. G. *Aphorisms on the Treatment and Management of the Insane, Pointing Out the Errors in the Present System,* London, 1840, p. 55.

nesia." In Freud's own words, "Psychoanalysis of hysterical individuals shows that the malady is the result of conflict between the libido and the sexual repression. . . . " [13]

We can easily review the common neuroses and distinguish the sexual origin, according to the psychoanalytic school, of each. Considering only the functional neuroses, we are first involved in difficulties of terminology, for there are as many diagnostic schemes as there are diagnosticians. The toxic psychoses, paresis, Huntington's chorea, psychosis with pellagra, etc., are not within the scope of our discussion.

As for *hysteria*, Freud expresses the paradox that "the cause of the lifelong hysterical neurosis lies in the sexual experiences of early childhood." [14] *Obsessional neuroses*, to follow an old classification, "represent the return, in a distorted guise, of self-reproaches dating from childhood, and buried since then until the outbreak of the malady. They always refer to active sexual performances or tendencies." *Anxiety neurosis* is caused solely by "unrelieved sexual tension," and this view, according to Jones [15] is confirmed by "everyone who has seriously investigated the facts." *Anxiety-hysteria* is the manifestation of repressed sex wishes which become associated with a certain idea, and produce morbid fears to accompany that idea. *Neurasthenia* (Van Deusen's term) is a "primary fatigue neurosis," with masturbation as its specific cause when accompanied by fantasies of tabooed sex gratification; the fatigue chiefly results from energy expended in overcoming scruples. "*It was found that the form of the malady, be it neurasthenia or anxiety neurosis, shows a constant relation to the form of the sexual injury.*" [16]

This review of the psychoanalytic diagnoses illustrates the prevalence of sex in nervous disorders. Freud summarizes thus: "In a normal *vita sexualis* no neurosis is possible."

The accuracy of this viewpoint is not above question. The Janet —Morton Prince—Boris Sidis group of psychotherapists interprets hysteria, for example, in a less sexual way. We shall not go into the question of comparative methodologies, nor join in the disputes

[13] Freud, Sigmund. *Selected Papers on Hysteria and Other Psychoneuroses.* Trans. by A. A. Brill. Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs, N. Y. & Wash., 1920, p. 191.

[14] Freud, *Selected Papers on Hysteria, idem,* "My Views on the Rôle of Sexuality in the Etiology of the Neurosis," p. 188.

[15] Jones, E. *Treatment of the Neuroses,* N. Y., 1920, pp. 124, 167, 178, 185, 195.

[16] Freud, *op. cit.,* p. 187.

of schools. The Freudian view appears to be ratified by the best clinical data obtainable at the present time, data amply sufficient for the purposes of this paper.

The clinical studies that have been made of neurotic patients are contained in thousands of case-histories. These are raw cross-sections of modern life. For the first time in history the depths of human emotions are adequately plumbed, and the causes of behavior explained. The patient not only exposes all he can remember of his life, but also the secrets that he has hidden from himself. If we turn to these cases, it is impossible to escape the relentless repetition of the sex theme.

That sex attitudes constitute an etiological factor in many neuroses, and that "insanity," to use this outworn term, can be and is being produced by the repression of sex, is a clinical commonplace. In many cases of hysteria, for example, the patient's sexual desires have become so abnormal because of the sex repression involved. Other people, with the same impulses but with a different attitude toward sex, go through the same episodes as the hysteric patient but remain quite normal.

The Person's Attitude Toward Sex

An analysis of the nature of the neurosis, in the light of recent psychopathological theory, explains how the mechanism of repression acts. The following demonstration is taken from Kempf's work on the autonomic functions,[18] one of the outstanding achievements of modern American psychology.

The organism is dominated by the autonomic apparatus, and the kinetic drive behind behavior is the tension of the hollow viscera, a mechanistic theory reducible to space-time and matter, thus linking up with physics theory. Conflict is set up when the body as a whole combines to suppress the activity of a single segment, and this internal stress, warping the personality, constitutes the neurosis. An example of this is when the sex segment, conditioned to react to stimuli tabooed by society, is denied gratification; it may result in a cleavage of the personality ending with the typical symptomatology of *dissociation neurosis*. The only cure is the resolution of the conflict, enabling the repressed affect to obtain gratification, either by reconditioning of the impulses or reëducation of the personality.

[18] Kempf, E. J. *The Autonomic Functions and the Personality,* Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs, New York & Washington, 1921. Part I.

At least one type of neurosis arises from the simple failure to experience adequate sex gratification. Keeping this in mind, if we examine the system of manners and morals known as Victorianism, because the civilized taboo of sex was at its height during the Victorian era, we see immediately that this mores is productive of *anxiety neurosis*, and conducive to other neuroses. The tables quoted *supra* indicate that the period of greatest rise of "insanity" occurs during the Victorian epoch. Kempf's analysis enables us to understand this in terms of conflict between man's inexorable sexuality and the sex taboo, which, as recent social anthropology has shown, is nothing more than a primitive ritual.

The deferment of marriage for many years after puberty, characteristic of industrial bourgeois civilization, is the social mechanism responsible for a part of this incoming tide, since for several generations it made a normal *vita sexualis* impossible for a large number of people. The requirement of chastity, an agrarian property-right concept, carried over into a different civilization, clashed with industrial conditions that frequently made marriage impossible until comparatively late in life, and this conflict was the breeding-ground of neuroses. The strain increasing, the social structure gave way at another point, in the form of loosened morals making possible sex gratification without marriage, which phenomenon has been heralded everywhere as "the new morality." If the psychoanalytic elucidation of anxiety is correct, and we have no competent reasons for doubting it, it could be said that from now on, due to this historical change, certain neuroses will begin to decline, provided that no other factor enters into the situation.

Growing out of social lag, bred by clashing cultures, and made formidable by tremendous augmentation, "insanity" is no longer an enigmatic and neglected phenomenon. It is a functional defect in the social organization, occasioned not by the increasing complexity of modern civilization, which is primarily an increasing power of satisfying desires rather than repressing them, but by the ethical and emotional complications of adequate sex expression, among, of course, other things. There is no single cause of "insanity," for "insanity" is not a unit, but it may be said that the most significant factor in the etiology of the functional neuroses is the person's attitude toward sex. In some cases the treatment of a neurosis consists of little more than tearing down the moral barriers so carefully built up by religious and familial instruction, as in the *conversion hysteria* studied above. Usually, however, the

treatment is more complicated, but never does it fail to include some change in the patient's attitude to sex.

The premises of this viewpoint are chiefly psychoanalytic, but the connection of sex with insanity does not depend on disputed psychoanalytic theory so much as on the records of thousands of case studies of individual psychopaths, which demonstrate that "all neurotics and psychotics have sexual difficulties." [19] Psychopathology is crying for a loosening of the taboos.

[19] Kempf, E. J. *Psychopathology,* St. Louis, 1921, pp. 96, 718, 749 *passim.*

SEX AND NORMAL HUMAN NATURE

BY IRA S. WILE

The nervous system is the dynamo of existence. The cerebrospinal system with its higher and lower centers, with its heritage of ancient and modern levels of activity at birth is an organization of nerve centers. Some parts of the nervous system are in definite and specific relationships with certain organs and hence nervous activity is related to the internal organization of the child and to his external relationships with environment.

The various organs constituting the structural phase of existence begin with a series of varying functions even before birth and continue to grow and develop until they attain what is termed maturity which represents the peak of structure and function. The level of organ activity and, indeed, the level of nervous activity, are essentially physiologic in nature. The body as a whole reacts to its internal and external stimuli, whether they be pleasurable or irritative, in terms of physico-chemical reactions. At birth the activity is on a purely instinctive level, that is, the reactions occur without benefit of previous experience or knowledge of the end.

Sexual organization is not unlike that of the rest of the body. Sex organs exist at birth. Secretions are developed by the testicles and ovaries. The centers in the lumbo-sacral cord react to genital stimulation and in all probability cerebral centers are made aware of the feeling values of responses that primarily arise from spinal centers. The machinery then of sexual life exists at birth although there are no established principles of sexual practices inherent in its organization. The sexual functions are on a physical plane and purely biologic in manifestations and reactivities. There are no innate standards of sex life other than freedom of reaction.

The machinery of sexual life as it exists in the human organism is a phase of the total organism. The nervous basis of sexual excitation conditions the harmonious activity of other organs of the body such as the heart and the gastro-intestinal system, while similarly

the health of other visceral systems conditions the functioning power of the sexual system.

Sexual organization possesses a dual value. Bound up in all forms of sexual activity, whether on an infantile or adult level, is a pleasure function. During infancy the reproductive factor of sex life is inactive save that there is continuous development of the testes and ovaries. The fact that there is a pleasurable non-creative value in the sexual organization leads to the idea of infantile perversions. Any function or activity of the sexual system that does not serve a procreative goal is a perversion of that phase of sexual function primarily destined for social benefit. The social end and purposes of sexual life have ever been recognized and in consequence all sexual functions have been subject to regulation or training for their social values. Natural impulses regardless of their significance have been denied expression in the interest of the group principle that recognizes the primacy of the reproductive idea. The unmoral natural impulses are thus subject to a moralizing group which has determined what is right and what is wrong.

It may be said at the outset that rightness and wrongness are totally unrelated to essentially physiologic activities. One cannot say that it is wrong to have a pulse rate of 96 or that it is right to blush. It is impossible to pass a moral judgment upon the respiratory rate or the activity of other essential parts of the human system. From the standpoint of group welfare or communal interest it is possible to establish rules and regulations, laws and ordinances which may say it a misdemeanor to commit a nuisance; that it is wrong to spit on trolley cars; that it is indecent to defecate in public places. Society, however, does not stop always at establishing principles that primarily concern the total reaction of and upon the group. It persists further in its regulatory practices and establishes norms for personal activity. Hence society has formulated innumerable regulative principles concerning a large variety of sexual practices purely personal in character just as various groups have established differing mores concerning polygamy and polyandry. Society, for example, has established a principle concerning masturbation, just as it has deprecated Onan's spilling of his seed. Societal interest has been dictated by its own advantage. Any sexual activity not designed to advance reproduction has been deemed undesirable as contrary to social advance and also as actually deleterious to personal health.

It is obvious that an infant unlearned in social codes is guilty

of violating many social demands while adjusting to purely biologic forces. The sexual urge or the secondary investigation of sexual phenomena by reason of the pleasurable reactions therefrom, have an exceedingly slow and difficult evolution against the odds of social codes, reënforced by parental fears and oversight.

As infants advance into later periods of life there should be and usually is, a normal evolution of the sexual forces from autoerotic attention and practice through homosexual interest to socially valuable heterosexual ideation and practices. If social pressure be exceedingly strong there may be an actual arrest of development upon the purely instinctive level of behavior, and some unacceptable form of sexual behavior becomes the dominant expression of the undeveloped inherent sexual drive.

In the practical development of sexual expression there are a multiplicity of related functional capacities. There is the inherent masculinity and femininity which arise mainly from gonadal determinations. The mere recognition of the physical fact of masculinity or femininity continues the dominance of specific sexual traits just as there is a real response to the prevailing social acceptance of the norms that constitute masculinity and femininity. There may be no pretense to be of one's external sex when one's internal urges are primarily those of the other sex. One notes this at times when men are arrested because of their inversion and appearance in female attire and women are disclosed at death to have lived and worked as men. The mere external physical anatomy may in itself constitute the basis for judgment of maleness or femaleness, but it does not represent the essence of masculinity or femininity. It is natural that society should frown upon the intermediate sex whose urges and practices do not conform to the social principle that the reproductive aim is the sole aim acknowledged and accepted as inherent or desired of the sexes.

Society is a super-individual, theoretic perhaps, but violently practical in its established codes. The intangible social organization is built up of tangible relationships crystallizing in forms of social codes. While society does not possess a single code for all people in all places and at all times, there is an essential forceful quality in all social rules and regulations, ordinances and laws regardless of their variability according to caste, culture and convention. Morality is always formulated in terms of ideals that are shared in common, which belong to, and have value for, specific communities. Admitting that standards of behavior are not identical in all com-

munities nor in all groups of the same community, the fact remains that standards are determined and established by social judgments based upon social opinions concerning social needs. It is the social code which forms the background for all delinquencies, whether in the home, the school, on the playground, or the street.

The code that establishes right and wrong is social, rather than individual, a psychological concept rather than a biological one. The sexual delinquent for example, does not define or delimit his own delinquencies. Inasmuch as all social codes are by implication forms of social coercion, whatever tends to regulate individual activity on the basis of social approval or disapproval must have elements coercive in nature. It is important that children learn to adopt the social codes. Social demands, therefore, commence their attack upon biologic activity early in life. From the standard of sex evolution the most repressing and suppressing effects originate in social activity. Shame and fear are biologic responses to and acceptances of social principles and regulatory conventions that are contrary to, or out of harmony with, inherent biologic traits. Society uses the power of shame and fear in its efforts to control the biologic activity and to bring it into harmony with accepted patterns of social sentiment, social opinion, and social judgment.

Even the infant in arms whose hand has strayed to his genitalia is threatened with a waving index finger to the accompaniment of the words, "Shame, shame," even at a time when the word itself can have no positive meaning. The idea of shame is gradually forced upon the infant. He is obliged to recognize that his excretions and the simple and untaught manipulations of his body are dirty. He is taught that curiosity concerning his functions creates parental sorrow, which he should regret to occasion again. Possibly the simplest touch of the hand to the genital areas of the body may bring about a vigorous "No, no" accompanied by a slap. And then arises a conditioning of the child to the wrongfulness of the act that brings about pain. Thus there is developed a fear of penalty which in time is related to, and becomes, a fear that inheres in the activity itself regardless of the extent to which it actually is masturbatory.

The instilling of the idea of shame is a poor induction to modesty. It is essentially a negative factor that inhibits the natural growth and development of the sexual emotional system and hampers correct thinking concerning normal biologic technic. To have the idea that sex organs themselves or contact with them or

their excretions is dirty, nasty, or filthy, is totally at variance with any rational system of appreciation of biologic organization. Certainly ideas of shame do not serve as an adequate basis for the development of later ideals fraught with esthetic and moral significances. There is even a greater hazard in the regulation of the area for shame at an age that is wholly devoid of sexual knowledge and much less capable of truly sexual thinking. The infant or young child has little awareness of his external genitalia and lacks any consciousness of the relationship of testicular activity to marriage and population.

While shame is a vital negative factor in mental development, fear is more positive in its own negative efforts. Fears instilled on social principles during early years are repressive and tend to have paralyzing and terrorizing influences. Fears related to sexual activity actually detach sex from its normal rôle in the harmonious development of the organism. Threats of bodily harm, and even threats or prophesies of loss of mind, are frequent although violent and indefensible methods of approach to the social control of experiments in the biology of sex even during the adolescent period when masturbatory phenomena are so prone to appear.

There are a large variety of pleasurable reactions occurring in infancy. The infant learns of his sexual body just as he learns of his locomotional body. He finds that various parts of his anatomy when touched give rise to pleasurable reactions. What could be more natural for him than to experiment in determining how to benefit by the pleasurable feeling tone which first may have been learned through accident? Just as there is pleasure tone connected with the use of the lips so there are other movements which are as gratifying in sensation as the sucking movement. Masturbation in infancy does not carry with it the sexual implications that are bound up in the same practice during adolescence. Certainly the social insistence upon shame and fear as the methodology for enforcing a rigid group standard upon a labile biologic function has not been attended by advantageous results. The constant strife between the biologic urge and the social demand is indicated in the prominence of all social codes of such regulatory terms as, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." The more highly organized the social form of a group the more direct and threatening are the social implications of punishment, and this threat persists all the more as the age of marriage rises.

It must be evident that the levels of sexual behavior evolve from

a purely instinctive biologic level to a plane of activity that may be termed emotional, wherein the pleasure principle becomes the goal, and then to a still higher level of sexual behavior, wherein intellectual activity helps to determine the nature and range of sexual function, with an effort to harmonize the instinctive drive and the emotional tone to the actual individual needs. The highest form of sexual behavior, at least so accepted by society, is the social level whereon all sexual practices conform to a socially established program of action. On this level the personal biologic urges are totally subordinated to social usages and control. This form of social activity is not acquired until a biologic unity has accepted social principles and practices, or the individual is perforce absorbed by circumstances so as to secure total and complete sublimation of all sexual activity in constructive social living.

The development of group ideas and ideals begins with infancy, so that a large measure of social control has been instituted prior to the time of the greatest liberation of sexual development and function. Puberty marks the beginning of special sexual development, while adolescence covers a period of years during which anatomic and physiologic phases of child nature are undergoing a transition into maturity. It is during this period of life that the infantile larva pupates and finally comes forth in imago form with all of the secondary sex characteristics. The increase in height, weight and external anatomy, the heightened power and endurance, the development of beard and breast, and the marked alterations in the external genitalia represent a new personality evolving from adolescing substance.

Adolescence is the period of an awakening consciousness of sexness. It is the age of recognition of maleness and femaleness, and at the same time it is a period given over to ascertaining the degree of existent masculinity or femininity. The recognition of both of these phases is attended by profound psychological changes. Primarily the consciousness of any deviation from what is regarded as the social norm may be attended with marked distress. The feminine male and the masculine female are particularly penalized by social opinion and judgment concerning their nature and the unsanctioned characteristic of their psycho-biologic nature, their homosexual practices which, not being directed towards reproduction, are frankly termed perversions. Theoretically they are no more perversions than the masturbatory efforts of infants. Socially their lives, inclinations and satisfactions are more subject to regulation than to

complete condemnation. The community is by no means unaware of their existence and realizes that their actual hazard to society is less than such a phenomenon as traffic in alcohol. There are laws for the restriction of open homosexual practices but none for their abolition which is impossible.

Probably the most common fact during adolescence is the natural discovery of sexual phenomena. Menstruation and seminal emissions cannot be ignored but their effect upon the juvenile mind varies greatly according to the degree of information or misinformation that has been acquired by the individual. The sad lack of adequate sex education has at times made both of these events monstrously effective in destroying happiness and in developing fears for health and safety.

Self-investigation as a phenomenon of adolescence is exceedingly extensive. Many regard masturbation as an almost universal practice during some period of life, with the major and most usual masturbatory experiences occurring during adolescence. The masturbation of boys and girls as a biologic phenomenon is far less significant than its psychological influences as the result of the conflict of this act with social principles. Many adolescents become morbid, fearful, ashamed, burdened by a sense of inferiority, and even more harmfully by an idea of sinfulness and guilt because of the social judgments concerning masturbation which are commonly expressed, especially by harsh and ignorant parents.

Masturbation becomes not merely a personal pollution but a quasi-criminal action against the interest of the State. In response, therefore, to the accepted social judgment, there frequently arises a sense of self-loathing, self-depreciation, self-abnegation and oftentimes a profound train of neurotic manifestations that may lead into anxieties and phobias, hysterias and compulsive practices. A large measure of the responsibility for adolescent distress is inherent, not in the masturbatory act, but in the intellectual and emotional reaction toward social sentiments and opinions. Masturbatory practice may be continued for so long a period of time that it leads to a diversion of energy and interest from helpful social procedures, thus further penalizing the individual whose level of behavior does not progress beyond the emotional autoerotic level.

Owing to the stress of social taboo and the Puritan idea that everything pertaining to sex is unholy and unclean, it is natural that adolescent youth should have an interest and increasing desire for knowledge concerning his own sexual organization and that of

the opposite sex. Sexual secrecy is socially exacted. Until recent years the great mass of people failed to reveal any direct sexual knowledge to their offspring. Do they now? This was a distinctly backward step from the days of more primitive people who held sexual ceremonies and pubertal initiations. A taboo concerning all things pertaining to sex made sexual knowledge a secret delight and gave high value to whisperings and encouraged a search for any book of clandestine knowledge. As was natural and obvious facts concerning sex did not emanate from those best able to reveal the truth. Sex knowledge for the majority came from the gutter and the brothel and was transmitted mainly through the medium of smutty stories, pornographic literature and personal seductions.

Curiosity about sex is a normal and natural characteristic of an intelligent human being. Knowledge of function does not carry with it the necessity for abuse of that function. Ignorance is not identical with innocence as was long supposed. Self-knowledge is a prerequisite to self-understanding, and self-understanding must underlie intelligent self-control. The grapplings of youthful minds for knowledge concerning sex is essentially a part of the normal and natural expansion of intellectual activity in response to the development of a greater primacy in the sexual urge. A desire to know the why, how, when and where of sex incidental to the development of the secondary sex characteristics is a response to the further development of gonadal activity together with an appreciative normal sensitization to one's own sex and to the sexness of other people.

There is no sharp discontinuity between pre-adolescent and adolescent life. The sexual organization is developing slowly and there is merely a time of accretion of growth and function which demarcates a transition period between infantilism and maturity. Adolescence coincides with, if not constituted by, all the years during which the sexual urge becomes dominant. The foundations of sexual primacy are laid during the pre-adolescent period. A skeletal structure is erected by reason of the innate sexual organization and all the sexual experiences which may have been lived through during the pre-adolescent years. And every experience that directly or indirectly is related to sexual activity must be evaluated in social and esthetic terms. Society directly and indirectly strives to regulate the instinctive actions of individuals and the pleasurable activities of pre-adolescence in terms of regulatory principles that are designed to effect the control of adults.

Throughout adolescence there is a growing struggle between the

biologic conditioning factors and the conditioning elements arising from social organization. Adolescent biology is expansive and centrifugal. It is seeking for an expression of its own usefulness in terms of personal pleasure and satisfaction. The social forces, which are mainly external as opposed to the internal biologic urges, are restrictive and centripetal. Their goal is the control of the personal biologic urge for the satisfaction of social ends. This conflict is not unusual for even the lower animals. Efforts at social control in biology is represented by the rutting season and the sexual resistances of female animals. Sexual attraction is not always devoid of restrictive social influences.

Sex attraction and sex attractiveness are closely related to the organization of sexual impulses and sexual esthetics in relation to and in conflict with sexual sociability. When John is attracted by Mary's pretty dimples, her form and her exuberant spirit, he is unconsciously being stimulated by sexual esthetic factors which have not been developed upon an intellectual plane. When Mary thinks John's strong muscles are adorable and Henry's dancing marvellous she is succumbing to part of the esthetics of the sexual life. When the college sophomore suffers heart flutters from one infatuation after the other he is unaware of the deep inner forces that are activating his judgment of girls. And when the young college freshman girl has a crush upon her male teacher she is responding to an innate drive that must be recognized.

Sex attracion, however, is not always so heterosexual. The crushes of boys and girls for others of the same sex are most common characteristics of a certain phase of development. Chumming, palships, hero worships, the maintenance of interest only in groups of one's own sex are for the time being normal expressions of sexual attraction. They are definitely related to the conscious recognition of the elements common in the sexness of the group. This phase of sex attraction is purely transitory and is valuable because its existence usually is accompanied by the development of fine character trends involving loyalties, self-sacrifice, coöperation and willingness to work for social ends. This phase of homosexual attraction does not disturb society during the adolescent age period, because society does not expect reproduction from the immature. If, however, the homosexual attraction continues and there is not a natural evolution into heterosexual interest, society views with alarm the non-social status of the attraction. The feminine man and the masculine woman who desire the continuance of their own sexual interest

and enthusiasm actively or passively are frowned upon by the societal censor. Knowledge of the social sentiment concerning homosexuals constitutes a powerful and profound force towards self-direction and self-regulation in heterosexuality.

Adolescence is the age of chivalry, the age of greatest emotional activity. With the expansion of sexual functions there is a rapid unfolding of emotional life. The growing child, for the first time emotionally sex-conscious, develops tremendous impulses that seek for expression in reality and in dramatic action. The natural expression of sex evolution is evidenced in the frequent intensification of affection for the family. The status of father and mother, sister and brother assume new meanings. The world takes on new colorings and glowing forests in which gay adventure lies. Self-consciousness, self-doubting, self-inquiry, self-trial, self-adventure and self-experimentation enter into striking and ofttimes contrasting spheres of influence. An undercurrent of organic restlessness brings to life new stresses and new strains, with a large variety of emotional content whose rightness or wrongness has been partially pre-determined by communal and family mores. This is the glorious period of self-appreciation, an age of rising and falling romance, an age of loves and hates, of fears and doubts, of dependency and self-determination. Now arises a profound desire for independence, for freedom, for emancipation from parental direction, for assuming self-responsibility as a mature being, for ascertaining the meaning and nature of the self as altered by reason of sexual as well as physical growth. It is an age in which sensuousness and sensuality develop side by side. Beauty and ugliness fight for position, self-respect and self-depreciation war for ultimate possession.

Owing to an era of unenlightened sexual taboos, the adolescent mind is subjected to the pernicious influences of smutty, lascivious literature, immodest attire and vulgarities of various kinds that attract his attention. What the world would hide arouses his interest and he disregards the taboo that is without penalty in order to satisfy his longing for knowledge. At the same time what he hears, sees and regards as truth may arouse morbid desires and stimulate intense latent feelings that have not forced themselves upon consciousness.

A critical period of sex development arises with gang attractions and the encouragement to sexual experience with the false claims for sexual incontinence and with the renewal of masturbation. Normal curiosity as to genital functions, and an awakening to the personal

results of various forms of sexual play often create dangerous mental attitudes.

The masturbating boy who regards himself as guilty of a sin against God and society undergoes unnecessary and harmful emotional and moral revulsions. The doctrine that sexual continence is incompatible with health is false and its hazards to the adolescent mind are as great as those created by the counselors of worship at the shrine of Venus in order to secure relief from the alleged devastating results of masturbatory practices. Masturbation is undesirable, but it is the psychological effects that are most harmful. The abuse of biologic function may endanger the physical organism and in its essence biologic action can be "guilty" of a violation of a moral code but, in fact, biology is bound up with the social structure that functions through moral codes.

The adolescent period is marked by emotional instability. There are ups and downs, peaks and valleys, moments of profoundest faith, others of deep doubt, disturbing alternations of laughter and tears, determination and resignation, reverence and enthusiasms and hesitation, sexual drives and feelings, hours of self-exaltation and painful hours of self-excoriation. All of these emotional elements exist as formative elements in the growth to self-knowledge and later to self-judgment. They are outgrowths of reaction to natural phenomena and to artificial organization. They grow out of action and ideation; they result from seminal emissions, from masturbation, from amorous dreams, from sex-experimentation, from courtships. They grow from normal reactions of turgescence that arise from normal contacts with normal people under conditions which if there were no social taboos would lead to biologic fulfillments as the normal end. Energy abounds and its sexual diversion forms part of the basis of judgment concerning the manliness of a boy or the womanliness of a girl.

A wide range of social biologic behavior is an absolutely normal expression of adolescent growth. Sex knowledge, sex experience and sex sympathy unite in the efforts to secure a more profound understanding of the factors entering into intimate companionships, courtships and matings. There is no sense of guilt attached to infantile kissing. There was no sense of guilt attached to the osculations that were permitted under the guise of social play as at husking bees, in dramatics or in playing the ancient game of "Post Office." There was a tang of social risk attached, and playing involved an expression of amorous delight with a consciousness

of the violation of restrictions ordinarily put upon modest youth, but social taboos still remained operative.

A generation ago behavior which revealed an ankle was deemed disgusting and short skirts and short hair characterized a person socially regarded as a prostitute if not a degenerate. To-day we are quite accustomed to bobbed hair and the complete exposure of legs, with other parts of the female form more revealed than hidden by modern dress, and they are not held to be a reflection of disgusting and immoral behavior. There is no longer a sense of guilt such as would have attached to a young woman in the Nineties in a one piece bathing suit had she been permitted to walk upon the beach. The revelation of the female form is within the present standards of permissive acts and the variation in such revelations depends upon the time of the day, the place, the function and the group to which the girl belongs.

It is only natural that with the decline in the systematic covering of the body and the same degree of contiguity there would be a greater incitement to sexual interest and experiment. The corset was, in a sense, a defense mechanism. The reaction of social behavior in the light of the relative absence of this commodity and other underclothes calls for an entirely new interpretation. A sense of guilt is not existent in the behavior of the normal adolescent. Matrons do not feel guilty to-day for their own cosmetic adornment, nor because of their aim to maintain an appearance of youth at an age when an earlier generation would have relegated them to quiescent retirement.

The standards of shame and modesty have altered materially. More intellectual thinking has entered into an appreciation of mutual sexual attraction, sexual interests and sexual enthusiasms. Society is recognizing the greater value of an intelligent appreciation of biologic facts, and self-regulation in accordance therewith, rather than a dependence upon narrow social regulations with defiance or half blind disregard of the imperative phases of the sex impulse. The present age is, therefore, less hypocritical. There is far less necessity for a sense of guilt than during the less free generations. Sexual freedom is greater. Sexual enlightenment is more widespread. Sexual enthusiasm is more frank; sexual behavior is less fraught with a feeling of guilt.

Those who are especially sensitive to social opinion and are prone to evaluate themselves merely in terms of social estimates of their actions are to-day sufferers and victims of depression, misery

and sexual unhappiness because of their recognition of the urgency of their own sexual drives and pressures.

Despite attempts at social censorship there has been an increase of suggestive and amorous and frankly sexual drama, a tremendous increase of books of fiction which stress sexuality in all its phases, normal and perverse. Music, sculpture and even religion to-day indicate shifting standards and the uncertain location of the center of gravity. Society has wrestled with a taboo and has sought art to justify the expression of what morality rejects. Movement certainly abounds, but whether it be upward and onward time alone can tell. At least during all this period of shifting and change which almost simulates social adolescence, youth itself has grown away from the ancient traditions. The joyousness and ebullition of adolescence and its reach for sexual experimentation is quite in harmony with the general change in the attitudes of the older generations. There is a vast distinction between the viewpoint of Europe and the more limited Puritanic concepts which have been fostered in America. Society has at once pursued enlightenment and has been overtaken by it.

In the past, adolescence has been the victim of negative thinking. There have been constant directions as to what things not to do without sufficient enlightenment as to what should be done. Society has closed its eyes to the most significant problem confronting it—the education of its youth in the primary facts related to sexual activity in terms of social values. There has been indifference as well as ignorance; there has been neglect; there has been false modesty which has resulted in more pernicious mental activity than could have been developed by the honest and frank exposition of all the facts related to sexual organization, sexual development and sex utilization. The efforts at civilization lessened the intelligent approach to teaching what constitutes normality in sex life. Society has been guilty of sleeping with its eyes open. The nature of its laws and regulations has made it patent that it has been aware of the large number of sexual difficulties attending youth as well as maturity. Nevertheless little constructive effort has been made until recently to make such regulation and legislation unnecessary. There has been a dread of sex education. In general, all classes in the community, lawyers, priests, ministers, teachers and parents, all have regarded as unholy and unclean everything relating to sex. One must not talk about it; one should not read about it; one should not think about it; one should not know about it. To know was to be pol-

luted. False doctrines built on biologic lies grew and developed and were poured into the ears of self-torturing adolescents or else they were left to flounder in their own sea of ignorance until hauled out by some one whose main interest was selfish pleasure.

The present reaction against the stupidity and the blind ignorance of an older generation may be attended by other transgressions of moral law. To some there appears to be a tremendous increase in frankly sexual manipulations and hazardous experimentation. One may ask, however, whether the type of sexual activity at present so marked in youth is not equally characteristic of the older generation. Middle age is by no means as restrained as it was a generation ago. And old age is far from surrendering in its competition with youth for sexual favors. The changed attitude on the part of society as a whole in this country is reflected more possibly in the behavior of adolescents because this particular group has fewer traditions to overcome, is blessed with vigor and vitality, dares to know and knows how to dare. Youth is learning without the necessity of having to forget; middle age is learning through forgetting, and old age is learning to forget.

In our system of civilization, whatever that word may mean, what sexual behavior is right and what is not right? Obviously that is right which receives the official sanction of the majority, and is regarded, therefore, as in harmony with the best interests of the greatest number. To the extent that sexual behavior does not endanger the welfare of society, as viewed by its living generations, its behavior is acceptable. It matters little to a generation as a whole what its levels of sexual behavior may be, so far as it represents community activity. When there are marked stratifications in society with deviations of principle that are acceptable, the activities of the minority are regarded as asocial or anti-social. It appears reasonable to believe that normality of biologic expression in consonance with the finest social development represents a rational scheme for the expression of sexual life in any community. Definitions of terms, however, depend more upon social enlightenment and interpretation of values than upon personal inclinations.

It is of paramount importance that society take a rational view of sex and all the problems related to it. Whether one deals with masturbation, fornication, adultery, homosexuality or any of the large variety of perversions, it is necessary that society understand their nature and origins and evaluate them in terms of individual organizations and the circumstances of living that enter into such

manifestations. It is fit and proper that society should be frank and fearless and banish its hypocrisy in facing sexual manifestations, whether in the mass or in the individual. Society now easily differentiates between consecutive wives, concomitant wives, and wives and mistresses on moral grounds. There is frankness in discussing live issues in sexual adjustment that formerly were viewed as lascivious and belonging to pornographic fiction. Judgment upon homosexual activities and perversions should involve a consideration of the physical and physiological elements inherent in such activities. Society has no right to condemn without a hearing any individual when its own mode of approach to his problems merits condemnation. Honesty and understanding are prerequisites of intelligent social judgments and in no realm should this be more apparent than in the realm of social sexual problems that vary from infantile masturbation to middle aged prostitution or senile exhibitionism.

It is difficult to consider the evolution of sexual urges and powers without an appreciation of their economic and social relations. While much emphasis has been placed upon the personal, biologic pleasure principle involved in sexual organization and function, the social phase of normal sex interest is bound up in the reproductive phase of sexual life. Society is interested in courtship, leading to marriage, and marriage as the foundation of familial life with children.

Fish, birds and primates reveal a form of family life based upon reproduction, though without a rite of marriage. The biologic foundations of marriage and family life include the protection and preservation of the young before and after birth. The social content of the biologic activity is no less apparent than the biologic value of the social fact of familial relationships. The combination of the biologic social forces tend to guarantee the continuance of the family life as a factor in preserving the race. There always will be those who, sacrificing the reproductive phase, will take the pleasure goal as the emotional end. For them there is no family nor desire for family and marriage as a rite becomes useless and unnecessary except as a social sop for purposes of successive concubinage.

In an era when marriages occurred at an early age many of the present sexual problems did not arise. Even with marriage as an aim to-day there are large numbers who by force of circumstances are prevented from undertaking the natural and desired course involving marriage and home-making. The postponement of marriage is fraught with difficulties in view of the fact that the sexual

urge is greatest during the period of late adolescence and early maturity. This is the proper biologic age for undertaking and establishing marital relationships. One of the results of the postponement of marriage is to provide a series of years during which there is repeated sexual excitation without a legalized outlet for its expression. The results in terms of clandestine unions and organized prostitution are too well known to require comment. Social-economic restrictions do not banish sexual impulses. The very deprivation of normal outlets may cause increased tension. As a result of such heightened but frustrated sexual urges there may develop a large variety of undesirable activities, masturbatory or perverse in character, or the undertaking of sexual relationships that are not cemented by a feeling of responsibility or mutual obligation.

All too frequently consciousness of strong sexual desire without the courage to attain satisfaction is the cause of mental conflict or profound neurosis, and may lay the foundations of a psychosis. It is perhaps not unnatural that despite all social regulations the postponement of marriage has been a pronounced factor in intensifying the sexual problems of late adolescence and early maturity. The condition of sexual unrest during this period has become more pronounced and a large variety of solutions have developed as a result of the larger emancipation of women. The development of a greater freedom in matrimonial choice has not been any more marked than the degree of sexual self-determination which has accompanied the liberation of women in the fields of politics, industry and home-making. A large measure of the present shifting in social attitudes is due to the revision of opinions of morals that were formerly accepted by women although formulated by men. The modifications of mores and social culture have altered the status of marriage and the status of the family. One cannot foretell the future but it is safe to say that marriage, family life and social culture will continue to change through the ages; as when marriage or sex partnerships are in conflict with the mores both are subject to change. Each age works out temporarily its own problems. So long as women acquiesced in acknowledging the force and truth of moral codes drawn up and enforced by men they were sexual chattels. As soon as women became conscious of their own power they had a deeper recognition of their own rights and saw in their own sexness an opportunity for a larger expression of their being. This alteration in attitude on the part of women has broken down the earlier theory of a double standard of sex morality to a large extent. A growing acceptance of

a principle of sex life that recognizes but one standard for both sex has given rise to a new set of sexual problems which cannot be solved until society itself, a two-sexed community, establishes a new set of moral sanctions. If the single standard involves complete sexual freedom, so be it.

One of the first great problems involves the bridging of the gulf between puberty and marriage. Whether during this period of years society will finally recognize, accept, condone or deny sexual experimentation cannot be foreseen. The economic and social problems that will arise as the result of the present experimentation will be a factor in determining the later judgment. Whether improved economic conditions and a larger degree of dependence upon birth control will lead to still earlier marriage is a matter of considerable social importance. It is significant that early marriages are more numerous than they were a generation ago although the age of consent has risen considerably. One cannot say whether the companionate marriage as such will receive sufficient social acceptance and approval to become a sanctioned social institution. Whether society will look with more or less than the present disfavor upon freer sexual play prior to matrimony will depend upon the nature and social effects of the consequences of such sexual freedoms. Sexual freedom is conditioned by its own development.

Regardless of social codes and regulations, for a considerable period of time there will be an increased amount of sexual freedom manifest in the new generation for whom there is far more leisure in life than they have education for the enjoyment of it. An era of scientific machinery, of light, of speed and of prosperity is bound to multiply the difficulties of a generation that must learn to live on a plane new to all generations, particularly while youth lacks adequate growth and experience to indicate the modes of adaptation to new and thrilling circumstances just as they have difficulty in harnessing the powers of sexual urge and less restrained desire. There is patently a need for frank outspoken intelligent sex education with honest interpretations of the meaning of sexual life for personal and social ends. Prudery and mid-Victorian attitudes must be supplanted by a frank consideration of the nature, principles, purposes and effects of social responsibilities, and their relation to personal activity cannot be ignored. Enlightenment as to the possible harmony of personal and social urges afford a most reasonable line of action even though it can offer no guarantees of individual choice. An appreciation of new values and changed connotations

enters into the social contacts of the young prior to marriage. If they deem their sexual life their own and no concern of society so long as no issue results, their openness in sexual companionship and sexual gratification will depend only upon what mass sentiment and opinion will tolerate or overlook for the sake of peace.

One may ask to what extent sexual freedom is permissible or desirable. The answer is not difficult although by no means definite. Sexual freedom is desirable to the extent that it promotes individual happiness without the sacrifice of social harmony. It is permissive to the extent that individual activity does not detract from the happiness and the social growth of others. Society as an intangible organization has most tangible machinery. The individual as a tangible organism has most intangible relationships. The degree to which individual freedoms and social freedoms can approximate in promoting the welfare of both the individual and the group constitutes the theoretic index of the desirability and the permissibility of any degree of sexual behavior. The rationalizations of the individual are less significant than those of society because society can enforce its rationalizations by and through such social controls as education, law and religion. The conflicts of individuals cannot be solved without reference to the conflicts of society. Sexual freedom is a problem of the individual because it is a greater problem of society.

In all probability the family will maintain its place in the social order. Society will continue to view marriage and reproduction as the social aim for the continuity of its own existence. One need not ask why society desires to continue itself. The history of the ages indicates that this is a primary social instinct. The economic status of society carries with it the necessity for fixing reproductive responsibility and legalizing it upon a socially sanctioned and recognized unit. The family represents this unit. It is possible that companionate marriage will be recognized and accepted. It has a practical position now all save the provision for ready divorce. It is possible that there will be a larger freedom of divorce, more particularly where there are no children whether by chance or choice.

It is not unlikely that the State may take a firmer hold upon the factors entering into and growing out of marriage and hem it about with many restrictions so as to protect what legally has been termed legitimacy. It is unlikely that the State will renounce all its claims upon the family unless children exist, because it is appropriate for the State to regulate parenthood in the interest of the

offspring that may be produced. If the State desires to regulate its future population it is perhaps natural to begin its regulation in marriage. The status of the family will be altered undoubtedly, but its future status cannot be prophesied with any degree of certainty. The present experimentations in Russia and the alterations in plans and procedures that have already occurred there indicate the futility of definite statements concerning the ultimate position of the family as an outgrowth of regulated sexual activity. The family as a civil, religious, political, economic, biological and sociological unit has been esteemed since the beginning of history. It appears unlikely, therefore, that the family will cease to be the important social unit that it now is.

To promote the highest degree of rational, social sex relationships and social attitudes towards sex, ideas of good and evil must undergo renovation, in fact they are already in process of change from absolutes to relatives. Ideas of repression and suppression in early life are undergoing a marked change. Eroticism in itself is not for good or evil. Social judgment upon individual or group activity alone constitutes the criterion of right and wrong. The erotic individual as an individual has the privilege of exercising his eroticism restricted only by the mores of his age and place. Erotic rights are biological and even those are limited by the personal idea of the right to secure satisfaction. In social living eroticism has no inherent rights as it has no essential duties. In a theoretic ideal state there would be erotic rights and erotic duties thoroughly in harmony with the ultimate good of all people. Neither the ideal state nor the ideal person exists. Measured by an individual biologic standard possibly no erotic individual is more nearly his own ideal than society is regarded as ideal.

The fact of social variation complicates individual variation. Society is high-geared in a sense and requires more effort for its movements, while the low-geared individual finds the shifting of his power exceedingly simple. Social change comes slowly as a rule although occasionally there are sudden shifts and every change and alteration in social development is reflected in the mores. Morals mirror mores to no small extent. The moral status of an age of chivalry is very different from that of an age of Puritanism. The morals of a sparsely populated agricultural community are different from the moral levels of crowded industrial centers. The moral character of those on a ranch is not identical with those in a slaughter house. The standards of a nunnery are not those of the stage. An

era of realistic erotic literature cannot produce the same moral values as are to be found in an age of romance where they "live happily ever after." Times, customs and men change. Times and customs change men; men change the customs; and customs change the times. Social evolution involves, and is inseparable from, changes in morals.

What is normal and what is abnormal is largely a matter of judgment. The most normal behavior for a male homosexual is deemed abnormal by society. Abnormal behavior of a pervert would actually be socially normal function. In most lives there is abundant need for sexual adjustments, adjustments in personal behavior, in personal thinking, in ideation and in practices involving others. Life is dynamic for the individual and less dynamic, although not static, for society. Man's destiny is evolving in terms of frictions, in terms of his powers and opportunities, in the light of the acceptance or non-acceptance of social judgments and opinions.

The harmony of sexual living which involves the total harmony of existence is fraught with unlimited value to the individual and to society. The masturbating boy, the masochistic girl, the sadistic rake, the young woman who loves in vain, the erotic "sheik," the struggling, repressed woman, the man whose love cannot go beyond himself, or the man who remains bound in love to his mother, all have problems to solve which cannot be solved on the moralistic plane. Their peacefulness and contentment of mind, their usefulness to and in society depends upon the development and maintenance of calm and dispassionate views of themselves and of their relations to society. The necessity for the attainment and continuance of self-support, the acknowledgment of the existence of sexual urges and the part that they must play in the solution of various conflicts in life is now thoroughly recognized.

Mental hygiene has revealed the tremendous importance that sex plays in the evolution of personality. It has shown that the curve of distribution of sexual emotionality is a normal curve varying from a negative state of total frigidity to a supreme state of uncontrolled hyperactivity. Each individual person along this scale presents his own problems and has his own difficulties of adjustment. These problems and difficulties, however, are not wholly determined by the internal forces of organization but are profoundly influenced, modified, stimulated or inhibited by the circumstances of life under the conditions of living within the general and specific communities constituting the environment.

Behavior to be regarded as normal or abnormal must be related to the model distribution of sexual conduct in any community. This model behavior is far from constant. The interpretation of the sexual activities of any person, therefore, depends upon an interpretation of his status in relation to the constitution of his environment of which he himself forms a part. This approach to an interpretation of sexual activity, sexual ideas, sexual interests, sexual enthusiasms and sexual practices is not absolutely moralistic because it considers individual nature and the individual goal of life with due recognition of time, place, circumstance, social ideal and social practice.

SEX CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE CHILD

BY C. ELIZABETH GOLDSMITH

It is an illuminating fact in considering attitudes on infancy and early childhood throughout the ages, to observe how stilted, unreal and inflexible all representations of childhood are. From the early Italian art to the paintings at the end of the nineteenth century, from the poetry of Chaucer to Wordsworth, "trailing clouds of glory," we see childhood as a projection of the adult mind. A picture of what traditionally children are supposed to be. We see the child as the little animal or the miniature adult. The little angel to be protected from the evils of the world, or the little savage recipient through the act of birth of the sin dominant in the universe from whose soul evil must be eradicated. In these attitudes so rigidly adherent to extremes, it is difficult to see the fluctuations—dynamics—paradoxes of early, individual, human development. Where is the child, this energized bundle of attributes—savage, gentle, grasping, receptive? This child we are at last beginning to observe for scientific purposes without sentimentality, anxiety, or preconceived ideas.

For a genuinely basic understanding, we turn here to a study still paradoxically in its infancy—the scientific study of the infant. It is amazing how little of the scientific exploratory interest in the world has been focused on the infant; surely a possible creative source of much information and enlightenment. We analyze the adult and trace his difficulties back to early childhood, recreating a picture psychologically rather than building up from the beginning. We study primitive life and compare the evolutionary steps and symbolism of primitive man with the development in infancy and early childhood, but only recently have we found the study of the beginnings of human growth in terms of its psychological aspects, significant enough to warrant serious study. Thus it is only within the last decade that the infant has begun to assume his significant place in the history of individual human development.

We have only begun to accept his strong instinctual drive, his

deep sensory consciousness as illuminating features throwing light on the facts of consciousness, and are just very faintly, because of anxieties and rigid standards, beginning to see value in preserving some of these qualities. This study of man's slow orientation from the unconflicting blissful state of fetal existence to the complex adaptation necessary to the highly organized society of to-day, has intimated to observers how deeply bodily sensory impressions represent the inner life of young children and how important for harmonious growth it is to accept the truth and value of this fact. To accept the educational and psychological implications which would lead logically to a more unrestricted natural development in the adaptation, psychological and physical, of infants and young children, permitting civilized habits to develop more slowly and having generally a more flexible vision of time standards in relation to early growth.

The infant emerging from the complete security of his mother's womb in a sudden change which is the most revolutionary experienced throughout life, tries at the beginning to return back into the happy state of perfect self-sufficiency. He resumes the embryonic posture and tries to find cessation of desire by complete satisfaction in his own and his mother's body, which he senses deeply as an expansion of his own. Lying in warmth in a crib unconsciously devised by all peoples to reproduce the rhythmic vibration and protection of intra-uterine existence, the child gradually becomes increasingly aware of his body through a slowly widening consciousness. This body which is the gateway to all perceptions of the varied outer world.

From the infant to the child the I-consciousness is predominantly an acute vibrant sensory awareness, unrestricted by the inhibiting factors of intellect or the adult sublimation leading to aversion which involves an objective sense lacking in the young child's simple egocentric satisfactions. He is thus a czar in his own stronghold. One is struck with the completeness of the biologic mechanism—this blissful state of perfect self-sufficiency in relation to desire and satisfaction, paradoxically in spite of complete physical dependence on the mother. On analysis one is amazed at the complexity of just one process, such as sucking, which involves many involved coördinations. Consider this astonishing sensory equipment and then visualize the infant's grotesqueness in relation to adult norms. Physically, his relatively enormous headsize, his short legs—psychologically, his complete aloofness from our sense of reality. His life in a sensory

world from the understanding of which we are barred almost entirely by our civilized adaptation too rapidly patterned in early childhood, and our intellectual concepts. The infant unable to revert to this completely blissful state begins to become aware dimly of the grim realities of the world through the differentiating agencies of the two big drives of infant consciousness, recently articulated by Bernfeld—pleasure and pain. These levers of consciousness help orient the infant to his own body and through this deep seat of awareness to the outer world.

First we might think of the child biologically as a *mouth consciousness*, getting his ultimate satisfaction from sucking motions, which are the most intricate and most deeply satisfying reflexes of his mechanism. Every sensation in terms of mouth consciousness, a seat of deep separate awareness. Gradually various parts of his body interrelate with the primary satisfaction and add to his growing I-integration. The object waving in front of his eyes accidentally, finds its place into his mouth giving a pleasurable feeling. Thus the hand becomes an integral part of awareness seated in his enlarging body sense and a source of vague pleasure and pain. From a disconnected process, a part of the formless outside world, the hand becomes—Himself.

Thus, we have in the infant and young child tireless motion, constant physical exploration and increasing consciousness created by satisfying bodily functions and a drive for further satisfying expansions. Thus, the source of dynamic energy, his I-consciousness, has its roots deeply in his body. Here at this primitive instinctual level we have the basis for development and sublimation, leading to love of beauty, abstract thought and all the intricate evolved factors of growth far removed from the infant sucking greedily at his mother's breast. Here in the predominance of the more purely sensational drive, the strong body urge, we have sex in its widest aspect. The young child's absorption in his body, his tireless curiosity, his satisfaction in simple purely physical functions, which cannot be overlooked by genuine observers, is sex, the motivating force in development and a desirable and necessary experience in his slow natural progress towards civilized adjustment.

The great psychological problem the modern educator is faced with at this point is the adult difficulty really to accept and value the amoral nature of the child. People observing children closely and consecutively in a natural environment are often disturbed or disregard the significance of the child's glowing absorption in his body.

Or accepting these facts scientifically in a rational modern way, fail to really understand the simplicity, the unconflicting directness of the child's mind and interpret and react to this instinctual drive in an adult intellectualized way. So we meet with grave difficulties both from the old and the new order of understanding. The old anxiety and aversion towards anything crude and primitive in childhood so closely bound up with the religious doctrine of the original sin, we are only too tragically familiar with. The repressive disciplinary machinery which forcibly made of the bubbling, imaginative, active child a well-mannered automaton with most of his tireless energy turned unhealthily within himself, is well known. This attitude of mind is still frequent, but the great changes of the last decade, results of dramatic happenings in the world, such as wars and revolutions, have caused great upheavals in feeling towards fundamental problems of human evolution.

This age can rightly be termed the era of the child, because of the amount of creative thought turned towards the problem of the development of a more conscious attitude towards child study to insure a more integrated, more evolved society. There is an awakening in the world to-day of a realization of the pitiful waste of human material due to the numbers of people unable to assume mature adult responsibility and creativity. A study of adult maladjustments showing in many cases the harmful effects of rigid artificial repressions and frustrations in early childhood, has paved the way towards a reformulation of the objectives of child development, a revaluation of educational formulas. This new awareness in the world of the possible reasons for frustrations and stunted growth in mankind and possible roads leading towards greater creativity and integration, is still delicate and for the most part obscure. We must slowly orient ourselves to the possibilities of childhood and develop a form in education flexible enough to follow the natural fluid form of life by making the instinctual life in children our guide. In our present state of rejecting the old forms as inadequate and slowly working towards new concepts, we are in danger of treating the child in too rational a light. I have observed the germs of emotional disturbance in many cases of adults who accept the significance of the crude vitality and primitive curiosities of children rationally, but are unable to deal with these facts emotionally. The rigidly rational modern is too apt to show traces of aversion, anxiety and disgust just below the surface, disguised by a frank direct manner. So the child who reacts to feeling and the emotional background of

words rather than to the words themselves, feels a lack of security in reaching for help to the adult—a puzzled frustrated feeling which leads him to ponder unproductively and to develop a sense of guilt in relation to his natural curiosities and exploratory urge. The over-rationalized adult, not understanding the simple crudeness of children or their primitive play symbolism, leaves the child to flounder—leaves him to turn in upon his fantasy and thus over-stimulates his curiosity through unsatisfied craving. Thus, his dynamic curiosity in relation to his bodily sensations, the origin of life and his interrelation to his parents which normally increases his ardor for further orientation, acts as a damper. It is only when adults have frankly accepted the simple instinctual life within themselves, when they directly pierce the inhibiting veil of their own childhood memories, that the vividness and value of these sensational experiences in childhood prove themselves. The adult may grow into an awareness through dreams of his childhood—by relaxing into feeling—and become re-oriented to the dynamics of a child's inner life and the value and possibility of preserving the rich fantasy by greater understanding and by treating the child's simplicity with genuine regained simplicity in his own life. Being with children in a natural environment created around the spontaneous child, the adult senses the real child and not the child patterning himself pathetically after what is expected of him.

A Nature-Study room filled to overflowing with pets and plants brought in by children of all different ages is a relaxed place—a place where children observe life and find satisfaction in answers to vital questions. A place in a modern school developing new forms in handling children's problems, just one phase of the community life built around the instinctual close feeling children have towards animals. A feeling which places them close to primitive forms of life in a world overwhelmingly complex, built for adult consumption. Observing only yesterday an eager group of four year olds in this child-size world, I was again impressed with the naturalness and directness of children's own classification of their curiosity drives. The naturalness in the healthy child and the lovely intensity towards all angles of life—questions of sex as a direct motive force in harmonious relation to his feeling reactions. His eager questioning a part of his exhilaration of life. A little boy in this setting next to me was fondling a rabbit. He was in ecstasy over the warm furry feeling against him—the funny little way the rabbit had of puckering his nose. He straightened his body with an unconscious feeling

of protective tenderness and power in relation to this little helpless creature in his arms, helpless as the child feels himself helpless, so often compared to adult bulk and standards. Then suddenly, with great directness, a question shot at me: "Is this the mamma or the papa?" Then without waiting for an answer, an absorbed look at the genitals. "Oh, a mamma! Is she having babies?" All vivid, interested and yet casual.

Further instance of this quick directness in a simple free environment is the story of a little four year old girl in this school, who having stayed in the toilet room for a prolonged period was met by the teacher with an offer of help to assist with reluctant buttons. The little girl's shining face and eager response showed her complete naturalness, "Oh, Terry," she said, "I was so long because I'm getting so interested in my underneath!" If this type of free response is possible in a school situation where trained people make studies of individual children in an environment created solely around the needs of the child, what is the function of the school in relation to the handling of sex consciousness in children and what is the function of the home? The answer, I feel, is a close coöperation between these two great factors in a child's life, which is made simple by the informal nature of school life so closely resembling, for the small child, the atmosphere of a good home. It is evident from the appearance of the school building that much of the significant living of the children is here, as the buildings, overflowing with crude colorful childlike products, show. It means that in such a school the whole child—emotional, intellectual and physical—appears. Here his physical relaxed life which is so significant in relation to his development is observed. The school represents the objectifying factor in his life, whereas the home represents his adjustment to a family unit to whom he is intricately, emotionally tied. The school is the child's world in which he can find his orientation slowly in relation to the overwhelming complexity of the outside adult world; in which he can grow into standards of adjustment gradually rather than be placed into a mold, a pattern long before he has really experienced enough in himself.

The modern school finally is a laboratory where through genuine observation of children in this natural way, parents are given insight and help in attitudes of childhood, leading to the preservation of dynamic energy in children rather than methods leading to decreasing activity and curiosity. The most intelligent parent needs help in objectifying particularly in relation to this fundamental problem

of his attitude towards sex consciousness, sex curiosity and sexual exploration in children. Sex instruction is twofold—one the child's relationship with his parents and his gradual slow orientation through his own body to that of those closest to him, and second, his general understanding of the facts of life at different rhythms and stages of his development, growing into attitudes and philosophical concepts of life. The parent's explanation to the child involves all this delicate personal adjustment and an awakening of the child to his exact place in the home through his realization of the true nature of the closeness of the relationship of the parents. Modern psychological literature is full of descriptions of the child's attitude towards his parents. The close feeling for the mother. The ambivalent reaction to the father. The much observed fact of the little boy's jealousy upon watching the father kiss the mother. His desire to marry the mother when he grows up. These emotional threads make the sex explanation on the part of the parents a personal exposition of their own relationship different from the acceptance of the facts as such. I feel that a child should get simple direct answers to his questions from the parents because the feeling of release and satisfaction the child experiences upon having his curiosity satisfied is so constructive in building a genuine relationship between parents and children. In rare instances where parents, through their own inhibited childhood or painful after experiences, feel themselves incapable of a relaxed attitude, the modern school takes over this responsibility. In general, the school acts as an advisory body, emphasizing the need to parents of answering the questions of children, stressing the naturalness and value of sex curiosity and giving simple advice to the frequently helpless harassed cry, "How and what shall I tell my child?"

The school contends that instruction in what to say and how to say it is meaningless unless the background of the emotional relationship between parents and children is a natural and understanding one. In the light of modern psychology it is felt desirable for parents not to build up in the child's mind a picture of constant righteousness, absolute perfection and sureness. It is even healthy, I feel, to insure a reality sense in the child, which equips him to adjust well to the world, for the child occasionally to find the parent definitely in the wrong and for the parent freely to admit that fact. Thus, I feel, if parents fill the place in the child's mind of lovable humans occasionally in the wrong in relation to his own growing judgment, towards whom his affections flow freely but by whom he

is not emotionally strangled, his acceptance of their sex relations will not involve a stunning blow, but will represent a natural step in his emancipation—his realization of the facts of life. This will enable him without passing through too painful an emotional crisis, to assume his natural place in the relationship at home, leaving him free for normal adjustment in adult life.

It is important here that the instructions given at different recurrent levels of interest during childhood should be given simply but concretely. The day is passed when sex instruction stops with the butterfly or the daffodil, when the parent or teacher smilingly feels the child's curiosity has been satisfied by the dissection of a flower or the study of the moth emerging from the chrysalis. It is a genuine relief to feel that the modern child brought up in this spontaneous way can be relied on in most cases to make his needs clear. The child himself points the answer for those who have eyes to see. Thus, I remember an amusing instance, one of many of this type, of the boy who was being enlightened by his teacher, saying affectionately but urgently, "But you see, Angie, dogs are all right. I like dogs. I have seen dogs stick together, but what I'm really puzzled about is people."

Children growing up in an informal home environment going to a modern school where their curiosities are satisfied, almost invariably ask direct frank questions which are answered scientifically at the Walden School by nature-study or science teachers, who are equipped psychologically and through their specialized knowledge of biology to give adequate answers. Here of course the personality and the feeling of the person handling the delicate problems of the questions of early adolescence are extremely important. Here follow some simple records, written verbatim immediately after the child's conferences with the nature study teacher, showing an informal feeling relationship with the teacher—the natural way the connection is made and the way in which a child's mind revolves around all factors of absorbing interest, seeing sex at this stage of development in harmonious relation to life in general. The first is a record of a thirteen year old girl who had deeply repressed much information received from her parents. Because of a sad home situation she was trying to escape by fleeing into fantasy and keeping herself from making more mature adjustments. Her mother, having died in childbirth, the idea of sex and birth were painful. It took her two years of relaxed life at the school to go through with the experience related in the record. The results were satisfying, as she broke

through her fantasy life and accepted the facts in a natural friendly way.

Study of Jane G. *Record by Miss Howells.*
Summary of Conferences for Several Months.

Last fall Jane made herself quite absurd in the eyes of the rest of the class by asking very infantile questions about reproduction, as "Why should there be a male horse and a female horse?" and when told so that they can have young ones she said, "What's the father got to do with that?" This was the kind of outspoken query which she made and which usually brought down on her, "Oh, Jane, you're so foolish!" from the rest of the girls. So Miss Howells invited her up to her office to say that she noticed she was very much interested in her biology and would she care to do some private work with her once a week? She agreed directly and then proceeded to forget the hour set. There were several appointments forgotten in the course of a few weeks, but always she came to an awareness of the thing by herself and would come back and say, "I don't know why I forget to come because I really want to so much," and it certainly seemed as if she desired to overcome her resistance because she always worked well during the hours she was there, although she took a long time before she was relaxed enough to center her questioning.

In those first weeks she chose to study more about plants, since they had done a little in the biology hour with her group. Miss Howells gave her plenty of opportunities to change from plant to animal, thinking she might have questions which were disturbing her and which she was evading, but she was more deliberate than any child she ever talked to about finishing up a certain amount of planned study and then announcing, "Well, now for rabbits!" She was very orderly also about this animal study and asked simple unembarrassed questions about birth and about the growth of the embryo. Jane told Miss Howells quite a little at this time about her mother and that she had died in childbirth and she talked very fondly of the little sisters and of the grandmother. They spent a great deal of time just talking about her interests and her feeling at home because she seemed to be led constantly to this by the subject of birth.

When this period was passed she came quite promptly to the subject of the father again in a surprisingly logical way. She was talking about the rabbits and wanted to know what started the rabbit babies going. When they had drawn pictures of the male

organs and had talked about the introduction of the spermatozoa into the body of the mother she said, "Oh, then I suppose it's the same with human beings! That is something I have always wanted to know and at last I have found out!" She asked no detailed questions then about the human experience of sexuality but seemed entirely satisfied for some time.

Not long after this she spent an afternoon with Miss H. in the nature room and talked almost constantly of how she wanted her home to be when she was grown up, about her children and how she would raise them and how she lay awake at night thinking about everything connected with the children, even how many pairs of shoes they ought to have. She said, "Don't you feel sorry for grown people sometimes, they never think about these things? Sometimes I ask people what is their favorite name for a boy or a girl and they say they have never thought of such a thing and I am so sorry for them." Then she went to the subject of fantasy in general and how she loved to dream beautiful things and how she wished she could go on believing in God and heaven and fairies, "But," she added very sadly, "I know too much for that now, or perhaps I know too little." She thought that the idea of hell must have been invented by selfish people and she wondered how fairies ever came to be believed in and immediately jumped to the conclusion herself, that because fairies represented all the little dreams and bright wishes of people, that people had made believe their wishes were really in the form of fairies.

Toward the end of that afternoon she said there was something she had been wanting to ask Miss Howells and proceeded to the question, "What would happen if one man mated with several different women?" She had heard that it was unhealthy and she wanted to know if it was true. Miss Howells took up the psychological aspect of it only, calling out her idea of love and being loyal to the person that one loved. She spoke of it as irresponsible for a man to go easily from one person to another, because it meant that he easily became tired of one person and did not try to work out the difficulties that there were in living with one person and reminded her that there were always difficulties for people to understand and go through if they were going to love each other. This seemed to register an idea very quickly in her mind, for she jumped immediately to the conclusion, "Oh, yes, if a man were like that and he had a lot of children by different mothers then the children might be irresponsible too!" Miss H. did not feel that she had any further

information to give on the physical aspects of promiscuity and did not attempt to lead her to that.

The next record is the study of a child similar to many others whose questions recorded here are a natural outgrowth of a simple healthy adjustment at home and satisfied curiosities during many happy school years. It is given here to show again the naturalness of the experience and the way in which a child's mind and feeling responds to sex curiosity at this age.

Study of Ruth A., aged ten. *Record by Miss Howells.*

A few days ago Ruth came up to Miss Howells to say she wanted to have some lessons with her. She was very gay and friendly about making an appointment and as she left the room called back, "I want to know about human beings, animals, birds and flowers."

Accordingly, yesterday they spent rest hour together. She looked casually at a few pictures and began asking directly about the growth of the baby in the uterus. She was greatly interested in placenta, cord and gradual development of the embryo through various stages. She was quite jolly in all her comments, amused and interested because of the evidence of the gills and tail in the embryo and throughout the talk showed an eagerness and intelligence which were quite unconfused with emotional disturbances. Because Miss H. made reference to the fact that both the plant and the animal have ovaries, she wished to see the ovary of a plant. They dissected a narcissus flower and Miss H. found that she was quite familiar with its development. She asked if she might do some homework, when Miss H. told her she would be delighted if she would write a story. She decided she would like to write about how a baby grows and that she would rehearse it to Miss H. now so as to be sure she had it all straight. This she did and had her story very clear about the growth of the embryo, but gave nothing whatsoever about birth.

She had asked nothing about birth in the first part of their conversation. Now at this point, as if she had come up against a definite barrier, she said, "But how does the baby get out?" She wanted to know the name of the opening through which the child is born and its location, whether the baby pushes itself out and such quite natural questions. She seemed to have nothing on her mind about pain or abnormality. She was interested that the baby's heart could be heard beating before it was born and that the baby moved enough in the mother's uterus for four and a half months to be distinctly felt. She was very anxious to know if there was any way that one could know

whether a baby would be a boy or a girl. Then she said, "But what starts the baby to growing in the mother? Our mothers aren't having babies all the time!" Miss H. replied that the father has to bring the seed which is in his body to the seed which is in the mother's body and that the two must grow together in order to produce a new life. Ruth accepted this very simply, repeating it quite as Miss H. had given it to her and appeared not to be wrapped in any fantasies concerning fertilization. Her attitude throughout the talk was of eagerness for the subject and playful companionship with me.

She ran downstairs and told Miss Anger much about her talk with Miss H. This morning as she ran through the room she asked Miss H. the name of the bag in which the baby grows. When she said, "The uterus," Ruth said, "That's what I thought, but Arnold (the girl's brother also at school) didn't think it was." Her mother told Miss H. this noon that she had come home very enthusiastic about what she had learned.

Ruth asked Miss Howells last week to remember that she was coming to her on Monday. After they had played around in their usual way with the mice and pigeons, Miss H. asked her how much of the story she had written which she had wanted to write. She said, "I haven't written it, because you see, I don't understand about the male part." So Miss H. got her to recount as much as she knew of the story of the birth of a baby. She told it clearly and drew a very fair diagram of the position of the organs in the body. She was quite clear about all the maternal parts. "Now," Miss H. said, "what is it that puzzled you? you said that you couldn't write your story." Ruth said, "It's because I really don't understand what the father does to make the baby grow."

Miss H. picked up the little mouse and told her it as nearly as she could remember in this fashion. "You see, the father mouse has little seeds in him just as the mother mouse has in her. When they are ready to come out, they come to the same opening that the water comes through. They are also in a fluid, but it is not the same as the water which he passes every day, as any animal does. Now when the father mouse wants to bring these little seeds to the mother mouse he gets very close to her and the seeds pass out of the opening in his body to the little opening in her body, which we call the vagina." (Ruth knew this word *vagina* as the name of the passage through which the baby is born.) This seemed perfectly clear to her.

Then Miss H. said, "It is very much the same with the human parents." She asked Ruth if she had ever seen a little boy undressed.

She said she had, and she drew for Miss H. a little picture of the genitals, showing the penis and the testicles. Miss H. explained that when the father is grown up, that in the little sack the tiny father seeds are formed, then when he is ready to bring these to the mother he puts the penis in her vagina and the little father seeds come out in the fluid which is prepared for them. Miss H. explained again that the fluid in which the father seeds are carried is not the same as the water which a person passes, although it comes through the same opening. She wanted to know how the father could let out one and not the other. Miss H. told her she didn't know that she could explain that definitely, but that he could let out the fluid in which the seeds are carried when he wished to bring it to the mother. In this case, Miss H. told her, as in the mouse, the little father seed has a tiny tail on it, which is much like a spring, and which makes it move up the vagina until it meets the mother seed in the uterus, after which the child is born.

Ruth said, "Well, all married people don't have children." "No," said Miss H., "Sometimes the wife is not very strong and she and her husband decide it would not be good for her to have a baby, or sometimes parents have one or two children and decide not to have any more, because they cannot afford to feed and to educate a large family. Then they do not let the father seed meet with the mother seed. They love each other, but decide that they will not have children."

Ruth said, "I think there is some sort of a society called a 'Birth Control Society.' " Miss H. agreed with her that there was and told her that they made an effort to teach people that they need not have more children than they could take care of. Miss H. did not give her any further details on birth control.

In the beginning of the talk about intercourse Miss H. emphasized the fact that people had to be fully grown up before they could have children and that the father and mother loved each other when they brought the seed together in order to have a baby.

At the end they talked again about not discussing all that they knew about life with other children. She said, "No, it isn't a very good plan because last year I asked Anna and she didn't understand very much herself and I was wondering about a lot of things, but I was afraid to ask her any more questions." Miss H. told her a little of how puzzled she was when she was a child and how foolish it was for her to wait as long as she did about asking her mother.

Ruth said now she would write the story and Miss H. suggested

that she show it to her mother as well as to her and come back with any more questions that occurred to her. She said, "Oh, are there any more questions I might ask?" Miss H. said, "Yes, there are a great many questions about the growth of the baby; many things which it would take a doctor to explain because he would have studied so much more, but when questions occur to me which I do not know the answers to I ask people who know more than I, like Mr. Slavson, who knows more physiology, or Dr. Rucker" (people at school).

At this point Ruth left apparently in excellent spirits. A few minutes ago Miss H. saw her mother in the waiting room and she told her about this conversation. She was very glad that Ruth had asked so many direct questions; hoped that very soon the subject of menstruation would come up and said that she felt sure, although she had never refused to answer the children's questions, that she had evaded them because of her embarrassment, that that was the reason probably now that Ruth was not bringing direct questions to her. Miss H. told her that she encouraged Ruth to write the story and let her mother read it. Mrs. A. is very anxious to be a sharer in this experience and thinks that Ruth will probably not be self-conscious about discussing it with her now that she has the facts.

Most people at all conversant with newer psychological theories now accept the necessity and value of direct simple sex explanation. The adult mind has overcome to a great extent anxiety and fear in this regard. Few parents in this school, who however represent a selected group, hesitate to accept the attitude of the modern school in this regard and relatively few are distressed at children's direct questioning.

Other factors pertaining to natural curiosities and the acceptance of the instinctual drives of childhood are still uncharted territories, still new forms more difficult for the adult to accept and face. In our fourteen years of experience in observation of children we have come through many different perspectives and attitudes through partial understanding to some clarification of our point of view in regard to the strong exploratory, experimental drive in children and how to approach this fact. How much shall we inhibit children, who with their strong natural drive for experimentation, express their curiosity through touching and feeling? What about masturbation in childhood?

I feel that the attitude on this problem is related to the whole

question of our attempt to pattern the child rigidly and too early to adult norms in his ideas and bodily functions. Above all, the habit of the adult is to interpret the natural exploratory drive of the child in terms of adult nature sex feelings far removed from the child's stage of satisfaction.

I feel, through my own personal observation of young children particularly, that we expect children to conform to adult standards of cleanliness, control and disinterest in bodily function generally too early. That slower development of habits of control are desirable and that slow adjustments are safeguards of growth and prevent much later experimentation and later regressions to oral or anal satisfactions which are very common during adolescence. In relation to slow habit formation in childhood, I mean specifically habits pertaining to functional control in young children. I am inclined to think that the infants who are very rigidly and early required to form toilet habits of control are those most apt to regress and show undue interest in excreta at the six, seven and eight year level. It seems to me that modern physicians have stressed the physical aspect without taking into consideration the psychological need for slow organic progress. The following is an amusing, but significant episode from our nursery.

Jane is three and one half years. She was trained rigidly by an efficient nurse, starting with seven months, not to wet or soil herself. The child is particularly a sensational type and although conforming to this rigid rule, frequently broke away from it and started wetting consequently with a good deal of emotional satisfaction at the age of two years, although she has developed some sense of guilt and shame towards adults. In the nursery where she came, still wearing diapers and wetting herself constantly, it was thought desirable to pay attention to her general adjustment only, giving her a feeling of security and power, so she would not have to resort to the infantile satisfaction. After six weeks or so of complete disregard of her wetting problem and of great general improvement, she came to the point of not wetting at all during the day and being able to prompt herself entirely. She could go for three or four nights without an accident. This was an achievement and made her feel independent, though the pull towards infantile gratification still occasionally outweighed her ego satisfaction. One day the teacher unconsciously forgot her technique and regressed to former less enlightened technique with humorous results. Jane, after resting, went over to her teacher to show she was awake. They exchanged

greetings and Mrs. A. asked her casually, "Jane, did you wet your bed?" Jane, after a moment's hesitation, hating to admit it, "Yes, I did." "Oh, yes, it smells icky," said Mrs. A., using a word the children had themselves coined. Jane snapped back with much assurance, "It may smell icky to you but it don't smell icky to me! I like it!" And to prove this fact went and sat down on the wet sheets looking quite content. This is one of many anecdotes in which children describe their pleasurable feeling unaccountable to adults, which to my mind gives some clue to handling of problems of this kind.

I feel, from many observations, definitely that less stringent severe early attempts at habit formation are desirable and lead to more harmonious development without formation of undesirable habits. I feel, contrary to most opinions, that frustration of natural reactions in the bodily functions and satisfactions of the young child lead to an intensification of the emotional content of the experience and thus to secret repetitions of the increasingly pleasurable occupation which leads to habit formation. One has only to observe the common instance of an infant who after haphazard flourishes of his hand finally finds his way into his mouth and starts to find satisfaction in sucking his finger or thumb. The mother immediately anxious not to have the child form this habit quickly intensifies the child's pleasure by drawing out the finger and by frequent staccato "don'ts," "out with the finger." This occupation quickly assumes increasing satisfaction and the child who ordinarily is constantly reaching out and changing to different levels of satisfaction fixes on sucking because of the emotional content given it. Many parents these days understand the interrelation of all stages of body absorption and satisfaction. Many have through their own experience realized the impossibility of damming the child's urge for satisfaction in his body. Only too many mothers, stopping their young children from the common early masturbation, have found him violently resorting to thumb sucking of an intense nature, often falling back to more direct masturbatory activity with the added intensity of one turning to secret forbidden pleasure, rather than casual touch investigation, satisfying but not all absorbing as at the beginning. Thus, any experimentation of a sexual nature is watched with great anxiety by the most modern parents, whereas a child steeped in fantasy, withdrawn from healthy child-like activity, the sex curiosity inhibited from more active exploration is considered less cause for worry.

I personally feel that some masturbatory activity at an early age up to approximately five years is healthy and even desirable in the naturally active type of child, that some experimentation and interest in the bodies of other children is perfectly normal and that generally sex experience at an early age uninhibited reduces the intensity of interest and the danger of morbid, complete absorption in sex at a later age. It is the children, quiet and repressed, when others are frankly asking questions, children who never have simply and directly explored their bodies, whose fantasy life is exclusively and therefore unhealthily submerged in imaginings of a sexual unreal nature. Above all, it is dramatically apparent in studies of maladjusted children, in stories of sudden personality changes and upsets, that a sense of guilt in relation to masturbation plays havoc with the emotional life of people and is even more harmful than the old lurid tales stressing the harmful effects of masturbation itself.

We have come to the conclusion at the Walden School that it is desirable not to curb the young child in his masturbatory activity, to study the whole child's adjustment and put the emphasis on his being a healthy, outgoing active child, satisfied in his relationships and activities. We feel that such a young child's masturbatory activity which is definite but not absorbing and consecutive, is a normal thing and only subject to danger when curbed. We have stopped in the last few years even the mild techniques we used to employ, such as talking to a child casually about the delicacy of the genital region and comparing it in sensitiveness to the eye or giving him things to hold while falling asleep. Our energy is now directed in undoing rather drastically, it may be felt, situations in which a strong guilt sense has been developed, causing a definite emotional crisis.

We have innumerable cases in our records of children, ranging from serious cases of contemplated suicide and death fantasies, where the mother had stopped masturbation by telling the boy he would get a terrible disease and die, to the relatively simple anecdote and problem and solution given here. The treatment in these cases of definite guilt reaction has to be made, we feel, by stating clearly to the child that his masturbation is not harmful, even with the idea that the child may have to resume the activity for a time in order to outweigh the strong inner conflict and fear. In cases of this kind it is essential for parents getting an enlightened point of view to face the child with a definite statement that they feel they were in the wrong and misstated facts.

Study of Jim R., Aged 4 Years

An interesting situation has recently developed with Jim. Mrs. V., his teacher, suddenly noticed that Jim's slowly acquired feeling of confidence and poise seemed to leave him. He became very negative and sullen. His whole behavior showed a restless moodiness which was unlike his general adjustment. He negated any new situation and showed unusual fears and timidities. He was particularly fearful of going to the toilet alone, which was most unusual for a child who had always been accustomed to do things for himself.

One day after particularly negative upheaval and refusal to go to the bathroom he clutched hold of Mrs. V.'s hand and said, "You come too." Then seemingly fearful he objected and strenuously said, "No, don't come." While going to the toilet he several times with a quick nervous gesture touched his genitals and then quickly turned towards her to see the reaction.

Mrs. V. reported this incident to Miss Goldsmith, realizing the reason for Jim's behavior. She stated that Jim's nurse, although unusually intelligent educationally, had no psychological insight and that she was sure there must have been some sudden inhibition, possibly even a threat to keep Jim from touching himself. Mrs. V. felt that this sudden inhibition had created in Jim a strong feeling of guilt and that something positive must be done to undo the harmful effect caused by this handling. It was decided that when the next occasion arose Mrs. V. would step in positively to reassure Jim and to make him feel through his genuine transference to her and confidence in her understanding of children, that what he was doing was not harmful. It was felt that in a case where a child who had at this age masturbated only slightly and in what we would consider a normal way for a highly sensitized child of his type that it was better to completely relieve his sense of guilt by having him resume the slight masturbatory activity rather than say it was harmless, but he must not do it, as so often is done in relation to masturbation. Mrs. V. handled the situation in the following manner.

The next day following our conversation Jim again came to her obviously needing to urinate. In his conflict and fear he said, "I don't want to go," again and again. Finally grabbing hold of her hand he said, "You go with me." She casually answered by taking him by the hand and going towards the bathroom. Suddenly Jim looked at her mischievously, taking hold of his penis and said in a high-strung voice, "I mustn't do it; I mustn't do it." Mrs. V.

casually said, "Why, Jim? There's nothing to be afraid of, you aren't hurting yourself." Jim was a little startled and looked very shamefaced and embarrassed. He said in a whisper, "Nina said I mustn't, it's very bad." Mrs. V. again, talking very casually while Jim was getting ready to urinate, said, "Nina doesn't know as much about children as I do. She takes care of one child and I take care of many children. I know that it doesn't hurt you to touch your penis." Jim was very thoughtful at this and after a silence in which he seemed to think over the question, resumed a merry tone and started a playful imaginative game which had nothing to do with the conversation. All the rest of the day he was unusually happy and particularly affectionate towards Mrs. V. Every once in a while he would ask her questions that demanded an answer, the problems he had been thinking about, but never once touching on the crucial question. It was obvious that in each case he was testing her wisdom in order to assure himself that he could absolutely rely on her judgment in this, to him, critical problem. Although his negative symptoms did not disappear immediately, he seemed right away to be freer and happier and resumed the even tenure of his ways after a very few days.

Mrs. V. noticed that there was no increased tendency towards masturbation, but that he occasionally while in a dreamy inactive mood would touch his genitals or rub against a chair as he formerly had done. This was only very occasionally and from our observation of children is a normal reaction at this age. This whole episode was reported to the mother, but nothing further needed to be done as Jim's feeling of guilt seemed to have been adequately dissipated, as his adjustment was again happy and normal.

I have attempted to give a picture of sex consciousness in children, giving facts gleaned from observation of children in a natural child-size world. In this environment which permits of a true child study, the strong body drive and deep sensory consciousness natural to children are apparent and these factors leading to sex curiosity and sex exploration at an early age observed. These and other observations of a similar nature give us only intimations of how to treat this new understanding, but they point the way, articulate a plea for the valuing of the instinctual drive of children as the possible motivating force of the dynamics of his creativity.

I have tried to focus the question pertaining to education of how to release the child's instinctual life so as to make him fulfill his greatest potentialities. The implications of Analytic Psychology,

which corroborate the observations made as applied to education, are of great significance for future development. This study is in line with new forms, so rich with possibilities in this era of heightened perception expressing itself experimentally in new departures in literature and the arts. It is a philosophy of life rather than an educational formula. A way of life rather than a system.

THE ART OF LOVE

BY WILLIAM J. FIELDING

THE intuitively gifted lover there may be, with the inborn, untaught technique of a Casanova, but he is so rare that he must be considered an unaccountable and unclassifiable social phenomenon—a virtuoso in a world of blundering specialists in erotic disharmony.

Make no mistake about it, sexual technique, like all other useful accomplishments, must be learned, and the first essential in the process of learning is to *unlearn* a mass of misinformation and false notions that, under prevailing conditions, is absorbed in the formative and plastic period of life. Past and present, ancient and modern, all those who have thought deeply and written wisely and penetratingly on the subject of the sexual relations have been appalled by the erotic ineptitude of civilized man. In no other sphere of human conduct has such universal chaos prevailed, and with less progress and improvement with the extension of general knowledge and the popularization of education. The reason, of course, is that sex has been a socially and culturally tabooed subject, and, therefore, as a branch of applied science, as well as a legitimate theme in the art of living, it has lagged behind all other branches of knowledge. Too dynamic for suppression, it has been repressed out of its normal channels and driven into moldy subterranean levels. Bereft of the antisepticizing light of day, it has carried the mark of morbidity, the stigma of disease, the brand of a fateful malignancy.

The first requisite of sexual understanding is to bring the subject out into the healthful light of decency, to treat sex as a normal aspect of life, and to recognize the erotic character as one of the fundamental components of human nature—as of all animated nature. Considered in this light, it can well get along without the lip-service of apology; nor need it recoil from the glutted backwash of a Tolstoyan attack.

Cultivating the art of sexual technique is nothing more startling or revolutionary than developing and utilizing a latent talent—re-

acquiring the felicitous use of a specialized faculty that has long since lost its natural sense of direction through the age-old war with nature that is the foundation of our social heritage.

Even the primitive savage, not so far removed as civilized man from the realm of erotic intuitiveness, has traversed an immense distance from the automatic directive plane of nature. But with all his multiplicity of taboos and his burden of superstitions, he has, until corrupted by civilization's dual gift of positive vice and negative moral codes, retained a firmer grasp on the sexual realities. Civilized man might profit immeasurably by adopting, with reasonable modifications and refinements, some of the sexual viewpoints and a degree of the erotic understanding of his primitive brother.

Invariably savages have recognized the potency of the sexual urge, and attempted in their own perhaps crude but essentially practical way to prepare the pubescent boy and girl for the responsibilities involved in the sexual awakening. Indeed, the mysteries of sex have always exercised a profound and respectful influence upon primitive man, as may be witnessed in his elaborate systems of ceremonies, symbols and taboos. Crawley remarks in *The Mystic Rose* that the chief ideas behind the ceremonies of so-called initiation are concerned with the passing of childhood and the entering upon the state of manhood and womanhood. "The putting away of the old life of childhood and sexlessness, and the taking up of the responsibilities, social and sexual, of the new, and also the education imparted, were often dramatized amongst early peoples by sympathetic processes." We find useful instruction given as to the duties of manhood and of womanhood, the sexual relation and marriage; girls are entrusted with such feminine lore as the women possess, while the boys are entrusted with the tribal history and secrets of the old men. Among the many puerilities accompanying the course of instruction in these tribal ceremonies, we find much that is of practical value to the novice, much that is truly moral, much that evinces a conscientious purpose to fit groping youth for the serious duties of life.

Let us not forget that the savage considered a knowledge of the art of love a moral obligation of the individual, and in instructing the young in tribal lore and discipline this obligation was one of serious concern. H. Crawford Angus, the first European to visit and live with the Azimbas of Central Africa, had an opportunity to observe the ceremonies of these people. He thus describes the *chensamwali,* or initiation ceremony, of girls: "At the first sign of

menstruation in a young girl, she is taught the mysteries of womanhood, and is shown the different positions for sexual intercourse. . . . When all signs of menstruation have passed, a public announcement of a dance is given to the women of the village. At this dance no men are allowed to be present, and it was only with a great deal of trouble that I managed to witness it. The girl is placed on the ground in a sitting position, while the dancers form a ring around her. Several songs are then sung with reference to the genital organs. The girl is stripped and made to go through the mimic performance of sexual intercourse, and if the movements are not enacted properly, as is often the case when the girl is timid and bashful, one of the older women will take her place and show her how she is to perform. Many songs about the relation between men and women are sung, and the girl is instructed as to *all her duties* when she becomes a wife. . . . The girl is taught to be faithful to her husband and to try to bear children. She is also taught the various arts and methods of making herself seductive and pleasing to her husband, and of thus retaining him in her power." Here we have an example of the wisdom and morality, practical and uncorrupted, of a primitive people. The practice has its roots buried deep in the needs of a race, and its fruits are the personal happiness and marital welfare of men and women. Can a squeamish, but hypocritical, civilization boast so high an aim or so noble a purpose in a vital sphere of life?

Many useful practices and ceremonial customs of savages, improperly understood by civilized observers, have been misinterpreted. One of the most important of these is circumcision, which is widely practiced among primitive peoples. Because of the prevalence of the same custom among the Hebrews, Mohammedans and other religious groups, it is generally looked upon more or less as a religious rite; whereas, as a matter of fact, among primitives, it is purely an act of sexual initiation, with both symbolic and practical implications—thus significant from the standpoint of sexual technique—and invariably takes place at puberty, instead of in infancy, as among those to whom it is a religious rite. Livingstone, who observed the practice, cited incidents in relation to the performance of *boguera*, or circumcision, among the Africans, and acknowledged the rite to be wholly one commemorating the advent of puberty, without religious significance.

Among many tribes circumcision of the female is regarded as important as of the male, and is often combined as a connubial rite

with mechanical defloration. Robert Briffault, in his voluminous study, *The Mothers*, describes the method of operation, and states that "after the parts have been swabbed with styptic leaves, a phallus fashioned from clay and made to correspond in dimensions with the organ of her intended husband, is moistened and introduced into the vagina. The girl is now ready to be handed over to her husband." In view of the primitiveness of the surgical technique practiced in this mechanical defloration, early intercourse, or the insertion of an artificial penis, is necessary to prevent the formation of adhesions, or bringing about a condition of infibulation, thereby defeating the very purpose of the operation.

Considering the prevalence of constriction of the glans penis among the uncircumcised—Remondino estimated that hardly five per cent of the latter but suffer from it in some degree, often interfering with the full development of virility and potency, and hindering the copulative function of the penis—we begin to appreciate the sagacity of the savage. Furthermore, it is known that the unconstricted glans penis assumes the shape and appearance that is characteristic of the circumcised. The head is shorter, the face flat and abrupt, and the meatus, instead of being at the end of a conical point, is situated on the smooth, rounded front of the glans, and does not differ in color from the covering of the glans itself.

The author of *The History of Circumcision* maintained that a strict adherence to the Mosaic law for the males and to some of the African customs for the females would most assuredly prevent or relieve many neurotic and other morbid states having their obscure origin in these common physiological impediments of the sex organs. Ellis observes in his *Studies* that among most uncivilized races there appear to be few or no "sexually frigid" women, remarking that it is little to the credit of our own "civilization" that it should be possible for physicians to-day to assert, even with the faintest plausibility, that there are some 25 per cent of women who may thus be described. Returning to Remondino, with obvious significance to our theme: "The cosmetic condition of the penis as a copulating organ is a thing of some importance, and this should not be overlooked: for, although the particular dimension, shape, or peculiarity of the penile end never figures prominently in the complaints of women who apply for divorce,—the charges being everything else under the sun,—it can safely be assumed that this organ and its condition is the original, silent and unseen, as well as unconscious, power behind the throne that is at the bottom of the whole

business in a great many cases." Like the fable of the poor lamb that the wolf wished to devour, the real reason is obscured by a policy of artful dissembling.

A theory of sexual technique must obviously involve a correlation of psychologic and physiologic principles, with the former enormously more ramified, more subtle and elusive. In the main, especially under the extreme complexity of civilized life, the psychologic shadings and undertones determine the subjective character of feminine sexuality. And, by the same token, they become the objective concern of the understanding male. Regardless of the relative eroticism of the two sexes—and there is abundant evidence to indicate that woman is more extensively erotic than man—the fact nevertheless remains that man is normally the aggressor in the sexual act and in the preliminaries leading up to it. He is, by decree of nature, the catabolic factor in the biologic equation. He is the initiator, and sexual aptitude and felicity presupposes erotic understanding on his part. Women, by the discreet use of their wiles, may encourage, stimulate, and lead on,—indeed, may decide beforehand the issue in a given case, perhaps in the majority of cases,—but man is the physical initiator and aggressor, however often he may be the pawn in an ancient game of which he mistakingly believes himself the master.

Woman's sexual nature, because of her biologic rôle of maternity (nature, of course, makes no distinction between the actual and the potential) is normally less dominated by a powerful urge that seeks specific expression, less centered upon the immediate goal of concrete sexual experience. It is more widely diversified and expresses itself characteristically in more general affectional channels. The tendency in this direction is not a question of choice or will, but is due to the nature of woman's physiological being, with its highly organized nervous system. The particular development of her visceral organization, which is responsible for her more highly emotional nature, also governs the general character of her erotic life.

In brief, her physiological structure and biological functions are responsible for the typical psychological reactions peculiar to woman. Relative sexual conservatism is imposed by the demands of pregnancy, parturition and maternity, whether actual or potential. Of course, as our social environment is far removed from a *natural* state, there are many modifications in sexual conduct in all its phases. Fundamentally, however, woman is sexually conservative in

her love life, but nevertheless possesses an erotic and emotional organization more highly ramified than that of man, and with different reactions and different ways of manifesting itself.

Man's sexual nature is more centered upon the love object from the standpoint of concrete sexual experience, more ego-centric, more dynamic; and therefore less subtle, less subjective, less bound up in bodily service to the race. This quality of differentiation in sexual temperament in the two sexes is not peculiar to the human race, but extends throughout the animal kingdom. It is summed up in the axiom that among all the more highly organized beings, the male as a rule pursues the female of his choice—which is so often any female in sight.

Because woman's sexual feelings are less centrally conditioned, she is placed in the somewhat paradoxical position of bearing excessive indulgence on the one hand, and suppression on the other, better than man. This does not imply that either excessive gratification or suppression is harmless to woman. The pathology of womankind is only too largely a history of the results of these two extremes. Generally speaking, either condition has been thrust upon her by circumstances—grossly discriminating social customs and traditions —quite beyond her control.

One of the most subtle phases of female psychology with respect to woman's normal erotic life, and which is always to be borne in mind in connection with sexual approach, is her coyness. We are so used to seeing this characteristic emphasized, distorted and otherwise perverted that it has been made to appear as something of an affectation. But its presence in the feminine constitution is so deeply rooted that it is typical of the female of all races and cultures. Its biologic grounding is further seen in the fact that the females of many animal species evidence the same trait. In woman it is closely associated, and often confused, with modesty, but it is something quite different—more inherent in nature, and less a socially acquired quality. Its biological motive is perhaps the dual one of guarding the sexual centers when need be against the undesired advances of the male, and, when recognizing a prospective mate, exciting his sexual ardor by making the object of his desire more difficult of attainment. Havelock Ellis points out that it is the sign of a sexual emotion, and easily becomes an invitation. Montaigne speaks of the "artifice" of virgin modesty, adding that nothing whets our taste so much as rarity and difficulty. Stendhal asserted that modesty (or, more properly, *coyness*) "is the mother of love."

It is a natural stimulus to sexual excitation, for both the male and the female. It makes the male more ardent, and the female more enticing, and, by retarding the sexual episode, increases the secretions of the genital glands, promoting tumescence, thus assuring the most complete preparation for intercourse. Ellis summarizes the primary part of the female in courtship as the playful, yet serious, assumption of the rôle of a hunted animal that lures on the pursuer, not with the object of escaping, but with the object of being finally caught. And the primary part of the male in courtship is the display of energy and skill in capturing the female, or to arouse in her an emotional condition which leads her to surrender herself to him, the process at the same time heightening his own excitement.

Courtship—or, in its more intimate sense, *wooing*—is the keystone to the whole arch of sexual technique. Throughout nature, the male woos the female before the act of copulation. The intensity and elaboration of the wooing depends upon the erotic characteristics of the species. The process, however, is an inevitable one, and is never dispensed with in the natural world. As has been intimated, the meaning of all this is organic and psychic preparation for the sexual union. Wooing is the most direct form of erotic stimulus, physical and psychic. Only in mankind is this requirement—in the biological sense—as a rule disregarded. The average man does his wooing before marriage in the social formalities of courtship. When he has won his bride, he ceases his wooing, and society, by neglecting to teach otherwise, approves the ill-conceived course. Consequently, sexual relations are too often indulged in by the man in an abrupt, matter-of-fact manner. His sexual passion is quickly, often spontaneously, aroused, and he seeks at once to satisfy himself. This he does, or attempts to do, without any realization of the feelings of the more slowly moved sexual nature of his mate. Because of the profound differences in their sexual make-up, which has behind them a radically differentiated biological history, they approach the intimacy of the conjugal relations from quite different angles. As Dr. Marie C. Stopes emphasizes in this connection: "It should be realized that a man does not woo and win a woman once for all when he marries her. *He must woo her before every separate act of coitus;* for each act corresponds to a marriage."

Whereas man's rôle in the intricacies of enlightened sexual approach is adroitly to play the wooer, woman's rôle is mainly to utilize intelligently her natural technique of coyness to protract

the wooing and delay the consummation of the act. Darwin, in his studies of animal behavior, in formulating his hypotheses on evolution, referred to the coyness of the female as making courtship "a prolonged affair." Burdach made the same observation the basis of a biological theory some thirty years before *The Origin of Species* dropped like a bombshell upon an intellectually stagnated world. Fortunately, this *fabian* policy comes perfectly natural to the normal woman, as it is in accord with her feminine instincts (if the behaviorists will permit the heretical phrase), when not perverted by an emotionally sterilizing education and upbringing.

The fact that the female plays a tremendously more significant rôle than the male in the sphere of sex is undoubtedly a factor in the former's intuitive graces of caution and coyness. The male, in the sex relations, is concerned primarily with the prospect of a pleasant episode. The female, in the same situation, is concerned (and she seems subconsciously to sense the responsibility, even when it may not consciously be in mind) with the possibility of maternity. In submitting to the sexual act, she risks potential dangers and suffering to which the male is not exposed. Fatherhood, it is true, incurs responsibilities—even more so under civilization than in the primitive state. But they are the responsibilities that have been imposed by tradition, social custom and education, and are not deeply rooted in the biological foundation of man so as to influence his automatic behavior, as is the case with woman. Whereas fatherhood is, biologically, an incident, motherhood is an occupation of which the organism in its sexual expression and promptings seems to take full cognizance. As a consequence of this and other remote factors that have been alluded to, woman must be wooed and won—in courtship and in every sex episode—if the man wishes to hold the love and esteem of his mate.

The problem of the sexual relation in marriage depends, to a large extent, upon the attitude of the couple toward sex matters at the time of marriage, and in the sexual initiation. It is true the first union may be difficult, or even painful, for the virgin, owing to the resistance of the hymen, but with a tactful, informed husband, and a rational insight into the nature of the act on the part of both, this should be the beginning of a rich and developing experience, an adventure that will bring mutual pleasure and do much to keep vitally alive the inspiration of love. The necessity of contraceptive knowledge as a prerequisite of sexual harmony and

marital happiness is a subject that, of course, will be found treated elsewhere in this volume under its proper classification.

Sexual congress is the most complete and intimate relation possible between two human beings, and should only take place under the impulse of mutual desire. It is not limited to local stimulation and ejaculation, but invokes complete reciprocity between the entire organisms of the two individuals, and is no less psychological and mental than physical. There should not only be love implied, but love *expressed* in kisses, caresses and intimate embraces. (It has been stated, without undue metaphor, that the maiden has to be "kissed into womanhood.") Erection and ejaculation depend jointly upon reflexes from the genital organs and action of the central parts of the brain—hence the influence upon the marital act of demonstrations stimulating the imagination and arousing the mental and spiritual fibers of the being. The exquisite pleasures and enjoyment arising from the consummation of the love episode, following all its stages of intimate preparation and eager anticipation, cannot quite be compared to any other experience. It is that which gives marriage its potentialities for escaping from the boredom that would otherwise overwhelm it; and if they are not more often realized it is due in no small degree to the ignorance and lack of insight of its devotees.

Whether or not man is essentially polygamous by nature is a question that, fortunately, we are not called to submit evidence upon at this point. Granting, however, his obvious varietist propensities, and the various economic and social factors (often biologically antagonistic) in favor of monogamy, we can only hope to reconcile the two by making his sexual experiences within the monogamic marriage as rich and wide and varied and experimental as it possibly can be.

The status of sex love during pregnancy is a question that inevitably intrudes itself in a treatise of this kind. In the past, from time immemorial, when moral dogmatists and inspired theologians were the principal sources of instruction upon marital conduct, the whole problem was dismissed with the admonition of complete abstinence. It was part and parcel of the concept that intercourse should be indulged in (and it was an *indulgence!*) for procreation only—leaving entirely out of the scheme of things the charming idea that the amatory life of the human being requires expression on its own account.

Leading medical sexologists and gynecologists are now in gen-

eral agreement that intercourse during pregnancy is not only not harmful to the woman, but that, observing due precautions, it is desirable and beneficial to her. The woman, during this period, is not an invalid, and for most of the time is able normally to carry on her household or other affairs, with suitable modification in her activities. The same practice should as properly apply, excepting in pathological cases, to the functioning of the sex life.

Generally speaking, the sexual relations may be continued with customary frequency during the first four months of pregnancy, but it is necessary to moderate the intensity of the act. For the next four months it is well to engage in coitus at rarer intervals, and extreme care should be taken to avoid pressure upon the uterus. The utmost gentleness should prevail in the relations. During the last month, it is often best to refrain from intercourse, but there are so many exceptions when the relation is still mutually desirable until near the beginning of labor, that each case must be decided upon its own intrinsic merits. With both participants enlightened upon the subject of sex, and the husband ever careful and considerate, the individual problems of each case will be met as they arise. Dr. Forel, in discussing the hygiene of marriage with respect to this situation, wisely counsels: "One must guard against all violent motion in coitus. During the last months of pregnancy, all violent movements and pressure on the abdomen should be avoided during coitus, so as not to injure the embryo." Following accouchement, a period of abstinence is required, ranging from four to eight weeks. Perhaps six weeks is a good average, the deciding factors being:—the desire of the woman and her local, physical condition.

As sexual feeling in woman is usually heightened during menstruation, the question not infrequently arises whether intercourse may be engaged in at this time. Sexual congress should be avoided during these periods. In the first place, it is unesthetic and unhygienic; and in the second place it is apt to lead to congestion and disturbances of the uterus and other parts of the woman's genital system. Also, it may cause catarrh in the male urethra. Menstruation, like the recuperative period following confinement, but in a more restricted sense, indicates a physical state inimical to coitus.

The dissatisfaction engendered by sexual disharmony through ignorance of the laws of Eros leads to many complications. As the result of unsatisfactory sexual relations in marriage, the partners become quarrelsome, embittered and nerve-racked. Repeated sexual excitation, over a long period, without carrying the sexual episode

to its normal conclusion, or incomplete or unsatisfactory coitus, is held responsible in many cases for injury to the nervous and emotional mechanism. Various neurasthenic and hysterical manifestations are not unusual results. How many cases of separation and divorce are due primarily to this cause—aside from the inevitable disasters due to temperamental incompatibilities—it is impossible to say. And while the trouble is so often blamed on the "coldness," or frigidity, of the wife, in the great majority of cases it is due to the lack of understanding and faulty sexual technique on the part of the husband. By acts of omission and commission, he has failed in his duties as a lover, and consequently is a failure as a husband. He has never learned the physiology and psychology of love, and therefore has never been able to practice in anything like its complete sense the art of love in marriage. The husband suffers from his own shortcomings, and becomes dissatisfied, often embittered. The wife, physically unsatisfied, and spiritually dissatisfied, is equally at sea, and baffled by a situation which for her has no socially approved solution. The solution, barring pathological exceptions, lies in his hand, if he but knew the way.

VI—SEX IN POETRY AND FICTION

A NOTE ON THE POETRY OF SEX

BY ARTHUR DAVISON FICKE

This book would not be the place for mere praise of the beauty of sexual emotion: such a theme could be expressed more appropriately elsewhere, and in verse rather than in prose. Therefore, though the title assigned me is so broad, I shall confine what I have to say to three less-lyric matters. The first is—poetry regarded as an agency that affects, by its patterns, the erotic lives of most human beings. The second is—the qualities we are likely to find in a new and specifically modern sex poetry. The third is—the extent to which it is possible for poetry to deal frankly with sexual facts in an inoffensive way.

It is obvious to any one who reflects on the matter historically that the patterns of feeling expressed by the poets have enormously influenced the forms into which human emotions have developed. "Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who writes their laws." Passionate words, enforced by rhythm, sink deep into the heart; and their compelling power may continue to operate long after the actual words are forgotten. This is a mere truism, easily observed in the regions of religion and of patriotism, where a parroted slogan will often influence an individual in the extremest crises of life and death. But it is not so generally known that the same thing is even more emphatically true in the region of sex.

The form which our sexual life takes is profoundly affected by the poetry of our race and age. The ghosts of all the loves of all the English-speaking poets stand at the bedside of every English-speaking child, whispering strange hints into his ear, bringing tidings of mysteries as yet unexplored.

"If a body meet a body
Coming through the rye" . . .

"Believe me, if all those endearing young charms" . . .

"Jack and Jill went up the hill
To fetch a pail of water" . . .

"Oh don't you remember sweet Alice, Ben Bolt,
Sweet Alice with hair so brown.
She laughed with delight when you gave her a smile
And trembled with fear at your frown" . . .

"Fair as a star when only one
Is shining in the sky" . . .

"I arise from dreams of thee
In the first sweet sleep of night" . . .

—these, and a thousand other lyric cadences are in the air that the child breathes; they instill into him certain ideals that are different from the ideals that influence a French child or a Japanese child; and in his maturity it is often the forgotten formula of some dead poet's passion that determines the course that will be taken by his own. The poets have sung the love songs of the race; in so doing, they have provided natural and compelling paths for the race's sexual development. Or—to use another metaphor—poetry is the richest reservoir from which the individual can draw upon the traditional erotic experience of the race. The young man who, homeward-bound after seeing his sweetheart, sings to himself—

"And for bonnie Annie Laurie
I'd lay me down and dee"—

is adopting, to a greater extent than he knows, an ancient poetic formula for a feeling that is, in his own breast, chaotic and formless.

Sexual conventions—habits of thought about sex matters—when they are once established are taken so much as a matter of course that few people ever pause to reflect on them; few people notice how extraordinary it is that these conventions, these habits, should be precisely thus and not otherwise. Let us for a moment strip them away, in imagination, and see what results.

What would be the path taken by the erotic emotions of a young person who had never been influenced, either directly or indirectly, by the poetry of sex? One is inclined to suspect that the path would be a rather straight one, leading directly to a simple and purely animal outlook on the erotic situation. It would fail to include any

exploration of those vast vague outlying regions of emotion which are so important a part of what we attempt to describe when to-day we use the word *love*.

Most men and women have, by nature, little emotional curiosity; their range of inventiveness is small; they have rather limited original capacity to hear, beyond the monotonous rhythm of everyday life, those subtle and superb overtones which the poet finds or creates there. A very matter of fact relation to sex is all that most human beings, left to themselves, would discover or devise.

The poet, however, is somewhat different. It is his prime vocation to explore the farthest depths of his own and others' emotions, and to express in lyrical terms his report of these misty regions. As the veils lift for a moment, he may catch glimpses of abysses or peaks never to be seen again throughout his whole life; but in the poem composed in this moment, he has made the vision permanent, for himself and for others. Thus not only does he often put into welcome words the deeply-buried and inarticulate feelings of the man-in-the-street; sometimes he creates original patterns of emotion that were, to the man-in-the-street, hitherto quite unknown and quite inconceivable. When Shelley wrote his soaring love-song—

> " . . . Lamp of earth! Where'er thou movest,
> Its dim shapes are clad with brightness,
> And the souls of whom thou lovest
> Walk upon the winds with lightness,
> Till they fail, as I am failing,
> Dizzy, lost, yet unbewailing!"

he was not merely putting into the speech of genius a feeling common to us all; he was creating something that most of us do not feel and are incapable of feeling. There is as great a gulf between the Shelleyan type of mind and the average man as there is between the Einstein type of mind and the automobile mechanic. Both Einstein and the mechanic deal with precisely the same materials—matter and motion and time; but what is to the latter mere commonplace fact becomes for the former a field of speculations that reaches out to the farthest limit of human thought. Yet the gulf between the two types of mind can sometimes be bridged. In practice, it often is bridged. So it comes about that the subtle and perhaps fantastic patterns of sex-emotion expressed by abnormally sensitive poets become eventually familiar to the world at large; they can be utilized as channels through which hitherto-meaningless and

wasted streams of passion can flow; they serve as molds into which vague general desires and longings can be poured and there made tangible. Thus it happens that in every time and in every country it is the venturesome lyric experiments of the poets that lead men to look on sex with new eyes; thereafter they see sex not as simple animal rutting, but as a world of far-flung vistas and inexplicable light, a world complex and exalting.

Clearly, that tradition which we have come to call romantic love is such a creation of the poets. Whether the poets are to be blamed or praised for this creation is beside the point. It might have been better that man and woman should have continued in the status of a million years ago, and should regard themselves as frankly physical mechanisms, like a dog and a bitch in heat. In such case, life would now be simpler, but less interesting. But it is too late to speak as if such a choice were still seriously open to us. The poets have already saved or poisoned us with their insidious erotic formulas.

The *minnesinger* of the middle ages may serve as a familiar example. These poets, amid the rude hunting parties, wars and feasts of semi-barbaric barons, disseminated a pattern of sex life that was absolutely unheard of in the world before, and that was almost the last pattern one could have imagined those horny-handed barons accepting. This pattern was: the ideal of chivalrous devotion to an adored mistress, worshiped from afar but never possessed; the pledge of service to a lady whose glove was more precious than life, and whose body one would no more dream of embracing than one would dream of embracing the Most Holy and Blessed Virgin herself. Walther von der Vogelweide and other contemporary singers succeeded in imposing this high-soaring fantastic ideal on a world whose previously prevailing ideal of love had been that of the brute possessor.

Let me give one more example of a poet-disseminated pattern of sex emotion, I mean the conception of love as everlasting. Practical experience must always have demonstrated that sex attraction is often of very brief duration; yet in the face of this fact, the poets proceeded to project into eternity the beams of what is, only too often, a mere flash in the pan. I shall recur to this point later, in discussing the sex patterns of the young people of to-day; for the youth of to-day has apparently decided that the poets are wrong in this matter, and that permanence is no necessary element of love. But in spite of this ultra-modern change of attitude, the poetic

invention of a love that shall last "for Time and for Eternity" is a surprising and by no means contemptible human achievement.

To trace through the ages the various changes in the sex ideal, and show how the poetry of sex has always operated to determine the pattern of this ideal, would be as monotonous a thing to read as it would be to write. Suffice it to note that during the last century among English-speaking peoples, such poets as Keats, Shelley, Byron, Burns, Blake, Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, Rossetti and Morris have each in his own way produced changes in the sex outlook; and that the cumulative effect of these changes made the whole view of sex a greatly different one in the year 1900 from what it was in 1800, or in 1700, or in 1600.

Out of this mass of 19th century sex-poetry, let me quote a few examples. They illustrate a state of mind as different from that of the earlier past as from that of the probable future.

". . . The desire of the moth for the star,
Of the night for the morrow,
The devotion to something afar
From the sphere of our sorrow."

Shelley.

"O what can ail thee, knight-at-arms,
Alone and palely loitering?
The sedge has withered from the lake,
And no birds sing . . ."

Keats.

"Maid of Athens, ere we part,
Give, oh, give me back my heart! . . ."

Byron.

"O lyric love, half angel and half bird,
And all a wonder and a wild desire . . ."

Browning.

"Airy, fairy Lilian,
Flitting, fairy Lilian,
When I ask her if she love me,
Clasps her tiny hands above me,
Laughing all she can;
She'll not tell me if she love me,
Cruel little Lilian. . . ."

Tennyson.

". . . Her beauty, fervent as a fiery moo
Made my blood burn and swoon
Like a flame rained upon . . ."

Swinburne.

Some of the poems from which these snatches are taken are superb lyrics:—but it is not with love poetry of this nature that a wise man would try to satisfy the erotic needs of the young people of to-day. Love, in 1929, is not what it was in 1829; and the young people doubtless have a right to new love songs.

At this point, an impatient reader might properly ask— But is it really true that it is the poets who invent new erotic patterns? Is it not possible that the poets have merely recorded inventions that have been made by the life around them? My answer would be, yes, this is doubtless often, but not always, true. Shelley invented a high-soaring dangerous emotional pattern that was wholly individual to him, and that existed nowhere save in his own mind. Patmore, on the other hand, recorded an erotic ideal of prudish safe domestic felicity that was in actual existence all around him in respectable Victorian England. It is not always easy to say to what extent a given poet has invented his love pattern and to what extent he has merely expressed an existing pattern. Invention is, after all, perhaps nothing but the sudden crystallizing in some one mind of vague drifting thoughts and tendencies that are more or less general.

Yet to this extent we may unhesitatingly hold fast to our original thesis, that the poets are the creators of patterns of erotic life. The poets, becoming aware of a certain beauty in an unconventional sexual pattern, express that beauty in words, and transmit it to the ears of the present and of the future. Paolo and Francesca would have lived and loved in vain except for Dante. Perhaps he wholly invented the particular mood of their story, and cast over a commonplace tale of adultery the glamor of his imagination. Or perhaps he merely perceived in their story the actually existent elements of tragic drama. In either case, his artistic creation has influenced the world ever since. What has moved millions of hearts was not the adulterous act, but a beauty conferred upon the act by a poet. So, I would have no quarrel with the reader if he should decide that the poets are not the inventors of erotic patterns but merely the voices that celebrate them.

Indeed, it is indubitable that such is often the case. Often this

kind of thing happens:—a type of erotic behavior that does not meet with general social approval is practiced by obscure and disreputable individuals. Suddenly a poet perceives a beauty in the despised pattern, and sings its song. At once this dark reprehensible conduct takes on a new light; the poet has made intelligible and humane what was before a mere incomprehensible aberration from correct behavior. I suspect that Sappho's lyrics, Shakespeare's sonnets, and Plato's poetical prose have done more to create a classic tradition of homosexual relations than any other three forces in our civilization. Certainly, when English bourgeois tradition destroyed Oscar Wilde, it sent flying to the ends of the earth unforeseen fragments from the explosion—so that to-day homosexuality is regarded, by educated people everywhere, as a private matter that is no concern of the outside world. Freud has merely confirmed scientifically the innocence and the normalcy of a despised behavior which the poets had already dared to celebrate.

But to return to the young people. To-day, the incredibly revealing light of modern psychological discoveries has made much of the old poetry of sex seem very thin, pale, neurotic and false. I have good reason to believe that Mr. and Mrs. Browning never saw each other naked: and all their sex poetry has a correspondingly stuffy, night-gownish quality. I personally can no longer read Browning or Mrs. Browning or Tennyson when they write of sexual matters. Their sex patterns, determined by sexual ignorance and social prudery, will not serve us to-day.

I will quote, without comment, from some of the "modern" American poets—so that the reader may have before him concrete examples of what is happening in the world of poetry, and see for himself how different it is in its various sex patterns from the various sex patterns of the nineteenth century.

"I shall forget you presently, my dear,
So make the most of this your little day,
Your little month, your little half a year,
Ere I forget, or die, or move away,
And we are done forever; by and by
I shall forget you, as I said, but now,
If you entreat me with your loveliest lie
I shall protest you with my favorite vow.
I would indeed that love were longer-lived,
And oaths were not so brittle as they are,
But so it is, and nature has contrived

To struggle on without a break thus far,—
Whether or not we find what we are seeking
Is idle, biologically speaking."

Edna St. Vincent Millay.

"Long and lovely, cool and white,
She lay beside me all the night.

Long and lovely, hushed and warm,
She touched me, thigh and breast and arm.

My body was one tremulous sense
Of her slight body's eloquence.

I was a drowned man, in the sea
Of her immaculate melody.

Drifting slowly down to sleep,
I longed to laugh, I feared to weep.

While hushed and lovely, cool and white,
She lay beside me all the night."

Arthur Davison Ficke.

"And, Daughter of the Moon, this interlude
Snows the sweet pastures in between your breasts.
I rise cold from the sea and vaguely brood
With all desire far off, and we are guests
In upland meadows where the silence rests.

You are lost to me for love's wantonness,
But now I track your girlhood's wraith in flight,
Retrace the years you were companionless,
For as I kiss your mouth you make the night
Quiet and virginal and green and white."

Donald Evans.

". . . Then like a man stirring the dark, seeking unconsciously
The word to earthquake her heart: 'When you go in,
Kiss Faith Herriot and tell her that what was right is wrong, what was wrong's right, the old laws are abolished,
They cannot be crossed nor broken, they're dead. The sanction is dead. This interval
There is nothing wicked, nothing strange in the world. What the heart desires, or any part of the body,

That is the law. The God of the stars has taken his hand out of the laws
and has dropped them empty
As you draw your hand out of a glove'. . ."

Robinson Jeffers.

Among modern poets, Miss Millay probably comes nearest to creating an original pattern for the sex life of the young. Her poetry is full of a noble hatred and a fine hope. But her erotic inventions, though extremely beautiful, are more intricate than many of her admirers realize; they are the personal expression of a peculiar and rarefied nature; they have little relation to that everyday simplicity of feeling which made Robert Burns's lyrics, in their time, the love songs of the world. I personally prefer Miss Millay to Burns; but I should be obliged to grant, in a debate, that my tastes are not a fair example of the tastes of the entire human race.

As to Robinson Jeffers nightmare sex designs—these will of course repel the generality of human beings all the more because of their extraordinary eloquence and their unquestioned genius. His aim is to blast the human universe apart with dynamitic horror; this will not be the music that the boys and girls want to hear in their love songs.

I could name many more contemporary poets—only to discard them, for one reason or another, from candidacy for the most important post that is open to-day in the field of poetry—the post of singer of love songs for the younger generation. In this field, alone, is there a chance for a poet to be effective. He may strum his lyre all he likes concerning the themes of international peace, domestic political decency, religious sanity, economic fairness—but he will strum in vain. If he is ambitious to say anything that will influence anybody in the slightest degree, let him turn his attention to the love songs of the next generation. If he believes in preaching, let him at least preach in a region where people will listen.

The young people will listen. They have come out of that prurient darkness which surrounded the subject of sex twenty-five years ago; and now they are beginning to be frank and experimental and skeptical and hopeful. They have thrown their grandparents' view of sex onto the ash-heap; they know that when their grandparents used the word "dirty" in connection with sex, it meant merely that their grandparents were painfully aware of a

lack of personal cleanliness. In the light of modern knowledge of contraception, and in the light of modern psychoanalytic knowledge (inaugurated by that great genius, Freud), they do not mean to put up with the complexes and repressions of the dirty, frightened "old folks."

As Dr. Samuel D. Schmalhausen concisely puts it, men and women no longer think of sex as primarily a method of reproducing the species: "not procreation, but recreation" has come to occupy the main place. "Sex as duty has gone the way of all wearisome and life-delaying superstitions. Sex as delight has captured the minds of men and women eager for felicity. . . .Though moral simpletons know it not, the younger generation is unwittingly seeking to solve the most baffling problem in life, to wit, freedom of love in a setting of dignity. . . . The old criteria of normality are no longer tenable. The new criteria are in the process of creation."

I can see nothing in this situation to unnerve us. The young people are not likely to go to the dogs in a howling stampede of animal recklessness.

And yet I do wish that there existed a body of sane, frank, beautiful erotic poetry that could serve as a new bottle for this familiar, age-old, heady wine. I wish that we had good love songs ready for the next generation.

There are several respects in which such a new love-poetry would be likely to differ from the old. One of these might well be its introduction of an element of timelessness that is rare in the older poetry. The older poetry, as I have already mentioned, often assumed lastingness to be one of the essential elements of love. Burns wrote:

> "John Anderson my jo, John,
> When we were first acquent
> Your locks were like the raven,
> Your bonny brow was brent;
> But now your brow is bald, John,
> Your locks are like the snow;
> But blessings on your frosty pow,
> John Anderson my jo . . ."

Here he expressed perfectly an extremely beautiful and touching sentiment—the long duration of love, and the mutual tenderness in old age of those who had once been passionate lovers. But it would be rash to say that a different erotic ideal has not also its own peculiar beauty. Contrast these lines of Burns's—without

invidious moral comparisons either way—with a poem of Miss Millay's:

MARIPOSA

"Butterflies are white and blue
In this field we wander through.
Suffer me to take your hand.
Death comes in a day or two.

All the things we ever knew
Will be ashes in that hour.
Mark the transient butterfly,
How he hangs upon the flower.

Suffer me to take your hand.
Suffer me to cherish you
Till the dawn is in the sky.
Whether I be false or true,
Death comes in a day or two."

I should doubt the wisdom of any one who asserted categorically that these lines were less noble or less likely to be lasting than the lines of Burns which I just quoted. These lines say something that is an important part of the sex philosophy of the younger generation. As I mentioned earlier, the younger generation appears to have discarded permanence, everlastingness, as the prime touchstone of erotic worth. "Do you love me?" "Yes, I love you." That is almost enough for them. The question which their mothers and fathers would have asked—"Will you love me always?" does not occur to their minds as worth asking. They are acquainted with the fact that the wind bloweth fitfully and errantly, and as it listeth. In this connection it is worth noting that that very modern mind, Rabbi Lewis Browne, author of *This Believing World*, when he performs the marriage ceremony, formulates the marriage oath in terms whose time-limit is, specifically, not "till death us do part," but "until the death of love." To some people this will seem dreadful; to others it will seem merely a decent and self-respecting honesty about human relations.

Right or wrong, the young people of to-day will not have it, that love's only measure is a time-measure. They have come to the conclusion that another dimension, that of intensity, is equally important. Right or wrong, they think that an authentic five minutes

of erotic experience is not discredited merely because it does not extend itself into fifty years. I do not comment on this; I merely set down the fact.

There is no use in coming to these young people and pressing into their hands a volume of Coventry Patmore's *Angel in the House* or Longfellow's *Evangeline*. They will merely laugh. But I believe that you could move them to tears if you gave them a body of poetry in which the gropings, hungers, defeats, and dazzling splendors of their own sex experience were portrayed. And I believe you could give them patterns of sex experience more beautiful and rich than those which they have themselves invented—and that they would delightedly follow them.

The young people of to-day do not believe in the sanctity of marriage any more than they believe in Santa Claus; and there is no use in pretending that they do. Sometimes they enter into marriage; but they do so for definite reasons of social convenience; and before marriage they have usually had sexual intercourse with each other, and also with half a dozen or half a hundred other people. Like it or not, these are the facts as I get them from young people of all classes, ranks and conditions of society.

This pagan world has rules of its own and beauties of its own. Angrily to condemn it is merely stiff-necked folly. To seek for those elements of it that can be employed happily and harmlessly is humane wisdom. To sing the song of its beautiful or significant aspects is to be a poet.

Indisputably, the new knowledge of contraception and the new frankness as to our universal sex impulses have liberated the young people; but this liberation has been accomplished without showing them precisely where to go, now that they are free. They are not, if I can judge, making the best possible use of their freedom. Stephen Vincent Benét, in his fine poem *John Brown's Body*, gives a pathetic picture of the freed negro slaves, wandering like bewildered ghosts in the world of their new, uncomprehended liberty. The younger generation is not so very unlike that. It is hard to generalize about them; but it seems to me that they are too often content with what they call "necking parties" and "petting parties" in parked automobiles—(which, if I understand them, includes anything from slight fondling to sexual intercourse). They too often rush from one trivial affair to another trivial affair; their ideal of what to do with their sexual liberty is not wide enough, not humane enough. My complaint against them is not that they are so released,

but that they are still so infected with their forebears' idea that sex is slightly furtive and dirty. They seem to relish the thought that they are being wicked and perverse; they cherish a fictitious diabolism in their view of their own actions. I wish I heard from them more reports of young couples, gaily serious, playing naked beside brooks, or talking naked all night long before open fires. Most of what I hear from them is nasty, furtive stuff, couched in vulgar terms and with a snigger attached to it. They do not seem to understand the possibilities of full sexual communication much better than their grandparents did.

So I conclude that the young people are in desperate need of a new and passionate kind of poetry. They need to have expressed for them that unashamed physical meeting of boy and girl which they at present practice, but do not adorn.

They need a new pattern, for changed conditions; they need a new poetry. Such a poetry should, first of all, celebrate the beauty of the body, and the clean sweetness of lust. It should discard reticence along with false sentimentality. It should not fail—and this is very important—to include echoes of those thousand and one overtones of erotic emotion—the companionship, the intellectual stimulation, the joint adventure, the mutual tenderness—which have been too exclusively the theme of romantic love-poetry in Victorian days. I mean that the fact, that such flummery nonsense as Browning's *Last Ride Together* is almost nauseating to-day, need not lead poets to the other extreme—the extreme of mere animalism. All the overtones that are genuine, all the haunting half-lights that are genuine, must be kept as a precious part of the great erotic tradition. But—to return to my original statement—the new poetry for lovers should have, first and last, a naked frankness, an unashamed sexuality, if the younger generation is to find in it a pattern that will serve as guide through the tangled labyrinth of their living passions. Of all the poetry I know, the magnificent old heathen *Song of Songs which is Solomon's* seems to me to come nearest to fulfilling the needs of the modern young people:

> "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.
> As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.
>
> As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons.
> I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste.

He brought me to the banqueting house, and his banner over me was love. His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me.

I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the fields, that ye stir not up, nor awake my love, till he please."

This heroic celebration of the beauty of young lust is doubtless the only portion of the Old Testament that has an assured immortality.

But *The Song of Songs* is too grandiose, too noble, for the everyday needs of everyday people. What most of the young people need is something equally shameless, but far simpler—and I must again allude to Burns's simplicity as an ideal form. A Burns devoid of Scotch shame—a Hellenic Burns—would be the desideratum.

I do not believe that the poets will celebrate the institution of marriage any more largely in the near future than they have done in the past. From the poetic point of view, marriage is an unimportant external shell, inside which may exist the felicity of two radiantly passionate angels or the agony of two sinister grappling fiends. The poet knows quite well that, in certain rare cases, marriage can become, for two gifted, generous and ardent natures, a thing of absolute perfection and unchanging delight. But he also knows that most marriages are small private hells of selfishness, cruelty, drabness, and dreariness; and his distrust of the institution as a whole is as great as is the young people's. In singing his songs in celebration of love, he will depict the spontaneity, the mutual splendor, the free and gracious meeting of bodies and spirits, that characterizes two noble lovers whether married or unmarried: and he will not bother his head about the question whether the young people try to follow this pattern inside or outside married legality. For him, it is not the letter that matters, but the spirit.

A new pattern of marriage might attract the poet. Marriage, in the past, has only too often been a merely economic status, inside whose impenetrable doors a bitter lust resulted automatically in a bitter pregnancy. The play element of sex—all the light, all the joy—has been reserved for the unmarried: when youth and romance and courting were ended, savage marital war began. . . . It is not likely that mankind will walk that *pons asinorum* forever. . . and it would be an abnormally self-important man who dared predict that normal marriage might not some day be made wise and beautiful—and become a subject fit for serious poetry.

How far could a new kind of sex poetry go in the direction of frankness? This is a severely difficult question to answer. Doubtless no two living individuals would agree precisely.

Let me state some of the difficulties. The mere matter of choosing reasonably frank words is difficult. There are no words in the language suited to the poetical expression of sexual episodes or sexual organs. Even in the most intimate and beautiful moments of lovers it is always some hastily invented paraphrase that is used in speaking of such things. The usual words are all soiled.

One of the most distinguished of living women-poets has recently made experiments, trying to describe in accurate terms a boy and girl love affair. She was obliged to abandon the attempt. The frankness she was aiming at proved to be poetically impossible; the necessary words could not be used; the use of them produced an effect that was as blood curdling as a treatise on anatomy. Perhaps as time passes and greater frankness of speech becomes a habit with the younger generation, this difficulty will pass. But certainly at present the poetry of sex is obliged to renounce any specific mention of bodily details and erotic acts:—all the words that could be used have either a back-alley or a dissecting-room connotation.

Walt Whitman may serve as an example. Enormous credit must be given him for his attempt to break down the barriers of contemporaneous prudery. Certainly sexual frankness in American poetry dates definitely from him. His intention deserves the highest praise: but the question of his skill in carrying out his intention is quite another matter. It does not seem to me that he ever once succeeded, by means of his cataloging of erotic physical items, in conveying anything beautiful or poetical. A ponderous sincerity, —like that of Theodore Dreiser in prose—emerges from those passages; but nothing resembling lyric exaltation:

"Through me forbidden voices,
Voices of sexes and lusts, voices veil'd and I remove the veil,
Voices indecent by me clarified and transfigur'd.

I do not press my fingers across my mouth,
I keep as delicate around the bowels as around the head and heart,
Copulation is no more rank to me than death is.

I believe in the flesh and the appetites,
Seeing, hearing, feeling, are miracles, and each part and tag of me is a miracle.

Divine am I inside and out, and I make holy whatever I touch or am touch'd from.
The scent of these arm-pits is an aroma finer than prayer.
This head more than churches, bibles, and all the creeds.
If I worship one thing more than another it shall be the spread of my own body, or any part of it,
Translucent mould of me it shall be you!
Shaded ledges and rests it shall be you!
Firm masculine colter it shall be you!
Whatever goes to the tilth of me it shall be you!
You my rich blood! your milky stream pale strippings of my life!
Breast that presses against other breasts it shall be you!

My brain it shall be your occult convolutions!
Root of washed sweet-flag! timorous pond-snipe! nest of guarded duplicate eggs! it shall be you!
Mix'd tussled hay of head, beard, brawn, it shall be you!
Trickling sap of maple, fibre of manly wheat, it shall be you!
Sun so generous it shall be you!
Vapours lighting and shading my face it shall be you!
You sweaty brooks and dews it shall be you!
Winds whose salt-tickling genitals rub against me it shall be you!
Broad muscular fields, branches of live oak, loving lounger in my winding paths, it shall be you!
Hands I have taken, face I have kissed, mortal I have ever touch'd, it shall be you!"

If that is the true method of lyric poetry, let those who like it make the most of it.

It may be that the poetry of sex is restricted, in this direction, by a subtler and more interesting barrier. It is more than possible that poetry is self-limited to the representation of *emotion;* and that in dealing with the amorous body it goes astray if it does not concentrate all its attention on the dizzy feelings of the lovers rather than on their physical acts. It is not that these acts are ugly or shameful, but that it is psychologically incorrect and misleading to describe in cold blood, as a spectator, a picture of a situation that is not normally seen by a spectator.

Normally, in the intense fever of burning desire, the two lovers do not see with impersonal eyes that which they see: what they see and what they do is all enveloped in a fiery mist of personal emotion. So overwhelming is this purely subjective whirlwind that all separate details sink into insignificance. For this reason, it

is not a humanly true or humanly significant picture that the poet would give his readers if he dwelt much on the external expression of desire.

I do not believe there is any limit to what can be said in poetry: the only limit is as to the manner of saying it. For example, now that masturbation is recognized universally as a natural and universal phenomenon, it would be possible to write a poem about it. But the manner of writing would have to be an extremely skillful one—a manner as skillful as that of the lamented Donald Evans whose poem—earlier quoted in this article—has, as its deftly reticent subject, the menstrual period of one of two lovers. If the reader will turn back to that poem, he may get a surprise. In spite of its difficult subject, the poem is a beautiful lyric: indeed, a perfect one. It is also an excellent example of my contention—that not physical facts, but emotional reactions to those facts—are the proper themes for poetry.

Physical realities have, in themselves, no poetic worth: as Goethe says, *Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben.* Only when the spirit has conferred a pathetically human value on stark mechanistic processes has serious art any concern with them. The infinite forces of nature are pitiless and indifferent toward man: out of the small strands of his hopes and fears, his hates and his loves, he weaves the strange fabric of his poetry.

If the poet departs ever so slightly from concentrating his reader's interest on the feelings of the lovers, the result is likely to become grotesque or humorous. It would be possible to describe in poetry the mating of a mare and a stallion with every detail put in—for the simple reason that man is familiar with this episode only as a spectator. But man is in general familiar with human mating only as a participant: and he is moved to disgust or to nervous laughter if, in either life or in literature, the rôle of spectator is thrust upon him. Changed customs in life would of course bring a changed point of view into literature: but it is not seriously likely that public mating will ever become the way of lovers. Until that happens, poetry can take only small steps toward greater frankness.

So any detailed attempt to describe the physical acts is, I fear, likely to lead the attention of the reader away from the central drama, the central mystery—which is an emotional one. In other words, sex and the poetry of sex pass over into the regions of pure feeling—which we are, as yet, incompetent to explore by realistic

or scientific methods. Probably no instrument except poetry will ever be able to explore them. Science grows impotent at a certain border-line: beyond that line lies all that is most important to the human heart.

SEX AND THE NOVEL

BY ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

THERE are two themes which have been characteristic of fiction since the art was born, war and love. Under the first should be included all forms of conflict with nature and man, physical adventure and discovery. It is natural that in the early history of mankind, when the essential problem of human life was survival, the theme of war should have been predominant. The quality of primitive fiction which we call epic, its concern with the race or tribe of which the hero is the personification, is largely manifested in battle. Only when organization afforded some measure of stability and security could attention be spared to the other great function of human life, that of reproduction, which to primitive man was not a problem at all. As survival was more and more taken for granted, reproduction became the center of man's individual and personal interests, and the chief theme of those forms of literature which are primarily concerned with them, the lyric, the drama, and the novel. Of the last, indeed, the love theme has been so characteristic that it has become a matter of common acceptance. There used to be current a singular use of the word romance to distinguish the story of adventure from the novel which was by definition a love story. Probably most readers make such a distinction in their minds to-day. The difference which Stevenson found between romance, or the poetry of circumstance, and drama, or poetry of character, turns largely upon the presence of the love theme, for love is the most penetrating and subtle test of character in modern life, where primitive qualities are no longer necessary to make survival possible. At all events, if the object of fiction is to give emphasis, a sense of enhancement to life, it is clear that sex must lie close to the very nature of the art.

The sex theme came into fiction as subsidiary to the theme of war or adventure. Women were the booty of conquest, and the prizes of successful enterprise. "None but the brave deserve the

fair." In time, perhaps, as the result of defense mechanism on the part of woman, there grew up about the sexual relation an element of romantic fascination; its fundamental physical pleasure became sublimated into spiritual attitudes, which it was especially the office of literature to exaggerate and multiply. And finally the necessity of controlling sexual passion in the interest of civilization led to the regulation of it by a certain procedure, the subjection of it to rules and prescriptions which were the result of analysis and formulation. Thus three forms of the treatment of sex, the realistic, the romantic, and the analytic, defined themselves to appear at the birth of the English novel in the Renaissance as characteristic of three social classes.

The romantic approach was that of the aristocracy, of whose fiction the chief types were the romance of chivalry and the pastoral romance. Both of these influenced Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and this in turn influenced the French romances of the succeeding century.

The realistic approach was taken over by the proletariat, whose typical fiction in the Renaissance was the picaresque romance. This "romance of roguery" came from the substitution of the rascal for the knight. While the knight errant is engaged in an ideal quest, like that of the Holy Grail, or the release of his mistress, the rogue errant wanders in search of the satisfaction of his bodily desires, of which sexual activity is one of the most imperious. The picaresque romances arose in Spain as direct satires upon the chivalric romances. The most famous of them, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, was translated throughout Europe, and repeatedly imitated. It was especially popular in England, where Thomas Nash's story, *The Unfortunate Traveller*, gave to the picaresque romance its typical English form. The hero begins as a clever boy, expressing his personality in practical jokes; he continues in a career of adventure in foreign lands; and in a third phase his cleverness and daring are made more highly sensational in the field of sex. This combination of tricks, adventures and sexual experience became the conventional recipe for the English proletarian novel. It suffered a decline during the Puritan domination, only to come into its own in the Restoration with *The English Rogue*, a work of Francis Kirkman and Richard Head, who, recognizing a competition among rogues of all countries, patriotically gave to their hero a prowess in sexual exploits surpassing his rivals. The novels of Defoe, though a direct outgrowth of biography, an art which he practised as a journalist, were picar-

esque in substance and form. Defoe's heroes and heroines are, except for the virtuous Robinson Crusoe, rogues of various sorts, and Robinson had one conventional characteristic of the rogue in his incurable *wanderlust*. Nowhere, it may be averred, do we find a saner, more normal exhibition of sex in fiction than in Defoe. His heroes, Robinson Crusoe, Captain Singleton, Colonel Jaque, in their adventures on land and sea, have little time for sex, and in Robinson Crusoe's case, no opportunity. Defoe's heroines, on the other hand, find their lives determined by their sex: it is at once their point of vulnerability in a world of men and their weapon by which they retaliate. And how perfectly Defoe's two leading ladies, Moll Flanders and Roxana, are contrasted—Moll, passionate, generous, clever but tender, liable to fall victim to her emotions; Roxana, cold, selfish, never letting passion get the better of reason. The typical incident in Moll's career is her adventure with the gentleman at Bath, in which resistance gradually melts away in the warmth of friendly intercourse; that in Roxana's occurs when she puts her maid into bed with her *souteneur*, and afterwards finds advantage in his remorse.

The third form of the treatment of sex in Renaissance fiction may be regarded as characteristic of a middle class growing in ambition and importance. This class was concerned with its own education and culture, and prepared to adapt to its uses the ideals and manners of the aristocracy; it was also concerned with the stability of society and institutions, the preservation of the decencies of life in the interest of prosperity. It recognized sexual passion as the explosive force in society, and its constant preoccupation was to understand it and curb it—to subject it in action to decorous restraint. This attitude is seen in the novel of analysis and of manners, of which the progenitor in England was the famous *Euphues*. Lyly's masterpiece inherits from the middle ages the subtleties of the aristocratic doctrine of love; its manners, moreover, are too elaborate for daily use, but its spirit of curiosity and its interest in the forms of social intercourse centering about the fact of sex at the center are truly modern. Here, for example, is a passage which goes to the root of the social problem surrounding sex. It is a company of cultivated men and women to whom the Lady Flavia speaks.

"We see, Martius, that where young folks are they treat of love, when soldiers meet they confer of war, painters of their colors, musicians of their crochets, and everyone talketh of that most he liketh best. . . . In this

therefore I would know thy mind whether it be convenient for women to haunt such places where gentlemen are, or for men to have access to gentlewomen, which me thinketh in reason cannot be tolerable, knowing that there is nothing more pernicious to either than love, and that love breedeth by nothing sooner than looks. They that fear water will come near no wells, they that stand in dread of burning fly from the fire; and ought not they that would not be entangled with desire to refrain company?

In the eighteenth century the three forms of the treatment of sex which I have characterized as the aristocratic or ideal, the bourgeois or analytic and mannered, and the proletarian or realistic, come to full and easily recognized development. I scarcely need say that I do not mean that each type appealed exclusively to the class which gave it birth. On the contrary, the reading public as a whole in the early years of the century, showed a pronounced predilection for proletarian realism. When the reaction against the license of the Restoration, with which the names of Jeremy Collier, Addison and Steele are connected, had gone far enough, the reading public rushed to the school of middle class fiction, of which Richardson was the head master. Again, reaction against the fine-spun analysis and smug ethics of Richardson led a large portion of the reading public to demand the coarser substance and broader style of Fielding and Smollett. And toward the close of the century, the appetite of the reading public was again excited by aristocratic themes, characters, and ideals in the romantic novels of Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe.

The most striking phenomenon in the history of fiction in the eighteenth century is the duel between Richardson and Fielding. Every one knows how the former, a prosperous London printer, began to prepare a book of models for letter-writers, and thinking to give added interest to his illustrations, conceived the idea of connecting them as the letters of a servant girl to her parents. This was the genesis of *Pamela*. Richardson's readers were accustomed to something in the way of sexual sensation, and accordingly the old printer invented a highly scabrous situation: the death of Pamela's mistress makes her nephew, Mr. B., the master of the manor, and he undertakes to exercise the *droit de seigneur* upon Pamela, whose resistance, in a number of scenes, not lacking in realistic detail, excites to the highest point the passion of Mr. B., and doubtless that of similarly unregenerate readers. In the end Mr. B. is brought to see that the only way to the consummation of his desires is to legitimize them

by marriage. Thus the story is one of lust sanctified by a convention; and, as some one has suggested, instead of *Pamela or the Triumph of Virtue*, it might be called "Mr. B. or the Triumph of Vice." The sympathy of the reader, however, is with Pamela and her virtue. It is recorded that when the story was read in English villages by parsons to their flocks, the success of Pamela in leading her quarry to the altar was greeted by cheers and the ringing of church bells.

Pamela illustrates many of the aspects of sex important in fiction, some of which it is worth while to mention. There is first the primitive desire of the male met by the equally primitive reserve of the female. This reserve does not preclude passion on Pamela's part. She loves her master, and one of the complicating factors in her struggle is her own heart. Had virtue been her sole preoccupation she could have solved the situation by escape. Thus we have a version of the duel of sexes as modern as Bernard Shaw's. Pamela is as intent on Mr. B. as Ann Whitefield on John Tanner in *Man and Superman*. Again, the plot of the novel is as old as Cinderella or King Cophetua—the breaking of barriers of rank by passion. The situation is of constant recurrence in modern fiction because it affords one of the natural meeting places for realism and romance —though in its modern form the chorus girl is apt to replace the household drudge. It has, however, a special social significance in the English novel. The stability of English society has been secured largely by the recurring possibility of promotion from a lower rank to a higher as the reward of well-doing. In this mingling of classes a biological result is achieved; by wider selection in mating, the race is improved. Richardson was as conscious of this desirable end as Bernard Shaw, as is shown by Pamela's observation, "Many of the gentry, that brag of their ancient blood, would be glad to have it as wholesome and as *really* untainted, as ours!" The marriage of Pamela and Mr. B. was, we gather, justified esthetically, biologically and socially. Pamela represents the interest of her sex in established mores as opposed to the vagabondage of the male. She is anxious to learn the business and the etiquette of the position to which she has been raised. The conclusion of the first part of the novel is given over to a discussion of Pamela's behavior as simultaneously debutante and bride. The entire second part is given to Pamela's conduct in managing her husband, ordering her household, maintaining her social position and educating her children, in order that society may reap the full advantage of a biologically sound marriage.

In *Pamela* Richardson gave the classic form to the theme of sex in conflict with class, and showed how society profits from the victory of sex. In his next novel, *Clarissa*, he dealt with the sexual duel in a more elementary form, but complicated by personal pride. Clarissa Harlowe is pursued by Lovelace, a gentleman and a rake. He really loves her, but his pride as sportsman revolts from yielding to the bondage of matrimony as easily as his predecessor, Mr. B. Clarissa, in turn, like Pamela, is infatuated by the enterprising male, though her pride of virtue forbids her voluntarily to yield. And finally the pride of the Harlowe family, father, mother, Brother James, Sister Arabella, Aunt Hervey and Uncle Anthony, is aroused, and in fear of Clarissa's yielding to her base seducer they try to force an unwelcome suitor upon her so that she is forced to flee her home and falls victim to Lovelace. Many of Richardson's readers while the novel was in progress wrote imploring him to give the story a happy and virtuous ending, as in *Pamela*, by having Lovelace marry Clarissa, but the old printer had gained moral stamina, and he insisted on separating the soul of Clarissa from her ravished body and paying off Lovelace in remorse. Richardson's third novel, *Sir Charles Grandison*, shows the same attempt as the other two to analyze the passion of love into its ideal and baser elements, and to adapt the aristocratic code of restraint in respect to sex to the uses of a middle class society.

Against this idealistic treatment both of sex and society Henry Fielding declared war. The immediate contrast between Richardson and Fielding is seen in their lives; the one a religious minded printer, with no experience of life beyond his shop, and his back parlor where in the days of his fame, ladies came to drink tea with him and discuss the refinements of passion; the other an impoverished gentleman, who had to support himself by writing for the stage and pamphleteering. Fielding knew the country gentry, and recognized the unreality of such characters as Mr. B., Lovelace, and Sir Charles Grandison. He also knew the post roads with their inns; and the taverns, green rooms and Grub Streets of London. When Pamela appeared he saw at once the ethical fallacy lurking behind her virtue, and retorted, first with a skit called *Shamela*, then with a more elaborate satire which grew into his first novel *Joseph Andrews*. In this book the false standard of virtue which Richardson had exalted is reduced to the absurd by having Joseph, who is supposed to be Pamela's brother and in service to Lady Booby, subjected to the same temptation by his mistress as Pamela experiences at the

hands of her master. Later, in *Tom Jones* and *Amelia* Fielding pictures life, in which sex plays a large part but is not absolutely engrossing, as in Richardson's novels. He gives to his heroes, Tom Jones and Captain Booth, a clean and honorable love for Sophia Western and Amelia, who are the same person, before and after marriage, a rather ideal character, but "not too good for human nature's daily food." He does not exempt his young men from the temptations of the gregarious and polygamous male. No more perfect contrast with Richardson's high-flown and fine-spun analysis of the human heart can be imagined than the scene in which Tom Jones, retiring to a shady grove to meditate upon Sophia's charms, is accosted by Moll Seagrim, on her way home from the hay-field—"in a shift that was somewhat of the coarsest, and none of the cleanest, bedewed likewise with some odoriferous effluvia, the product of the day's labour." The suggestion that Tom Jones, already excited by his idealization of Sophia, is further moved by the contrasting realism of Moll's appearance, is clinched by the comment that he "probably thought one woman better than none."

Smollett followed Fielding in his contrast of sacred and profane love, providing his picaresque heroes with plenty of amorous adventures while on their way to the higher felicity in the arms of their heroines—who, as someone has said, have the voluptuous unreality of the houris of the Mohammedan paradise. In the main, however, the treatment of sex in the later eighteenth century novel was in the direction of analysis and manners, indicated by Richardson. Miss Burney's heroines, Evelina and Cecilia, represent variations and complications of the themes of *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, pas*sion* opposed by social considerations. At the same time, these themes were constantly refined by the influence of the romantic movement. It is true, Beckford in *Vathek*, and Lewis in *The Monk*, in their search for sensation, did not overlook the grosser incitements of sex, but in general the romantic novel reduced this element to an abstraction.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century we have two novelists of major rank in Scott and Jane Austen. Both illustrate the treatment of sex by symbols, but the latter had a genuine sense of its importance in society. Limited by the conventions under which she lived and wrote to the necessity of representing sexual passion by *X*, she was nevertheless concerned as a novelist with finding the equivalent of this unknown quantity in the social equation. Her novels present the problem of sexual selection, of bringing the right

people together in the interest of their own happiness and the well being of society—which in her view, of course, was limited to a class. In *Northanger Abbey* she fell back on the old theme of love versus rank, and the heroine, Catherine Morland, is the victor "for, though Henry was now sincerely attached to her . . . his affection originated in nothing better than gratitude; or in other words . . . a persuasion of her partiality for him had been the only cause of giving her a serious thought." Partiality is the strongest word which Miss Austen will permit herself. In *Sense and Sensibility* Marianne Dashwood has something as near passion for Willoughby as Miss Austen recognizes, but Willoughby as well as other characters who inspire this feeling, Henry Crawford in *Mansfield Park* and Wickham in *Pride and Prejudice*, are social villains, by their charm interfering with the well regulated course of true love, which should be guided by reason. "Sense" she makes Elinor Dashwood say, "is the foundation on which everything good is based." *Mansfield Park* and *Pride and Prejudice* both exhibit the same theme of love triumphing over obstacles of rank and family interest. In both there are examples of false love—in the former, the adultery of Mrs. Rushworth, which is socially irremediable; in the latter the seduction of Lydia Bennet, which Miss Austen solves by the hasty application of marriage. Elizabeth Bennet expresses a point of view which will be recognized as typical. "And they are really to be married," cried Elizabeth. "How strange this is! and for *this* we are to be thankful. That they should marry, small as is their chance of happiness, and wretched as is his character, we are forced to rejoice!" *Emma* is a problem of mating solved by the trial and error method, but the trial stops short of physical contact, even in the form of kissing, and error never amounts to the false step, or "going wrong." Nevertheless, we have confidence in Miss Austen's marriages, although she never brings them to the ultimate test. The nuptial couch was beyond her experience, and her interest in child-bed was limited to appropriate toilettes. We do not know whether Emma and Knightley or Elizabeth and Darcy had any children, but if they did we are sure they were the result of good breeding.

The causes of the reserve with which the subject of sex was treated in the nineteenth century, and particularly during the Victorian period, are too numerous to treat fully. Chief among them was the fact that the middle class increasingly made up the reading public, and the middle class was still negatively Puritan. The circulation of novels was controlled in large measure by the libraries,

and Mr. Smith and Mr. Mudie were Christian gentlemen who took a stern view of their responsibilities to their subscribers. The greater novelists of the period issued their works in monthly numbers, appearing over two or three years. A novel was a speculation which might be irretrievably damaged by a single false move. Dickens, who made a business of fiction, allows himself several cases of illicit love—Lady Dedlock, Louisa Gradgrind, Little Em'ly, Edith Dombey—but they are merely stated, to be accepted as *X* in the plot. Thackeray regretted in the preface to *Pendennis* that he could not deal with a young man's life factually, as Fielding had done. The frontispiece of the book shows the hero between an angelic form of manifest purity and a siren—sacred, domestic love typified by Laura and profane love typified by the Fotheringay and Blanche Amory. But profane love is never allowed to become carnal, and in the crucial case of Fanny Bolton we are never told what actually happened, if anything, and so we never believe in the reality of the temptation. Indeed the typical conflict in Thackeray's novels is between true love, not otherwise defined, and worldliness or ambition. The old theme of love versus class appears often in Victorian fiction; and another old theme is equally prominent, that of a mystery in the identity or legitimacy of the hero or heroine, which is the result of some sexual irregularity or uncertainty, but in both cases sex is merely *X*, to be taken for granted by the reader without trenching upon the purity of his or her thoughts.

There is one notable exception to this conservatism of the Victorian novel, in the new and modern treatment of a theme destined to become of leading importance in the serious consideration of sex, and the basis of many "problem novels." This theme is that of the unwedded mother, and the exemplification of its treatment occurs in Mrs. Gaskell's *Ruth*. Here we have the situation of a young, ignorant girl, a milliner's apprentice, who is seduced by a gentleman named Bellingham. He leaves her not knowing that she is pregnant. She is helped by a clergyman and his sister although when the latter finds out that Ruth is to bear a child she temporarily loses her nerve. Not so her brother.

"We knew her errors before, Faith."

"Yes, but not this disgrace—the badge of her shame."

"Faith, Faith! let me beg of you not to speak so of the little innocent babe, who may be God's messenger to lead her back to Him. . . . If her life has hitherto been self-seeking, and wickedly thoughtless, here is the very

instrument to make her forget herself, and be thoughtful for another. Teach her (and God will teach her, if man does not come between) to reverence her child; and this reverence will shut out sin—will be purification."

"These are quite new ideas to me," said Miss Benson, coldly. "I think you, Thurston, are the first person I ever heard rejoicing over the birth of an illegitimate child. It appears to me, I must own, rather questionable morality."

Allowing for the evangelical tone and style, the attitude is thoroughly modern. Ruth assumes the status of widow, and supports herself and her child. Some years later Mr. Bellingham turns up again and wants to marry her, offering riches, rank and legitimacy to her son, but Ruth refuses. She does not love him, and she does not choose to submit her son to his influence. Here we have another modern note. Only fifteen years ago Stanley Houghton's play, *Hindle Wakes*, was acclaimed as a new departure because a working girl refuses to marry the young gentleman with whom she has been on a week-end party, since she does not love him. We have the same motive presented in a more serious form fifty years earlier. Seriousness is the note of the Victorian age, and Mrs. Gaskell drives home her moral by tragedy. Ruth's secret becomes known, and she is ostracized, but she overcomes this social inhibition by her own self-sacrifice. In an epidemic of typhoid fever she nurses her townsmen back to life, and among them Mr. Bellingham, whose life she saves by giving her own.

The solution of Mrs. Gaskell's problem in *Ruth* is a favorite one in Victorian fiction, that of renunciation. How that ethical principle came to exercise such power over the mind and imagination of the age is an interesting subject of study. It was a sort of moral romanticism which the influence of Carlyle and Ruskin had a great part in stimulating. The great dramatic scenes in Victorian fiction are scenes of renunciation—Sidney Carton's sacrifice in *A Tale of Two Cities;* Henry Esmond's relinquishment of his name and estates to the Castlewood family; Jane Eyre's renunciation of Rochester—until he induces her return by another sacrifice—that of his sight in trying to save his mad wife. Obviously, renunciation constituted a perfect solution to the problems personal and social created by passion—it supplied the moral healing for the most sinful situation which the eighteenth century in its ethical blindness had solved by marriage. The difference between the Victorian and the modern treatment of sex may be seen in the juxtaposition of two scenes, one

from George Eliot's *Mill on the Floss* in 1861, the other from H. G. Wells' *Ann Veronica*, in 1909. The heroine in each case is tempted, Maggie Tulliver to marry a man already engaged to her cousin, Lucy; Ann to elope with a man already married. The obstacle in the former case is ethical; in the latter, social. It would be too much to say that Maggie Tulliver is without sex, and yet the scene of her parting with Stephen Guest shows not a trace of it. The flesh has been entirely burned away or sublimated in the fervor of her moral feeling.

"No—not with my whole heart and soul, Stephen," she said with timid resolution. "I have never consented to it with my whole mind. There are memories and affections and longings after perfect goodness, that have such a strong hold on me they would never quit me for long, they would come back and be pain to me—repentance. I couldn't live in peace if I put the shadow of a wilful sin between myself and God. I have caused sorrow already—I know—I feel it; but I have never deliberately consented to it. I have never said, 'They shall suffer, that I may have joy.' It has never been my will to marry you; if you were to win consent from the momentary triumph of my feeling for you, you would not have my whole soul. If I could wake back again into the time before yesterday, I would choose to be true to my calmer affections, and live without the joy of love."

Over against this, put Ann Veronica's forthright and realistic declaration of her sexual rights over her man.

"It will spoil your life." [says Capes.]

"It will make it. I want you. I am clear. I want you. You are different from all the world for me. You can think all round me. You are the one person I can understand and feel—feel right with. I don't idealize you. Don't imagine that. It isn't because you're good, but because I may be rotten bad; and there's something—something living and understanding in you. Something that is born anew each time we meet, and pines when we are separated. You see, I'm selfish. I'm rather scornful. I think too much about myself. You're the only person I've really given good, straight, unselfish thought to. I'm making a mess of my life—unless you come in and take it. I am. In you—if you can love me—there is salvation. Salvation. I know what I am doing better than you do."

Of course, Maggie and Stephen part; Ann and Capes stay together. It may be said roughly that the problem of sex was solved by the Victorians in the sense of getting along without it, by the Edwardians in that of getting away with it.

The change from the Victorian attitude of repression toward the frank treatment of sex in literature to the Edwardian freedom of discussion is to be accounted for on various grounds. In the first place the progress of biological science into the fields of psychology and sociology made it ultimately impossible to treat a known quantity as unknown. The development of modern realism, or naturalism, in the wake of the scientific movement, slowly extended to Great Britain. The prosecution of *Madame Bovary* in France, was followed a generation later by the prosecution of the translator and publisher of Zola in England. It is amusing to see in the literary reviews of the seventies and eighties how English criticism sought to defend the land against the invasion of the French naturalists, more dreaded than Napoleon, and against the incursions of Ibsen, more destructive than those of Harold Hardraade. But the fundamental reason for the change in literature was the changing conditions of life itself under the influence of mechanical and intellectual innovations, and the loss of control by established institutions, church, school, government and polite society. With the telephone and the automobile to solve the old difficulties of appointment and getting together, it was no longer possible to discuss the Lady Flavia's question whether it were desirable for young people to refrain company. And it was no longer possible to treat as problems for agonized discussion in fiction situations which were arising every day and being solved in practice in accordance with normal impulses. It is true, the old plots continued to furnish the structure of the novel. The reading public continued to hold its breath over the question whether the hero's parents had been properly married and whether the marriage lines had been preserved; to debate the double standard, and the social crucifixion of the unmarried mother; to find romantic satisfaction when love triumphed over rank and family, especially when marriage crowned two lives which had first approached each other in sin. But the sexual element inherent in these situations begins, in the last decade of the century, to be treated with freedom and frankness. The *fin de siècle* mood was favorable toward this relaxation of standards. One of the principles discussed in the *Yellow Book* and the *Savoy* was art for art's sake, which obviously excluded interference with the realist's art on moral grounds. George Moore in *A Modern Lover* and *A Mummer's Wife* introduced the factual treatment of the phenomena of sex in somewhat distant imitation of Zola. Thomas Hardy in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* lent his great name to the discovery that sexual purity

is independent of accidents of physical contact, and is a matter of the spirit. In *Jude the Obscure* he carried further, though in a tentative fashion, this examination of the obscure relation between flesh and spirit. In fact he anticipated the two lines upon which the consideration of sex in the novel was to proceed. In the relations of Jude and Arabella we have the behavioristic method of approach. In the relations of Jude and Sue we have an attempt to envisage psychologically the subtleties of spiritual contacts which are alternately incited and baffled by the fleshly screen.

With the new century, the element of sex in fiction becomes an obsession—a natural reaction from the repression of the Victorians. What are called sexual irregularities, from the social point of view, are the natural material of the novel. The old problems which arose out of the tension between the sexual pull and moral and social inhibitions are submerged. The great question is the fundamental one, of the sexual rights of individuals in the marriage partnership, and the necessity of such partnership in order to enjoy any sexual expression whatever. And the novel has followed life in declaring, first, the strict dependence of marital rights upon a spiritual accord, and second, the freedom of the individual outside of marriage to seek sexual companionship in accordance with his spiritual leanings. In this the novel merely returns to the position taken by John Milton in the seventeenth century. And if it may be said to follow modern life in recording the facts, it is certainly in advance of life in stating the principle.

Among the authors who mark the new freedom in treating sex, only a few can be mentioned. There is W. L. George, who in *A Bed of Roses* deals in an intelligent and generous spirit with the social and individual problem of prostitution. His *Second Blooming* is equally a landmark in the fictional treatment of mature sexual relations outside the marriage bed. His *Ursula Trent* deals, less successfully, with the sexual life of the young girl. Mr. Wells has written a whole series of novels, *Ann Veronica, The New Machiavelli, The Passionate Friends, Marriage, The Wife of Sir Isaac Harmon* to uphold a liberal view of sexual relations as affected by marriage, and to show the need of necessary adjustments within the social order. The most blasting arraignment of marriage as possession appears in Galsworthy's *A Man of Property*. Then the War came to make society realize how trivial were its taboos in the presence of death. The War brought the situation of the unmarried girl who gives herself to a soldier into especial prominence. In the face of

death, the prohibition campaign against cigarettes and against sexual intercourse were both subject to blight. Mr. Galsworthy in *Saint's Progress* has given what may be called the classical treatment of the theme of sex and war. In the aftermath, the freedom of sexual relations depending for their validity on the good faith of the participants, with the warning *caveat emptor*, has become a commonplace of the novel. Miss May Sinclair in *Mary Olivier* and in *Ann Severn and the Fieldings*, Miss Rose Macaulay in *Dangerous Ages*, Mrs. Beatrice Kean Seymour in *The Hopeful Journey* and a host of others have witnessed to it. In the United States, Theodore Dreiser began the campaign for the emancipation of fiction in matters of sex in *Sister Carrie*, which was brutally suppressed, by the publishers at the instance, it is said, of one of the Doubleday ladies. With *Jennie Gerhardt* and *The Genius* he made his way by sheer weight, crashing through the flimsy barriers of Boston censorship. Among other American novels Mr. Floyd Dell's *Janet March* deserves mention for its frank and true account of the sexual experience of a young girl, but this was also, I believe, withdrawn for a time by the publisher.

Sex in the novel of to-day is still a social problem through the relation to society of the two or more persons concerned in any sexual manifestation. It is becoming more and more deeply a psychological problem through the relation of the individuals to each other and the effect of that relation upon each of them. It used to be the convention of the novel to limit its scope to the wooing period, and close with a marriage which was as final as death. Nowadays most serious fiction finds its problems within the married or the companionate state. The novel has been enormously enriched in material and method by science—biology, sociology and psychology. Psychology began its important contribution to fiction in the last third of the nineteenth century, with the analytic method of George Eliot, and her successors, Meredith, Hardy and Henry James. The last, indeed, like Hardy, shows clearly in his later work the differentiation that was taking place in fiction under the influence of the two schools of modern psychology, the behaviorists and the psychoanalysts. James more than any preceding novelist was interested in his technique. Some of his subjects he treated by a purely behavioristic, objective or dramatic method—witness especially *The Awkward Age* and *The Outcry*. Others he developed largely on the stage of consciousness, as *The Wings of the Dove*, and *The Ambassadors*. In certain of them, particularly those dealing with

children, he penetrates by a kind of symbolism to the unconscious, as in *What Maisie Knew* and *The Turn of the Screw*. In both types of novel, however, the behavioristic and the psychoanalytical, he was a pioneer.

The behavioristic novelist follows in the tradition of the older naturalist, with more emphasis on the individual and less on the environment. What he demands, above all, is freedom to report fully and frankly what he perceives. The lack of this freedom, so long desired, resulted in the frustration of many behaviorists, notably Thackeray, whose observation of conditioned reflexes in the matter of sex was keen and wide, but whose reports were sadly mutilated. To-day, this freedom in treating the observed and verifiable phenomena of sex is being won so rapidly that it is hardly worth while to do more than salute the battle-scarred veterans of the fight. The psychoanalytic novelist, who approaches sex through the consciousness, and tries to trace its permutations in the obscure region which lies beneath, has more difficulty with the vested moral interests. For one thing, the sanction which the scientific method gives to external realism, is lacking. To follow the sexual thread through the consciousness of the individual seems a gratuitous and wilful exploitation of the obscene; and when the suppressions, the tendencies toward abnormality and perversity, are drawn up from the unconscious, the cup of the moralist indeed runneth over. The things thought and dreamt are in most cases so far beyond those done that he can only echo the cry of the apostle: "The heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked." The novels which have penetrated this region most daringly, Mr. James Joyce's *Ulysses*, Mr. D. H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, and Mr. James Branch Cabell's *Jurgen* were all suppressed in both Great Britain and America, though I believe that only *Ulysses* is still under the ban.

It is obvious that the new psychology in all of its phases has extended the scope of the novel and enriched it in material and method. Particularly it has shown old situations and problems with new phases and complications. Take one of the most elementary of them, the opposition between the two generations, between family loyalty and love. It used to be thought that the sexual element was only on one side, but psychoanalysis has familiarized us with the Œdipus complex, and Mr. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* gives new meaning to the old pattern of son, mother and sweetheart. Moreover, we have come to recognize that the sexes are not strictly divided by organic

differences, that the qualities of masculine and feminine are relative, and in the contacts of individuals may be in unstable equilibrium. Thus the field of sexual interest and experiment is enormously widened. Here, as in the development of naturalism a half century ago, the European is in advance of the English writer. Proust and Gide have given illustrations of the increase of fictional values which may be expected to follow. In England and America sexual variability as a theme for fiction is regarded as highly exotic, to be accepted from such esoteric writers as Ronald Firbank and Carl Van Vechten, but assumed to be caviar for the general. That the theme is becoming domesticated, however, I notice in three books of the present year, Mr. Compton Mackenzie's *Extraordinary Women*, which takes all its characters from among flaunting cosmopolitan Lesbians, Miss Elizabeth Bowen's *The Hotel*, in which gentle English ladies are drawn in discreet half tones much to the same intention, and above all, Miss Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*, which preserves all the traditions of the English novel with the substitution of inverted for legitimate sexual passion. If instead of two sexes clearly defined in mutual love and hatred, we are to recognize three or four or a dozen gradations of the masculine and feminine principles, with the infinite complication and variety of patterns thus made possible, I leave to my readers to imagine for themselves the future of the novel.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

HARRY ELMER BARNES, PH.D., was born in Auburn, New York, June 15, 1889, and graduated from Columbia University. He taught history at Columbia and Clark Universities, and is now Professor of Historical Sociology at Smith College. He was historian of the New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission in 1917, and other investigating penal commissions. His best known works are *The Genesis of the World War* and *The New History and the Social Studies.* He is also the author of *Sociology before Comte, Sociology and Political Theory, History and Social Intelligence, The Repression of Crime, Living in the Twentieth Century* and other works.

E. BOYD BARRETT was born in Dublin and educated at the Irish college, "Clongowes Wood." On leaving, he entered the Society of Jesus, experiencing in person the asceticism to which he refers. He holds a Ph.D. from Louvain University. Finding it impossible to reconcile Catholicism with modern psychology, he left the Jesuits and became a practicing psychoanalyst in New York City. He is the author of a thesis *Motive-force* and *Strength of Will, The New Psychology, The Jesuit Enigma,* etc.

PHYLLIS BLANCHARD, PH.D., was born in New Hampshire in 1895. She is a graduate of the New Hampshire State University and holds a doctorate from Clark University. She has been instructor in psychology in the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, lecturer at the Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, and is now a psychologist at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic. She is the author of *The Adolescent Girl, The Child and Society,* and a collaborator in *Taboo and Genetics* and *Abnormal Behavior.* She has also written for numerous journals of mental hygiene and contributed newspaper articles on child life.

ROBERT BRIFFAULT, M.D., was born in London in 1876. His father's forbears were French and his mother's Scottish. He was educated at Florence, in Germany, and later at Liverpool. After studying medicine in London he went to New Zealand as a practicing surgeon,

publishing a series of articles in "Transactions of the New Zealand Institute." The war brought him again to Europe, where he served with a battalion at Gallipoli, also in Flanders and France. At Nieuport he was gassed and disabled for active duty. The Military Cross was twice awarded him for conspicuous bravery. He is the author of three books, *The Making of Humanity*, *Psyche's Lamp*, and a three-volume anthropological work *The Mothers*.

HUNTINGTON CAIRNS, LL.B., was born in Baltimore in 1904 and graduated from the University of Maryland Law School. He is the author of a prize winning thesis on *The Law of Charitable Trusts in Maryland*, and is now engaged on a book *The Socialization of Law*, a comprehensive study of jurisprudence as a social science.

V. F. CALVERTON was born in Baltimore in 1900 and graduated from The Johns Hopkins University. In 1923 he founded *The Modern Quarterly*, a journal of letters and social thought. He is the author of *The Newer Spirit*, *Sex Expression in Literature*, *The Bankruptcy of Marriage* and *Four Strange Lovers*. He has edited *Representative American Negro Literature*, contributed to magazines in Europe and America, and now lectures on sociological, literary, and historical topics.

MARY WARE DENNETT studied at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and became head of a department at Drexel Institute, Philadelphia. She became a lecturer and writer on arts and crafts and was active in organizing the first society of arts and crafts in America. She was active in the suffrage movement, the single tax movement, the twilight sleep association, and was one of the three organizers of the National Birth Control League. During the war period she was active in many peace organizations. She is the author of *Birth Control Laws* and a number of magazine articles.

JOSEPH BLAKE EGGEN was born in Southern Maryland, and is a graduate of The Johns Hopkins University. His first publications were analytical reductions of the concept of instinct, and he has contributed papers to many scientific journals, including the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *Psychological Review*, *Social Forces*, *Modern Quarterly*, *Current History*, etc. He attracted attention through his writings in criticism of eugenic theory, and is now lecturing in New York upon psychological and psychopathological topics.

HAVELOCK ELLIS was born in 1859. He has had a distinguished career as sexologist and pantophile. His most famous work is the seven volume *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. He is also the author of *The New Spirit*, *A Study of British Genius*, *The World of Dreams*,

The Task of Social Hygiene, Impressions and Comments and *The Dance of Life.*

ARTHUR DAVISON FICKE was born in 1883, graduated from Harvard, and was admitted to the New York bar. He became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the American army, and despite that has written a number of books of poetry including *Sonnets of a Portrait Painter, April Elegy, Mr. Faust,* and *Mountain Against Mountain.*

WILLIAM J. FIELDING was born in Wharton, N. J., in 1886. He became editor of the Newark *Leader* and the Literary and Dramatic Editor of various magazines and newspapers. He is the author of *Pebbles from Parnassus,* a book of verse, *Sanity in Sex, The Caveman Within Us, Sex and the Love Life* and other works on various phases of the sex question.

WALDO FRANK was born in 1889, at Long Branch, New Jersey. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees at Yale. He was on the staff of the New York *Evening Post* and New York *Times* from 1911-1913, a founder and editor of the *Seven Arts,* American correspondent *La Nouvelle Revue Française* and *Europe* (Paris), Contributing Editor of the *New Republic* and *New Masses,* and lecturer on modern art and literature at the New School for Social Research. He is the author of many books among which are *Our America, Rahab, Holiday, City Block, Virgin Spain,* and *The Rediscovery of America.*

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN was born in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1860. She began public work in 1890, lecturing on ethical and feminist topics. She has been especially identified with the rights of labor and the advance of women. She is the author of *Women in Economics, Concerning Children, The Man Made World, Moving the Mountain,* and eight other books, including one of verse.

BERNARD GLUECK was born in Poland in 1883. He holds an M.D. from the University of Georgetown and studied in the Universities of Munich and Berlin. He has been on the staff of the Government Hospital for the Insane, Director of the Psychiatric Clinic in Sing Sing Prison, and on the staff of the New York School of Social Work. He is the author of *Studies in Forensic Psychiatry* and co-translator of Adler's *Neurotic Constitution.*

ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER was born in Kiev, Russia, in 1880. He holds a doctorate from Columbia. He has lectured on anthropology, psychology, and sociology at Columbia University, University of Washington, University of Oregon, and the New School for Social Research. He is now co-editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.* His chief work is *Early Civilizations;* besides this, he is the

joint author of *American Indian Life, Political Theories, Recent Times, History and Prospects of the Social Sciences, Population Problems,* and other symposia. His coming work entitled *Craft and Mind, an Essay in Re-Orientation,* will be published by Knopf.

C. ELIZABETH GOLDSMITH was born in Chicago, Illinois, and educated in Europe. Returning to America, she obtained an M.A. from Columbia University. She studied psychoanalysis in Europe with Sandor Ferenczi. She is now teaching at the Walden School, and has contributed to psychoanalytical publications both in America and in Europe.

BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE, born of a family rich in dramatic traditions, began her stage career at the age of seventeen under Sir Henry Irving. After a number of famous rôles, she married in 1910 and retired from the stage, devoting herself to writing and lecturing. She is the author of several volumes of fiction and essays, *What Women Want, What's Wrong With Our Girls,* etc.

GILBERT VAN TASSEL HAMILTON was born in Ohio in 1877. He studied at Ohio Wesleyan and became an M.D. at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. He has been on the staff of the Pennsylvania State Hospital for the Insane, and the McLean Hospital (Mass.). He made studies of sexual and other behavior of monkeys in live oak-woods at Montecito, California, while doing private psychiatric practice, the results of which were published in his *Sexual Tendencies of Macacques and Baboons,* and *Perseverance Reactions in Primates and Rodents.* He is a director of psychobiological research at the Bureau of Social Hygiene, New York, and is the author of *Introduction to Objective Psychopathology, A Research in Marriage,* and with Kenneth Macgowan, *What Is Wrong with Marriage,* a study of married life in New York.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS was born at Rochester, New York, in 1881. He is a graduate of Columbia College and Columbia Law School. During the World War he was engaged in the British Prize Court in connection with test cases involving the freedom of the seas. He has been a counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, for coal field disputes, defended John Thomas Scopes in the Dayton Evolution Trial, and was counsel in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. His books include *Enemy Property in America* and *Let Freedom Ring.* He is a member of the law firm of Hays, St. John, Abramson, and Schulman.

JOSEPH JASTROW was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1863. Graduating from the University of Pennsylvania, he became a fellow

of Psychology at Johns Hopkins University, a lecturer at Columbia University, and a Professor of Psychology at Wisconsin. He had charge of the Psychological Section of the Chicago Exposition in 1893, and is past President of the American Psychological Association. He is the author of *Time Relations of Mental Phenomena, The Subconscious, Character and Temperament, Keeping Mentally Fit,* and other books. He is an LL.D. from Wittemberg, and contributes a daily column in the newspapers.

DR. SMITH ELY JELLIFFE was born in New York in 1866. He is an M.D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, and a Ph.D. after postgraduate work chiefly in Europe. He was Clinic Professor of Mental Diseases at Fordham University and Consulting Neurologist in the Manhattan State Hospital. With Doctor White he is the editor of *Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series,* Managing Editor of the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases,* the *Psychoanalytic Review,* and other publications. He is the author of *Essentials of Vegetable Pharmacognosy,* editor and translator of Dubois' *Psychoneuroses,* and co-editor of the *Encyclopedia Americana* and *Psychoanalysis and the Drama,* etc.

JUDGE BENJAMIN BARR LINDSEY was born Tennessee in 1869. He was appointed public guardian and administrator, and later Judge of the Juvenile Court of Denver, where he served from 1901 to 1927. He gained an international reputation on the subject of juvenile delinquency and originated new features in the juvenile court system. He is responsible for the first adult contributory delinquency law, holding parents and employees accountable. He is the author of, besides the Colorado Juvenile Court Laws, *The Beast in the Jungle, The Rule of Plutocracy in Colorado, The Revolt of Modern Youth,* and *Companionate Marriage.*

J. WILLIAM LLOYD was born in Westfield, New Jersey, in 1857. His childhood being passed largely in a clearing in the woods, he educated himself. He was a pioneer in Kansas, a cowpuncher, and homesteader. He is the author of a number of books of verse and essays. His contributions to sexology include *Psalms of the Race Roots, The Karezza Method, Iris Heart.* He is now a literary hermit in the foothills of California.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT was born in Boston in 1870 and graduated from Harvard. He was Professor of English at Harvard and Dean of the Jr. Colls. at the University of Chicago. He is the author of *Richard Gresham, A Winged Victory,* and a play, *Cowards,* and co-author of *A History of English Literature* and *A First View*

of English Literature. One time editor of *The Dial,* he is now on the editorial board of *The New Republic.*

KENNETH MACGOWAN was born in Massachusetts in 1880. He was dramatic critic on the Boston *Transcript,* Philadelphia *Evening Ledger,* New York *Globe,* and *Theatre Arts Magazine.* He has directed several theatres, produced *All God's Chillun Got Wings, Desire Under the Elms,* and other notable plays. He is the author of *The Theatre of To-Morrow* and other works.

WILLIAM McDOUGALL was born in England in 1871 and educated at Cambridge, Oxford, and Göttingen. He began scientific work as a research physiologist and did field work in anthropology in Torres Straits and Borneo. He did experimental work on the psychophysiology of sense perception and turned finally to social and general psychology. After fellowships in several English colleges, he became Professor of Psychology at Harvard and is now at Duke University. His best known works are *Social Psychology, Outline of Psychology,* and *Outline of Abnormal Psychology.*

ABRAHAM MYERSON was born in 1881 in Yanova, Russia, now Lithuania. He graduated in medicine from Tufts College Medical School, Boston. He taught psychopathology at the Medical Schools of St. Louis University and Harvard, and now is head of the Department of Neurology at Tufts College. He is visiting neurologist to several hospitals and an examiner for the Commonwealth of Massachussetts. His books include *Inheritance of Mental Diseases, The Nervous Housewife, Foundations of Personality,* and *Psychology of Mental Disorders.*

A. A. ROBACK is a graduate of McGill University and holds a doctorate of philosophy from Harvard. He has taught at the University of Pittsburgh, Northwestern University, Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and other national institutions. He has been a fellow of the National Research Council, Editor-in-Chief of the *American College Society Publications* and American Editor of *Psyche.*

MARGARET SANGER (Mrs. J. N. H. Slee) was born in New York in 1883. She became a graduate nurse at the Manhattan Eye and Ear Hospital. She edited and published a monthly magazine, *The Woman Rebel,* and has been Editor of the *Birth Control Review* since 1917. She has been indicted a number of times in connection with her activities and pleas for birth control, and is generally recognized as a leader of the movement. She is now President of the Birth Control League. Among her books are *What Every Girl Should Know, The*

Case for Birth Control, The Pivot of Civilization, and *Happiness in Marriage.* She organized the first world population convention at Geneva in 1927.

SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN was born in New York in 1890. He studied at Columbia and received his Doctorate of Philosophy from that university. He is the author of *Humanizing Education, Why We Misbehave,* and is now working on a book to be entitled *The Sexual Revolution.* He is Literary Editor of the *Modern Quarterly* and a lecturer on psychology.

IRA SOLOMON WILE was born in Rochester, New York, in 1877. He took his bachelor's degree at Rochester and his doctorate of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. He was formerly Lecturer on Educational Hygiene at New York University, and on dietetics at Columbia. He was Commissioner of Education for New York City from 1912-1918. He founded the New York School-Lunch System, the Manhattanville Nursery, and other such institutions. He is a former editor of the *Medical Review of Reviews,* the *Medical Pickwick,* and Associate Editor of the *American Journal of Surgery* and *American Medicine.* He has sat on several Public Commissions and is Associate in Pediatrics at the Mount Sinai Hospital. Among his books are *Blood Examinations in Surgery, Sex Education, The Challenge of Childhood.*

FRITZ WITTELS was born in Vienna of German parents and graduated from the University of Vienna. He became a physician in the General Hospital of Vienna under Wagner-Jauragg. He was an associate of Sigmund Freud, and published several psychoanalytic studies of literature, such as *Die Sexuelle Not, Die Tragische Motive,* and *Alles Um Liebe.* During the war he served as a military physician on the battlefields of Russia, Italy, and the Near East. He is the author of a critical study of Sigmund Freud and other treatises on criminology and child psychology. He is a practicing psychiatrist and psychoanalyst in Vienna.

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